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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

A MONTHLY REVIEW

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

No. CCCXXIII—JANUARY 1904

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INEFFECTUAL PREFERENCES

IN an article last July, when the fiscal discussion was in its infancy and Mr. Chamberlain's proposals had not been definitely formulated, I pointed out how little difference even a 5*s*. per quarter duty on foreign wheat imported into this country, and similar preferences on other articles of agricultural produce, would make to the Colonies, and how little difference in return would result to the United Kingdom from any preferences in their markets which the Colonies could give. Apart from all questions of principle, the proposals before the country, it seems to me, should be considered from this point of view. What is the use of endlessly discussing theories of free trade and protection when no material advantage can result to anybody from the special proposals put forward, even if protectionist principles are fully admitted? I propose, therefore, to resume the discussion with reference to the preferences we are to give to the Colonies, and the advantages promised us in the shape of the extended colonial cultivation of wheat and other articles, and the final result of making the Empire self-sustaining in the matter of its food supplies. If the preferences will not conduce to these ends, and the final result is unattainable in any near future, if at all, why continue a discussion

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which must proceed on the assumption that the preferences are to be effectual?

The discussion is more suited for farmers and speculators than for economists, or for the masses of electors who have now to pass judgment upon it. But it is one of the inevitable penalties of a protectionist policy, *in posse* as well as *in esse*, that we must all become speculators. The Government is being constantly asked to do something in expectation of purely speculative and contingent results, such as speculators—and speculators alone—are accustomed to anticipate.

It is amazing to see, by the way, the cocksureness of some of our protectionist friends. The keenest speculators, I believe, are never quite so sure of anything future, after they take every pains to be right, as many people who are not acquainted with the speculators' problems are about their answer to the present question when they have taken no pains at all.

The proposition before us then is that a duty of 2*s.* per quarter on wheat imported from foreign countries, and duties of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on other articles of agricultural produce, except maize and pork and bacon, which are specially omitted as the food of the poorest, will have for effect partly to increase the home production and partly and chiefly to increase the production in the Colonies, so that the Colonies will be great gainers, the people of the United Kingdom will be less and less dependent on foreign countries for their supply of food, and the Empire will be in the end self-sustaining. What we have to enquire into are the *pros* and *cons* of this speculation.

On the preliminary point of the gain to the Colonies on the existing production, I may refer to my former article. Even with a duty of 5*s.* per quarter on wheat, and corresponding or 10 per cent. duties on other articles of agricultural produce, it was shown that the immediate bounty to the Colonies at the expense of the people of the United Kingdom would not be more than about 1,200,000*l.* for wheat alone, and 4,000,000*l.* at the outside for all articles including wheat, and that these sums would not materially increase the general purchasing power of the Colonies,[1] whose aggregate income might be taken as 1,200,000,000*l.* Now the bonus is to be something much less material. Instead of 1,219,000*l.* for wheat it is to be two-fifths of that amount, 2*s.* instead of 5*s.* per quarter, or about half a million only, and about 2,000,000*l.* only on all articles put together. These are the amounts about which the present pother is raised. People with 1,200,000,000*l.* annually to spend are to have their average incomes raised by one-sixth of a hundredth part, and their increased purchasing power, it is supposed, is to be sensibly felt

[1] Always including India.

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in the United Kingdom, where the people have an aggregate income of close upon 2,000,000,000*l.*, although this small increase of purchasing power may be directed in part only upon the productions of the United Kingdom itself.

There is consequently no immediate gain to the Colonies of any particular value in the proposed preferences, especially no immediate gain that will at all stimulate the trade of the United Kingdom. What extension of agricultural production is probable either at home or in the Colonies?

For answer, I would submit that apart from the risk involved in all speculations which would make the speculator hesitate—the risk of war, or money panic, or political uncertainty, as Lord Salisbury specially feared in this very matter—such bonuses on future production or extended future production are not sufficient to count materially to the farmer in any part of the world. His business is altogether too rough and depends on too large chances for sums of this kind to affect his calculation of future profit and loss. Let us see how they will look in the concrete to a farmer who is already working at a maximum, with no capital or labour to spare for experiments, taking wheat as the leading article. An English farmer having say twenty acres of wheat producing four quarters per acre, or eighty quarters in all, will at 30*s.* per quarter receive 120*l.* If he gets 2*s.* per quarter extra through the preference, he will receive 128*l.* instead of 120*l.*, and for this he may be more or less grateful as a windfall, but still not particularly grateful, as the ordinary fluctuations of quantity produced and price—which may easily be 20 per cent. or more—far exceed the bonus of 8*l.* If he should contemplate extending his cultivation by one-fourth, which would be a great change, what he would have before him would be that instead of getting 30*l.* for the produce of an additional five acres or twenty quarters, he might get 32*l.*, a difference of 2*l.*, which would hardly enter into his calculations at all if he could only be sure of the 30*l.* An English farmer with twenty acres of wheat has to be guided by much larger differences and considerations. Take again a Canadian peasant farmer with about ten acres of wheat growing twenty-five quarters at a maximum price of 20*s.*, giving him 25*l.* at the end of the year. He will be thankful enough for 2*l.* 10*s.* extra on his present production; but suppose he contemplates increasing it by one-half—which he would do even now, if he could, as wheat is his cash crop—the proposed stimulus would enable him to look forward to receiving for the produce of his additional five acres, or twelve and a half quarters, the sum of 13*l.* 15*s.* instead of 12*l.* 10*s.*, a difference again not great enough to affect him much, because the 12*l.* 10*s.* would induce him if anything could. A speculative Canadian farmer on a large scale would necessarily be in a similar position. For 140 quarters, the average produce of about fifty-six acres of wheat, which

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seems to be the usual amount allotted to wheat by Manitoban farmers, the maximum price now receivable would be perhaps 140*l.*, to which the preference of 2*s.* would make an addition of 14*l.* Clearly if satisfied that he can look forward to 140*l.* or any such sum in average years, the Manitoban farmer or any other speculator would not alter his procedure by the prospect of other 14*l.* He does what he can now to capture the 140*l.*, and he cannot do more. The inducement must be very strong indeed that will increase the present strain when every motive exists already to add to the production.

Nor is it a mere matter of guess-work what the action of individual farmers will be regarding an addition of 2*s.* to the price of wheat. In the last eight years the *Gazette* average price of wheat has risen from 22*s.* 10*d.* and 23*s.* 1*d.*, the prices of 1894 and 1895 respectively, to 26*s.* 9*d.* and 28*s.* 1*d.* in 1901 and 1902, having been still higher in 1898; but the area under wheat in Great Britain only rose from 1,417,000 acres in 1895, the lowest point, to 1,726,000 acres in 1902, falling back to 1,581,000 acres in the current year. This is after a much greater rise in price than 2*s.*

Similarly, as far as India is concerned, we find that the imports from that country in 1902 are almost exactly the same as in 1895, viz. eight to nine million cwt., or about two million quarters, notwithstanding the rise in price.

From Australia and New Zealand the imports are also about the same, viz. less than a million quarters, both in 1895 and at the present time, notwithstanding the rise in price.

It is thus clear that a 2*s.* rise in price will not of itself increase the wheat area or production. *Per contra*, in British North America, where we do find a large increase of the wheat area and wheat yield going on for a considerable number of years, we also find that the improvement has coincided with various fluctuations of price, and it seems reasonable to connect it with the obvious cause, an increased immigration into Canada, which has not wanted the stimulus of an extra 2*s.* per quarter.

Mutatis mutandis, what is true of wheat is of course true of other articles. All the articles of farming production are liable to such changes of quantities and markets, to such accidents of disease, floods and droughts, as to make the whole business a gamble, so that a difference in the average price to be made by a preference of this sort will hardly tell. The stimulus, it will be observed, is to be much less for all other articles than it is for wheat. The exemption of maize and 'bacon' from duty on imports from foreign countries, so that as regards these there will be no preference, will also have a singular effect, which would probably be more noticeable in fact than it is now likely to be if the difference were greater. If other agricultural products are raised in price by the duty, will not the

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tendency be for maize and bacon to rise also by 'sympathy,' just as wool, hemp, and silk rose during the cotton famine of 1862–6 as well as cotton itself? In that case, as maize and pork products are hardly at all imported from the Colonies, but come from foreign countries only, an unexpected effect of the preferences would be to stimulate the growth of maize and pork in foreign countries, and so diminish *pro tanto* the favour intended for the Colonies.

It has also to be considered that a preference to wheat or any one article only might have some effect, which would not result from a preference to all. Attention could then be concentrated on the favoured article, whereas there will be no temptation to do so when all receive a preference.

There is yet another practical objection to the anticipation of any extensive effect from the preferences. There are important crops which are comparatively unsuitable for the Colonies, of which at least they contribute but an inconsiderable surplus for export to the United Kingdom. Barley has already been identified by Mr. Chaplin as a crop where the advantage will be to the home and not to the colonial producer. Maize and pork have been referred to above as in the same category. So with oats, sugar, and many kinds of fruit and vegetables. A general tax on such articles from foreign countries will not be a real preference to the Colonies, and cannot therefore have the effects assumed. There is also one special case of a Colony which sends us already the maximum surplus it can produce of its principal article of export, or very nearly the maximum surplus, viz. New Zealand, which talks of improving the quality of its fresh mutton, as there is not much to be looked for from an increase of the quantity exported. As far as *additional* supplies of fresh mutton are concerned, New Zealand is in the position of a country which cannot produce fresh mutton at all.

It would appear then that there are grave reasons for questioning the assumed operation of the proposed stimulus to the agricultural production of the Colonies, and similar production at home. Apart from the uncertainty of all speculations which ought never to be lost sight of, the stimulus itself is small, not sufficient according to past experience or the consideration of concrete cases to induce the majority of farmers to act. Neither at home, nor in India, nor in Australia has there been any such growth of wheat consequent on a larger rise of price than 2*s*. to lead us to expect an augmentation as the result of a preference of 2*s*. only; while in Canada, where the area and production of wheat and some other articles have increased, the obvious cause is the immigration into new regions such as we have witnessed with similar results for many years in the Far West of the United States and in the Argentine Republic. Last of all there are several articles, such as barley, where the Colonies are able to grow but a very small surplus for export, or where they are already

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up to their maximum, as in the case of New Zealand and fresh mutton, or where they are naturally not adapted to compete. If home and colonial production are to be increased by means of preferences, it cannot be by such small preferences as those that are now in question.

With this conclusion there seems an end to the dream of the British Empire becoming self-sustaining in the matter of food, but so much importance is attached to the latter idea that some additional remarks may be made. There are really two questions to be considered—the prospect for wheat specially, which is interesting to Canada, and the prospect for other articles.

As regards wheat, then, the situation is that Canada, quite apart from preference, will probably increase largely its cultivation of wheat; it needs no preference to do so; but even so it will hardly take the place of all foreign countries in supplying the United Kingdom with wheat at an early date. The question is one of population and the growth of population in Canada for forty years has not been so very rapid. The figures are:

Addition in	1861–71	545,000
"	1871–81	689,000
"	1881–91	509,000
"	1891–1901	538,000

With these additions Canada at the last census, three years ago, had a population of 5,600,000, which has increased since then probably by 300,000 or more, owing to the boom in the North-West which has set in, so that at the next census it may have increased a million from the previous census, instead of the half million we have had hitherto. At the same time its net surplus of wheat for export is now about 3,000,000 quarters—it imports *from* as well as exports *to* the United States—and allowing for the increase of population being specially in the North-West, where it takes about 250,000 people to grow 5,000,000 quarters of wheat, we may assume that the surplus, allowing for an increased production of 5,000,000 quarters, and for increased local consumption, will be doubled by 1910, and another addition of 6,000,000 quarters made by 1920. Large as these figures are, they are very far from the sanguine estimates now being put forward in Canada, and still leave a great gap to be supplied by foreign countries, even if the United Kingdom obtains the whole surplus. We want about 20,000,000 quarters to displace the present foreign supply, and there is a prospect of about 10,000,000 quarters only from Canada in the next twenty years. The surplus may also be trenched upon by demands from foreign countries, Germany for instance, as well as by South Africa, which the Australian Colonies may not be able to

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supply fully. Without venturing on a speculative conclusion myself, I need not say that if one were addressing a City audience the utmost moderation in all estimates for the future would be advised. Even as regards wheat, therefore, there being no Colony except Canada to be considered, the prospect of the British Empire becoming self-sustaining appears somewhat remote.

Coming to other articles than food, what we have to consider more fully is the position of the Colonies as regard those articles where the share they contribute of imports into the United Kingdom is now small. As any one can see who will pick out the items from the last Annual Statement of Trade, we imported in 1902 of different grains, meat, butter and fat, and fruit, sugar, and miscellaneous articles, about 200 millions worth (in round figures), of which 33 millions, or one-sixth, only came from British Colonies and possessions. In the case of one or two articles a large proportion came from the Colonies, but the general run is about a sixth. If we were to include tea, coffee, and cocoa, this proportion would rise to a fifth, but to include such articles would involve the addition of beer, wine, and spirits, and perhaps other articles not usually thought of as 'food.' The proportion of one-sixth may thus stand. That the Colonies in some cases send a larger proportion—for instance, cheese 4·4 millions out of 6·4, or two-thirds (mainly from Canada); fresh mutton 3·8 millions out of 6·9 millions, or more than a half (mainly from New Zealand)—also involves the receipt of a smaller proportion in other cases. There need, however, be no doubt on the point, the following being a list of articles of food of which the Colonies send us little or none:

	Total Imports	Imports from British Colonies and possessions
	Millions	Millions
Barley	£7·1	—
Oats and oatmeal	5·5	£0·2
Maize and maize meal	11·8	0·1
Bacon	13 4	1·2
Beef, fresh and salted	8·1	0·6
Ham	3·8	0·4
Pork, fresh and salted	1·7	—
Unenumerated	1·2	—
Poultry and game	1·1	—
Butter and margarine	23·1	2·5
Eggs	6·3	0·2
Lard	4·1	0·2
Imitation lard	0·3	—
Preserved milk	0·1	—
Oleo oil	0·3	—
Fruit, raw and preserved (including raisins)	12·8	1·7
Sugar	15·7	0·9
Total	116·4	8·0

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In this long list of articles, amounting in value to 116,000,000*l.* out of the 200 millions worth of food we import, the share of the Colonies is no more than eight millions, or about 6½ per cent. only, while the articles in which the Colonies are only nominally represented or quite unrepresented, such as barley, fresh pork, beef (fresh and salted), maize and maize meal, and 'sugar,' account for many millions.

It is needless to say then that as regards the articles in the above list the Colonies have practically to begin their competition with foreign countries. How far such competition can go, and in what time foreign countries may be superseded, if from circumstances of climate and population they can be superseded at all, is surely a most speculative question. The problem will require much study even if we come to the conclusion, which I confess seems to me very doubtful on strategical grounds, that it is desirable to obtain our food from British Colonies and possessions exclusively, or even to reduce very largely the proportion we now obtain from foreign countries. Doubts as to the practicability of the proposals may well affect our judgment of their desirability. It is no part of wisdom to cry for the moon.

The suggestion has been made to me in conversation, and it is an extremely natural suggestion, that if a small preference will not augment the agricultural production of the Colonies, a larger preference may; and that the question should be discussed with reference to large as well as small preferences. The answer is that large and small preferences are not *in pari materia.* We may deviate from sound principle a little at a certain cost for the sake of avoiding a worse evil, as when a small duty is imposed on imports of corn, or on the export of coal, in order to diminish an excessive income tax. But serious deviations, involving great diversions of trade from its natural channels, are on a different footing. It cannot be said, therefore, that if small preferences will not effect the objects of their promoters, all that has to be done is to make the preferences larger. Even this might not answer, as we have seen, looking to the number and importance of different articles of agricultural production which the Colonies hardly export to us at all. But admitting that it is mainly a question of how much, just see how we should stand as regards the cost of the operation. In July last my calculation was that with a duty of 5*s.* per quarter on wheat the cost to consumers in this country would be 8,300,000*l.*, of which 5,000,000*l.* would go to the Government, about 2,000,000*l.* to the home producer, and 1,200,000*l.* to the colonial grower—a great disturbance, it was remarked, for so small a result to our colonial friends. Similar duties on all our imports, it was also calculated, would place the consumers in this country under a burden of 21,000,000*l.* for imports alone (and another 21,000,000*l.*, the increased price which would go

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to the home producer), about 4,000,000*l.* in all being received by the Colonies, and 17,000,000*l.* by the Government. Under the duties as now actually proposed, smaller as they are, my calculation is that the burden on the consumers of the United Kingdom would still be about 15,000,000*l.*, of which about 1,400,000*l.* will go to the Colonies, 5,600,000*l.* to the Government, and 8,000,000*l.* to the home producer—again a great disturbance for very little advantage to the Colonies. But with higher preferences the burden would easily become fifty or a hundred millions, of which only a fraction would go to the Colonies. By such a burden the home consumer would be seriously affected, granting all that can be said as to the amount paid to the Government being a substitute for other taxation, and as to the amount by which the home producer benefits remaining within the country and tending to strengthen home industry. The initial disadvantage is obviously too great to be corrected satisfactorily in any such indirect manner.

It will be urged, indeed, that the initial disadvantage will not be so great as appears; that neither the duty on foreign imports will fall altogether on the home consumer as supposed, nor will the price of produce exempt from the duty rise by the full amount of the differential charge imposed on a portion of the supply. To any such suggestions, however, the obvious reply is that academic discussions of exceptions to the ordinary incidence of taxation are very well in their proper place; but when it comes to business, business men always take for granted that charges on goods on their way to the consumer fall on the consumer, and that if the cost of bringing to market any material portion of the total supply necessary to meet the total demand is increased, the whole supply is raised in price by this cost. This is the 'cost of production,' which regulates the price of the whole supply. For business purposes it is unnecessary to consider anything but this ordinary and usual effect of charges on commodities and additions to the cost of production of a necessary part of the supply.

Higher preferences then are not to be discussed as a matter of course if small preferences fail. The introduction of such a factor alters the entire problem. For very good reasons we may be sure the proposal is confined to that of small preferences only. It is at least possible to argue for them as involving no great loss to the community, though the loss is greater than some of their advocates suppose. But while they are less objectionable on that score than higher preferences would be, they have the fatal defect of being wholly ineffectual. Between the Scylla and Charybdis of ineffectual preferences on the one hand, and preferences that might perhaps be effectual but are too costly on the other, the shipwreck of the proposals seems assured.

It may be asked why so many of our colonial friends are in

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favour of such preferences, if these and like criticisms and objections are well founded. May I suggest in reply, with all hesitation, that colonial opinion in such a matter is perhaps biassed, unconsciously no doubt, but biassed all the same. It is the Colonies which are to receive the bonus, and it is always agreeable to receive money, much or little, without any return, as the proposed bonus will be received on the volume of existing production. The money will be received, moreover, by a comparatively small class, chiefly, as regards wheat, the farmers in the Far West of Canada, while behind this class, if I may hazard a guess, there may be found a number of land speculators, whose speculation will be favoured by a windfall from the English Government, even though small, enhancing the price of land taken up by immigrants. What the English Government has to beware of in all such proposals is undoubtedly the little finger of the speculator and promoter, who sees his way to realising a capital profit out of the trifling differences, as they may appear, which are alone in view.

The conclusion is that we should inquire most carefully in detail into these suggested measures of protection, besides examining them in principle and theory. The detail helps in fact to let us see what the proposals really are, and may often render theoretical examination unnecessary. I desire to add one word in conclusion on a broader aspect of this whole protectionist discussion. If it is the right view that the proposals themselves are puerile, like this preference to agricultural production, what a calamity it is that the whole country should be in a tumult for so little! We seem to have quite lost sight of the urgent business of an agreement with our Colonies respecting commercial negotiations with foreign countries, and respecting common action when difficulties arise, which was the excuse for beginning the agitation, and which indeed most urgently requires settlement for business reasons alone. While explaining in July last some reasons for the conclusion that, in order to unite the Empire for international commercial affairs, it might be expedient for the country to make some concessions to colonial prejudices, if they would not associate with us in a free-trade policy, I expressed the fear that the subject would not fare well before the constituencies, themselves ignorant and passionate, and receiving information from biassed and ignorant instructors. This apprehension has been only too well realised. Ministers and their missionaries, instead of trying to effect some arrangement with the minimum of resistance, have thought proper as a preliminary to raise again the whole question between free trade and protection, and have thereby aroused the opposition of large numbers of Imperialists, who are forced to make a choice between their attachment to free-trade policy, and an Imperial policy of a sort which no friend

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of liberty can desire. The leaders of the political Opposition, on the other side, seem rather to welcome the rallying cry which has been offered them, and say as little as Ministers themselves about the serious and urgent problems which face the country, and which can hardly be postponed until this fight between two systems of commercial policy is settled. Evil must come of it all unless we have more good luck than we deserve.

ROBERT GIFFEN.

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THE LARGER BASIS OF COLONIAL PREFERENCE

In the midst of much that is difficult respecting the fiscal controversy now raging in this country there is probably a prediction that may be made with some confidence. Whatever the hasty confusion of facts and figures for the moment, whatever the passing plausibility of argument on either side, the case for the reversal of the trade policy which this country has followed for the past sixty years can only be carried on one condition. It must be won on its permanent and intrinsic merits. If so much be admitted, there is a test of those merits which may be held to surpass most others in severity. If the case for change be made out, we must be able to conceive it as involving in the not remote future a national policy having the general assent not of one but of both political parties in the State. Looking for a moment beyond the existing party conflict in Great Britain, how are we able in such a light to regard the proposals that have been made? If we can imagine the position in British politics reversed, and can conceive a statesman of unusual insight and of commanding personality engaged on the other side in just such a task as Mr. Chamberlain has undertaken on his, what is the nature of the case he would have to present? What are the arguments by which he would have to justify before the tradition of English Liberalism the proposal to depart from the attitude in fiscal relations which Great Britain has for the last two generations maintained towards the world and towards her own Colonies?

It is now some ten years since a book was published in England which at the time attracted a great deal of attention. It was the product of a mind steeped and nurtured in the ideas which have been associated with the free-trade epoch through which we have passed in the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century in England. The book in question, *National Life and Character*, by the late Charles Pearson, was the last work of a man of education and culture, who had held the lectureship of Modern History at Trinity College, Cambridge; who had become a student of the

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world, visiting the countries of Europe, the United States, and the British colonies, and bringing at last a varied career practically to a close as Minister of Education in the colony of Victoria. The principal conclusion of the book, as it appeared to many minds, was absurd to a degree. Urged with the intensest conviction, it was to the effect that the civilisation of the advanced peoples was in the not remote future bound to go down before the increasingly effective industrial competition of the lower races of the world. It was not this fact alone, however, which principally attracted notice. What riveted attention on the book was the logical precision of argument, reinforced by a very wide experience of the world, by which this conclusion was deduced from the accepted ascendency in the world of the doctrines associated with the free-trade period in England; and above all the stoical pessimism with which the author accepted what appeared to him as the inevitable assumptions following from his own belief. There must be many in England who remember the kind of effect produced by the reading of this remarkable book. The present writer will not forget that effect as he saw it in print, in a review of the work which appeared at the time in one of the leading organs of Liberal opinion in this country. For one brief moment, as it were, the author of *National Life and Character* had taken the reviewer up into a high mountain and shown him all the kingdoms of the world. And in that moment in which he had resisted the temptation of Mr. Pearson's desolate creed there had apparently come to him a vision in which a life-long conviction had withered. What the reviewer saw was that the conception of that international scramble in commerce and industry, which we have hitherto called free trade, was fated to become an impossible creed; that it had never been a scientific creed; and that all the dogmas and doctrines which have accreted round it in England were destined to slow but certain dispersion by the inevitable logic of events in the world.

Not more than ten years have passed since that time, and we have at the present moment a statesman of the first rank and of commanding personality proposing in England a revolution in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom which would have been almost inconceivable a few years ago. Nay, further, we have the Prime Minister of England and one of the two great parties in the State already committed to the first step by which the vision of the Liberal reviewer begins to realise itself in national policy. For the moment the air is full, as well it may be, of the sound of the readjusting strife of parties in Great Britain. But a quarter of a century hence who will be troubled to remember these transient phases of the hour? Who will even think it worth while to recall to which side in parties Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Balfour belonged? As in the case of other statesmen who have deeply influenced British policy, there will be only one standard by which their conceptions can be measured—the

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place which they will occupy in the development of the national life of Great Britain. Let us see if it is possible to anticipate how the proposals that have been made will stand to be judged in this light.

The existing generation in England has been so familiarised with the name of free trade that there are probably few persons who have taken the trouble to imagine exactly what is involved in the present circumstances of the world in that policy of international exchange which goes by the name of free trade. Let us, instead of occupying ourselves with outside aspects of the subject, endeavour to get to the heart of it at once. What is free trade? Down to the present day the literature of this movement in England has perhaps produced no terms either in economics or in controversy which give a better idea of the essential principles of the policy which has gone by the name of free trade in England than a few terse expressions of Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*, which may be set out substantially in his own words as follows:

(1) The fundamental principle upon which civilised society exists is the unrestricted working of the principle: give me what I want and you shall have what you want. (2) The merchant is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. (3) It is not the advantage of society, but his own advantage, which the merchant has in view. But the individual by following his own advantage is necessarily led to the best employment of his capital in the interest of society.

These three maxims may be said to express all the essential meaning and spirit of that policy which has gone by the name of free trade in England during the nineteenth century. It is the spirit of these maxims which is reproduced at the present moment in economic criticisms which oppose Mr. Chamberlain's proposals on the grounds that to give preferential treatment to colonial products in British markets is necessarily wrong, because it rests on the idea that the trade with the members of one political body is better than trade with members of another.

Now if we regard the fundamentals of free trade as here clearly and simply set out, it is obvious that there is a question involved to which as a people who have hitherto played a leading part in the world we must sooner or later be prepared to give an answer. Do we really in our heart of hearts imagine that in the resulting free scramble of the merchants and financiers of every race and country, each following his own advantage in quest of gain, it is possible for us to remain ultimately indifferent as to what types of civilisation or races of men or standards of labour or of living shall in the result prevail? With the development of the world the international rivalry is getting down to the ultimate principles which govern it. As a living people we must stand and consider our answer. In anticipating what that answer is likely to be, it seems to me, and

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for reasons to be referred to presently, difficult to avoid the conclusion that the vision of the Liberal reviewer of ten years ago is likely to be verified. The theory of the international free scramble which we have called free trade is destined to become an impossible creed, and impossible for the greatest of all reasons—namely, that it is incompatible with the fundamental principles of Liberalism.

In attempting to give reasons for this view it will greatly simplify consideration of the problems involved in international trade if we begin at the beginning and regard, at first, not international relations, but the situation at home. If it be asked what is the principal problem of home trade around which the stress and movement of politics have centred in England for the last three-quarters of a century, there can be little doubt as to what the reply must be. It has consisted in the effort of labour to improve its position, and to raise its standards of life in Great Britain. A recent important instance of a step in this effort—a step which the economists of fifty years ago would have regarded as an absurd denial of Adam Smith's principles—will be fresh in general recollection. It has consisted in securing official recognition of the standard of the living wage in agreements between labour and public authorities of this country. In the midst of much that is confusing in this development at home, there may be some nowadays who do not yet grasp its general principle. I do not know of anywhere in which this is more clearly set out, and in a manner which enables us to understand its bearing on international trade, than in the following terse example by an American writer, Professor H. C. Adams:

> Suppose [says Professor Adams] ten manufacturers competing with each other to supply the market with cottons. Assume that nine of them, recognising the rights of childhood, would gladly exclude from their employ all but adult labour. But the tenth man has no moral sense. His business is conducted solely with a view to large sales and a broad market. As child labour is actually cheaper than adult labour, he gives it a decided preference [following his own advantage, according to Adam Smith]. What is the result? Since his goods come into competition with the goods of the other manufacturers, and since we who buy goods only ask respecting quality and price, the nine men, whose moral instincts we commend, will be obliged, if they would maintain themselves in business, to adopt the methods of the tenth man, whose character we condemn. Thus the business is brought down to the level of the worst man who can sustain himself in it.

It may be observed, after a moment's consideration of this incisive example, in what direction it carries us. It may be seen, for instance, that the greater part of all the progress in the internal relations between industry and the state in this country during the past three-quarters of a century, has consisted in the gradual reversal of the principles of the free scramble as laid down by economists who have followed Adam Smith. We have, in fact, in the regulation of home industry come gradually to refuse assent to Adam Smith's assumption that the individual following his own advantage is necessarily best

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serving the interests of society. Child Labour Acts, Factory Acts, Adult Labour Acts, Right of Combination Acts, Hours of Labour Acts, Living Wage Regulations, and a multitude of other measures, are all the steps by which, in home industry, society has slowly, but with increasing emphasis, asserted that it thinks entirely otherwise. To put it briefly, the sum of the matter is that while we have respectfully listened to the economist when he has explained to us the laws by which a state of competition is governed, when he has gone beyond that province, and told us that it was good for us that we should not interfere to prevent that competition from reaching its natural level by protecting the standards of the higher competitors, we have, with growing conviction, turned our backs on him. Not, indeed, as is sometimes wrongly said, because there is no science of political economy, but because it is coming to be seen that the whole matter is governed by other and larger considerations. The employment of labour beneath certain standards may lead to the greatest production of wealth at the present moment, but it is not good for society in the end that such a result should be permitted. The future has to be taken into consideration.

The record of legislation for the last half-century in Great Britain has, therefore, been the record of a development, out of which the less organic view of the old 'orthodox' economists has, on the whole, emerged discredited. It has been a development in which society has, by force of circumstances, come definitely to abandon the fundamentals of Adam Smith's theory of the individual serving society best by following his own interest in a free exchange, necessarily conducted at the level of the lowest competitor who can sustain himself in it.

As soon as we come to apply the meaning of this example to international trade, its bearing is evident. Driven from point to point by force of events, we may be seen to have practically abandoned in Great Britain the theory of the free scramble as it prevailed in home industry. There are many, however, who still continue to believe what seems to me—and despite honoured names on the other side—impossible of belief, namely, that the same theory is destined to survive with undiminished authority, and in all its crude simplicity, in trade in its international relations.

Now if one follows the controversy at present raging in England as to the merits of what is called protection on one side and free trade on the other, the first thing which has to be noticed is that it is the theory which we had formerly in view in home trade that we have now in view in international trade. In the conception of free international trade that has hitherto prevailed in England, we have, that is to say, merely a reproduction on another level of all the theories of the old free scramble that have been gradually losing ground in home industry. We have, for instance, the same theory

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of the individual in pursuit of gain being the best judge of his own interests; we have the same assumption that he should be allowed to pursue them now amongst the peoples of the world entirely unrestricted; we have the same assurance that in so pursuing them the individual is best serving the interests of society. And, lastly, we have once more the same confident advice of the economist that we should not think of interfering in any way to protect the standards of the higher competitors against those of the lower.

As one follows the development of this theory of free trade as it has been developed in Great Britain from Adam Smith down through economic text-books into the present controversy, we may observe how that it is in its essence a theory of the freest possible exchange amongst all the peoples of the world without concern of ultimate consequences. As in the old attitude towards the employment of child labour at home, the trader is assumed to be concerned only with his profits. He is, therefore, to have nothing to do with race, or civilisation, or nationality. As he must on no account think that trade with members of one political community is in any way to be preferred to trade with members of another, he must consequently have no concern with the conditions of production, or with the standards of labour or of living which are maintained amongst the people with whom he deals. What is to be aimed at is the completest possible fluidity of capital and labour all the world over. The theory of what is called free trade is, in effect, the theory of maximum efficiency in the production of wealth in the present time and irrespective of all other considerations. And in the prevailing theory, therefore, however the text-books may hide it, there is everywhere the necessary underlying assumption that we have no concern with the question as to what standards eventually prevail in the world, as to what peoples or nationalities are increased or diminished by the exchanges of trade, or as to whether the world in result is to be for the most part peopled by Greeks, Germans, British, Turks, Chinese, or any other race or civilisation. A merchant, in Adam Smith's phrase, is the citizen of no country, and a nation is merely a 'neighbourhood' within which economic products circulate freely.[1] The business of capital is in Dr. Pierson's ideal to go in search of cheap labour, as it is the business of cheap labour to go in search of capital.[2] The end of activities according to Mill is the maximum production of capital.[3] And to this end, as Professor Bastable puts it with great clearness, 'the weight of evidence is altogether in favour of the Free-trader's contention that productive power attains its greatest efficiency when it is directed by the normal

[1] *Wealth of Nations*, I. vii. and x.

[2] *Principles of Economics*, translated by A. A. Wotzel, vi. 8.

[3] *Principles of Political Economy*, iii. xvii.

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economic motive of self-interest.'[4] So we have the free-trade theory as it has prevailed in Great Britain in the past.

When we look this conception fairly in the face, it seems impossible to ignore its inherent weakness. The larger scale and greater complexity of the operations of international trade may for a time prevent us from recognising the ruling principles of the situation; and there have been special reasons which have tended to prevent a people like ourselves, who in the past have had three-quarters of a century start over any really effective competition from other nations, from recognising them. But, sooner or later, and just as in Professor Adams' example, the inevitable result awaits us. In international trade as in home trade the process must be ultimately regulated by the conditions which rule it. The 'free' process, if we allow it to go on, must in the end be conducted not at the level of the standards of the higher competitors, but at the level of the standards of the lowest competitors who can maintain themselves in it.

As we watch, therefore, this conception of international trade being slowly brought into contact with the stern facts of the world, we have all the elements of a most interesting development. The features of it cover a wide field, and have come into view slowly. They range now from the universal movement of neighbouring nations towards protection on the one hand, to the uprising of distant democracies against the competition of Chinese labour on the other; from the insidious growth in international production of the tendencies involved in the practice of 'dumping,' to the equally insidious growth in international finance of all the tendencies now associated with the growth of the modern 'combine.' The features of the development are all closely related to each other. We have in them nothing more than the incidents of the free scramble on the international plane, and these incidents have now begun to be accompanied by that conflict which was to be expected as they have come into contact with the more organic tendencies of society destined ultimately to control them.

It may be noticed that the first resolute opposition which this theory of free trade has encountered in the world has come into being over the principle of nationality. Outside the United Kingdom the increasing tendency of the world for the past quarter of a century has been to oppose protective 'national' systems of trade to the system which has hitherto been known in England under the name of 'free' trade. This opposition was at first isolated and tentative, but it has gradually grown till it has now become the prevailing rule. Other nations for a time followed the example of Great Britain and adopted the principle of free exchange. But the end has always been the same. In the result, to quote the Prime Minister's striking summary:

[4] *Theory of International Trade*, ix.

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None have consistently adhered to it. Irrespective of race, of polity, and of material circumstances, every other fiscally independent community whose civilisation is of the Western type has deliberately embraced in theory, if not in practice, the protectionist system. Young countries and old countries, rich countries and poor countries, large countries and small countries, free countries and absolutist countries, all have been moved by the same arguments to adopt the same economic ideal.[5]

In attempting to examine the meaning of this tendency we must be careful to be on our guard. Any hypothesis which requires for its support the assumption, which I am afraid underlies many of the pamphlets of the Cobden Club, that we are the only wise people of the world and that the conduct of all the others who so unanimously differ from us is to be accounted for by the fact that they must be partly insane, or at all events more stupid than ourselves, is *prima facie* open to grave suspicion. Let us rather endeavour to see the matter from the other side. Why have modern nations become protectionist? What, in the first place, is a nation?

The simplest of all definitions of a nation is the most complete. It is at the same time the one that best brings out most clearly the essential crudity of the conception which has hitherto prevailed in England under the name of free trade. A nation may be described as the best example we have in the present imperfect state of the world of society in its organic aspect. Society is organic when it is ruled by principles which prevent the sacrifice of the future to the present, and all social progress has consisted in the larger expression of this fact in history. A nation in the economist's theory of free exchange may be no more than a 'neighbourhood' in which products circulate freely, and its imaginary inhabitants may, like Mill, see no reason in theory why capital and labour in the future should not be transferred from England to China, and from China to England, as readily as from one part of England to another. They may, therefore, be prepared in theory to see any race, or civilisation, or standards prevail, instead of their own, so long as the maximum production of wealth in the present is secured. But in the world of real life a nation is something entirely different. All that a living nation has will it give for that entity of standards and principles which constitutes its distinctive life. Its life in the past has been bound up with the fact that its history has been nearly always a history of constant economic sacrifice on the largest scale in the present to secure its principles and its place in the future. The higher the civilisation of a nation, the more organic, as a rule, are its principles, and the more nearly do its standards represent all the best that the race has achieved. It is in defence of these standards that a nation in Maine's fine phrase cries out, above all things, for life—for life beyond any theory of the

[5] *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*, by Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, ii.

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balancing of economic exchanges in the present—'for life from generation to generation, life prolonged far beyond that of children's children, life like that of the everlasting hills.'[6]

Now to get to the heart of the modern struggle between the principles of nationality on one side and the principles of unregulated competition in international trade which we call free trade on the other, it is necessary to understand something of an important principle in economics known as the law of increasing returns. The principle of increasing returns, put simply, is little more than the expression in economic terms of the increasing advantage of organisation in industry. It is the law according to which, other things being equal, the bigger the manufacture or industry, the more effectively it can be run, the more it lends itself to organisation and improvement, and the cheaper it can be worked.

When the minds of Cobden and those who thought with him three-quarters of a century ago looked out on the world and thought they saw all other nations following the lead of England in free trade within five years, they recognised perfectly clearly the advantage they expected. The rest of the world was to furnish the agricultural exchange against England's manufactures, and in manufactures England's position under the principle of increasing returns appeared to them to be firmly entrenched. As Mill put it with great clearness, using it as an argument at the time in support of Cobden's idea of free trade, 'A country which produces for a larger market than its own, can introduce a more extended division of labour, can make greater use of machinery, and is more likely to make inventions and improvements in the processes of production.'[7]

The exponents of this conception saw one side of the question clearly enough. The difficulty has been that they saw that side only. Let us endeavour to do what the economist does not always find it easy to do in England. Let us try to place ourselves for a moment in the position of the others. If we are able to do so, I think we shall see in operation a train of causes in the world now rolling up the whole of the free-trade position developed by Cobden as effectively as a leaf is enfolded in the closing hand.

When the other nations looked round and saw Great Britain settling down to the position which Cobden had assumed for her, the effects which followed were the most natural in the world. When it is once recognised that the ultimate exchanges of the world are between agriculture and manufactures, we are not far from being able to perceive a fundamental fact of the existing situation in international production. This is that modern competing nations have really little advantage over each other save such as they obtain in two main respects. First of all, in respect of such natural advantage as they

[6] *Popular Government*, p. 61. [7] *Principles of Political Economy*, iii. xvii.

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have in their agricultural position, and then from such artificial advantage as they can obtain, under the principle of increasing returns, through the more effective organisation of industrial production. It was inevitable, therefore, that other countries should in time discover the weakness of the position into which Cobden had carried England. The questions which they were bound to put to themselves were, in fact, the merest commonplaces of the position. Have we not, too, they asked themselves in effect, mineral and other resources only waiting to be developed? Have we not large populations capable of being trained in industry? Above all, have we not an altogether preponderating advantage in the agricultural side of the exchange? Whose markets, therefore, are those upon which English Free-traders are counting to enable Great Britain to build up her position—those markets which are to enable her to produce for a larger demand than her own, to introduce more extended division of labour, and to make those inventions and improvements in organisation upon which ascendency in industry depends? Are they not our markets? Why should we not, therefore, develop our own position? Why should we not, in order to do so, make some sacrifice in the present for the sake of the future by gradually shutting out Great Britain from our markets, and on so large a base build up our own industries by exchanging our agricultural products against our own manufactures?

Slowly, but with increasing decision, the answer to these questions has come. It forms, in effect, the economic history of the world for the last quarter of a century. What has happened is that other countries have taken advantage of their strong position on one side of the exchanges of the world. Slowly the tariff walls have arisen along the frontiers of nearly every civilised State. Within them, each country has endeavoured to create its own manufactures, and then to bring the products into exchange against its products of agriculture, and so to displace England from that commanding position upon which Mill was counting. The race in this first stage has been, above all things, a race for a place in the rivalry of the future, and the organic principle round which the whole reconstruction has proceeded has been the principle of nationality, by which it has been possible for the present to be in some measure subordinated to the future. Driven by the deep, dumb instinct of reason which carries nations in these matters far beyond the teaching of economic text-books, some of them have even dimly realised the bearing of List's generalisation that what was true of nations would eventually be true of the world, and that, in the ultimate rivalry of nations, the exchanges which would weight the process would be those between the manufacturing power of the temperate regions and the agricultural resources of the tropics. The partition of Africa by the European Powers, the parcelling of Asia into spheres of influence by the

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Western nations, the attempt of the United States to form a pan-American union embracing both the temperate and tropical regions of the two American continents, have all been moves in obedience to this driving instinct. The guiding principle throughout has been the economic reorganisation of the world round the principle of nationality. There has been no important exception to the rule. To use again Mr. Balfour's illustration. Excepting Great Britain, every fiscally independent community whose civilisation is of the Western type has deliberately followed the same aim. 'Young countries and old countries, rich countries and poor countries, large countries and small countries, free countries and absolutist countries, all have been moved by the same arguments to adopt the same economic ideal.'

Now there is a fact which it is important to keep in mind during the present controversy. It must always be remembered that it is as a manufacturing nation that Great Britain has attained to the prominent place which she has hitherto occupied in the world. It has been as the first manufacturing nation that she has grown rich during the past decades, equipping all other nations in the development that has just been described, selling them her machinery, teaching them her arts and processes, and generally financing their development at every stage of their resulting expansion. It has been as a manufacturing nation that she has in this way acquired the large capital sums now invested in British shipping, in the carrying trade of other countries, and in all kinds of undertakings abroad by the earnings of which we are enabled to pay the enormous balance which makes up the present excess of imports over exports in this country. The base, in short, from which Great Britain has drawn her strength in the past has been her manufactures. It is the base from which alone she can hope to hold her position in the future.

When we come to look at the position of Great Britain in the face of the almost universal movement which has just been described, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding all the statistics and arguments which can be produced, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that her position as a manufacturing nation is under existing conditions becoming increasingly insecure. However much we may stand to gain for a time in the international rivalry through the vast sums of capital accumulated in the past, it would appear that the tendency inherent in the train of events which other nations have been organising cannot be averted. If Great Britain finally elects to stand on her small economic base in these islands she must be steadily driven in one direction; she will be compelled to fall back more and more on her own exchanges. As the first stage of the free scramble which we have called free trade draws to a close, we may foresee the result. *There will be no open markets*

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in the world save such as every nation is able to keep open by the principle of its own nationality. And in the international competition outside these markets the preponderating advantage will, in the end, lie not with the nation standing for the principle of free international exchanges, but with the nations with the largest economic base nationally organised on the basis of internal free trade.

Before turning to see how the general movement of the world towards free trade has not really been along the lines of an unregulated international exchange, it may be desirable to observe first how significant are the facts as bearing on the foregoing argument which are already emerging out of the present controversy. Arranged in periods of five years the yearly averages of the manufactured exports of the United Kingdom for the last twenty years are as follows. For the period ending 1885, 206,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1890, 207,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1895, 195,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1900, 209,000,000*l.* The meaning of these figures would undoubtedly appear to be, in the first place, that Great Britain as a manufacturing nation has already ceased to grow with the development of the world, and that even the level of past growth is maintained with some difficulty.

When, however, the position of Great Britain is viewed in relation to that of other countries, the extent to which the causes described in the previous pages are succeeding in undermining her manufacturing position is seen far more clearly. The following is a significant table compiled from figures in the recent Board of Trade Blue-book:—

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS, 1881–1900

—	For 5 years 1881–5	For 5 years 1886–90	For 5 years 1891–5	For 5 years 1895–1900	Increase or decrease per cent. on whole period
	£ millions	£ millions	£ millions	£ millions	
United Kingdom: Exports of manufactures to principal protective foreign countries . .	414	402	373	375	−10
Germany: Exports of manufactures to all countries . .	470	515	502	634	+38
France: Exports of manufactures to all countries . .	357	364	364	411	+15
United States: Exports of manufactures to all countries . .	139	144	177	327	+135

The meaning of these figures appears to be unmistakable. The first fact which they bring out is that the policy of protectionist

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countries of gradually excluding Great Britain from their markets is proving quite successful in its aim. Notwithstanding the increase in the population of the protective countries of the world, there has been a fall of no less than 10 per cent. in the export of British manufactures to those countries during the two decades ending 1900. This falling-off appears moreover to be progressive in character, and the average for two later years, 1901 and 1902, is lower than the yearly average of any quinquennial period till we go back before 1866. The second fact which is brought out is even more significant. It is that while the policy which we have called free trade has apparently entirely failed to obtain for Great Britain during the past twenty years any appreciable share of the increase in the trade of the world, protectionist countries have nevertheless obtained a full and an increasing share of it. Of the three typical countries that have been taken, Germany obtains an increase of no less than 38 per cent, the United States an increase of 135 per cent., and even France with her stagnant population has an increase of 15 per cent. on the figures of twenty years ago. The more these figures are studied, the less will it appear possible to put aside the meaning which they seem to convey. It would appear therefore that, if Great Britain with her small economic base elects to stand on the principle of free exchange with a world of growing protection, her position as a manufacturing nation must pass from her. For the edge of Mill's principle of increasing returns (*i.e.* of the effectiveness of the large market in the competition of industry) must in time be turned against herself. In other words:—*With her existing policy Great Britain must in the end fail, not only in hostile markets but in friendly markets, to compete successfully with the industries of protective countries organised on an immensely larger national basis.*

Passing briefly from this general view to particular cases, the positions which have been brought into sight in the present controversy appear no less significant. One of the industries of Great Britain of which the recent history has been much discussed has been the tin-plate industry. It may be fairly taken as an example of others, as the position is often said by its defenders to favour the free-trade theory. The general facts are not disputed. Ten or twelve years ago Great Britain did a large export trade in tin-plates for the United States. It was considered, however, in the latter country that there was no reason why the tin-plates used in the United States should not be made there, although none had previously been manufactured. A high duty was accordingly imposed on English plates and a native industry was soon brought into existence. In 1890 the total British export of tin-plates to the United States was valued at 4,786,000*l.*, but in 1902, as a result of the protective duties imposed, the British export of tin-plates to the United States had fallen to 887,000*l.*

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In the meantime the British export of tinplates to all countries having been 6,362,000*l.* in 1890 fell to 2,744,000*l.* in 1898 and was 4,333,000*l.* in 1902. The free-trade argument is that this is an instance of the weakness of protection as against free trade. For by the high protective duties on tinplates the United States are said to have injured many of their home trades, and, in particular, to have injured themselves in competition with other countries by the increased cost of the goods packed in the tin cases for export. The partial recovery of British manufacture from countries competing with the United States in the products packed in tin cases is pointed to in support of this. When the facts are examined, however, it will be seen that they will not fairly bear the construction which is put upon them. In the first place, the fact remains that Great Britain has undoubtedly lost her best customer. Her export trade in tinplates with the United States has been to all appearance permanently extinguished. In the second place it has to be noted that the principal markets in which Great Britain has partially recouped the loss have been only those in which the chain of protection has not yet been completed. The tendency of other countries must be in due time to follow the lead of the United States. The increased British export to the Central and South American States has been specially mentioned in the controversy. But these are just the countries which the United States are tending to bring within the ring of the Pan-American protective union. The third fact which stands out is that, while in the case of so small and so recently established an industry it is yet too early to draw any conclusions from figures, there remains no natural reason why under protection the United States will not in the end, with their larger base, and in virtue of the principle of increasing returns, be able to produce tinplates not only as cheap as, but cheaper than, Great Britain with her existing policy. In this, as in most other instances, the whole of the free-trade case may be freely admitted. But the inherent tendency of the process as a whole remains and cannot be ignored. It is as if a crowd of observers stood on the banks of the Thames proving with figures and diagrams that the river flows north, west and south. So no doubt it does. But when one looks on the map one sees that on the whole it falls by gravity due east, and that all these facts and observations cannot alter the main fact.

Much the same remark will apply to many phases of the argument which has centred round the practice known as 'dumping'; that is to say, the selling of the manufactures of other countries in British markets at prices which bear no true relation to the cost of production. Whatever may be said as to the temporary benefits to certain trades of products sold below the cost of production, it is difficult to see how in any reasonably long view the practice can be good for British industry as a whole. When it is once realised that

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it is principally under the law of increasing returns and, therefore, through the superior efficiency of the large industry well organised, that modern industrial nations will have an ultimate advantage over each other, the effectiveness in international competition of the practice of dumping products in an open and unorganised market will be seen with increasing clearness. The practice, if existing conditions are allowed to continue, may be expected to become more scientific, and there are few British industries which, with open markets and unorganised production, are calculated to stand a course of it scientifically directed over a considerable period. It is interesting to note here how the phenomena of the free scramble in home production are reproducing themselves in international production. Dumping of goods below the cost of production simply represents in the international competition of capital what the 'blackleg' represents in the home competition of labour. It represents, that is to say, production which has not conformed to the standard of the living wage. And it is important to notice how just the same arguments which were formerly used to support the one are now used to support the other. Another feature closely associated with the practice is the induced tendency to the migration of British capital and industry within the protected frontiers of other countries and the employment of foreign labour under lower economic conditions, tending in time to complete the vicious circle by return competition with the open market at home.

One of the most significant of all the changes that have taken place since the present trade policy of Great Britain was instituted is often overlooked in this controversy—namely, that we are prevented from any longer holding to a belief in free exchange on its merits as a universal principle. In the days when the early Free-traders contemplated England remaining permanently the workshop of the world, it was not absolutely impossible to hold that the standards which were being established in England by the efforts of labour and by legislative enactment might be upheld in a world of exchanges in which England was expected to supply the industrial side, and the rest of the nations the agricultural side. But we can no longer believe this. With the development of industrialism in other countries one of the results of the conversion now of the rest of the world to free exchange would be to immediately bring the products of British labour into freer and more direct competition with the products of labour employed elsewhere under lower standards. The free scramble in such case, as in all other cases, must be regulated by the principles which govern it. It must fall, that is to say, to the level of the lowest competitors who can maintain themselves in it. We have now, in short, the curious result of the Cobden Club advocating on universal principles a system, a first incidental effect of the universal adoption of which would be to ruin us as a manufacturing

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people. We should no doubt, in virtue of the earnings abroad of accumulations of capital in the past, still continue to have a considerable trade—a trade in which the excess of imports over exports would be even larger in proportion than it is now. But it would be a case in which the fallacy which underlies one of the arguments in the present controversy, to the effect that such an excess of imports is necessarily paid for by the exchanges of productive British labour, would be easily seen. For it would be then an excess of imports derived almost exclusively, as it is now derived in part, from the earnings of British capital employing foreign labour abroad. The strength of our position would, in short, have passed from us. Our position as a manufacturing nation would have gone.

It is thus that the principles of the free scramble may be seen, slowly and by a kind of law of gravitation, falling to their natural level throughout the world. When we turn from the spectacle to observe that larger movement in history which, beneath outward forms, is carrying the world forward by an entirely different path to such free trade as is at present possible, the contrast is an impressive one.

It will be observed that the theory of movement towards free trade associated in England with the name of Cobden is that of a movement towards international unity founded on nothing more organic than that which is the least organic of all the motives which influence human nature—namely, the sense of commercial self-interest amongst peoples who have nothing else in common. It has contemplated, therefore, that kind of superficial unity through the exchanges of 'the Grand Commerce,' which necessarily ignores all the fundamental differences between nations and stages of civilisation; that kind of pseudo-unity, in short, in which the merchant becomes the citizen of no country and in which we must be prepared, so long as the maximum production of wealth is maintained by free exchange, to view with a certain indifference the increase or diminution of any people or nation by the processes of trade. And this, according to some, even to the extent of seeing our civilisation, as Charles Pearson was prepared to see it, elbowed into a secondary place by the economic rivalry conducted on more purely animal conditions of other races.

Is this really to any extent the character of the general movement of the world towards free trade? It seems to the present writer impossible to believe it; or even to hold that any of the features of it as here described have a permanent part to play in the future of civilisation.

When the English observer in the United States resides for a time in the midst of the largest experiment in free trade which has yet been tried in the world, he becomes, after a while, conscious of a peculiar experience, and more especially so if he has been brought

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up in the strictest school of Cobden free trade in England. On all sides of him he sees and hears in that country, and particularly in the Southern and Western States, evidence showing how absolutely irreconcilable on any theory of common interests in the present are the economic rivalries which still exist between the different parts of the American Union. They are rivalries so great that if they were not all subdued and subordinated by the ever-present sense of the meaning of a larger unity, would even now divide the United States into economic regions permanently at war with each other. What has been the character of this organic cause which has here subordinated present economic interests and given the country as a whole its enormously increased potentiality in the future under internal free trade? The answer is that it has been the organic principle which, for want of a better name, we call nationality. But what has to be specially noticed is that it is not any superficial feeling of common economic interests in the present which has in this case risen superior to nationality and given a nation freetrade. Quite the contrary. *It has been the organic principle of nationality which has subordinated competing economic interests in the present and made possible the greater future under free trade.*

As soon as the bearing of this important principle is clearly seen we may readily grasp the meaning of that central fact of economic development which the historical school, particularly in Germany, is now bringing clearly into view. This fact is that the secular movement of the world towards free trade is everywhere essentially a movement in which the economic life of the smaller unit is, through the operation of a motive superior to the economic motive, being gradually overlaid in ever-widening circles by the life of a larger area, within which internal free trade is then built up. The whole internal history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only in Germany but everywhere else, says Schmoller,[8] is summed up in this movement. In it we see at the beginning the exclusive economic life of the town, through the operation of a motive more organic than the economic motive, being broken down and overlaid by that of the territory; the independent economic life of the territory being then in turn similarly overlaid by that of the State; and finally the independent economic life of the State being slowly merged in that of a federation of States within which the principle of complete internal free trade has been won. The principle of the whole process is seen to be the exact opposite of that which we have hitherto called free trade. Just as in the example of the United States it is not any superficial theory of common economic interests in the present which is seen breaking down localism. It is the organic principle which Schmoller calls nationality which is seen subordinating antagonised economic interests in the present and

[8] *The Mercantile System.* Ed. by W. J. Ashley.

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making possible the greatly increased effectiveness in the future of the wider area, for which the principle of internal free trade has been secured. The most impressive feature of the whole process is the expansion which is to be observed taking place *pari passu* in the conception of nationality itself as it is seen rising from mere local tribalism at first to a sense of common inheritance in a great tradition of history; or, as we shall undoubtedly see it in the larger federations of the future, rising to a sense of common loyalty to the standards of living and of civilisation which have been won and established in the world by so much effort on the part of those who have gone before us.

Thus it is that we see how great is the conception of colonial preference; how naturally it has come to us in the fulness of time and from the Colonies themselves in the history of our expansion as an imperial people; and how orderly it falls into place as part of the secular movement of the world which is carrying us upwards in civilisation, and away from the principles of the free scramble. On another occasion it may be possible to deal with it in its further relations. But the first thing necessary is to endeavour to see the movement scientifically as a whole, and to see it in its due place as part of the natural order of progress in the world. The more seriously this endeavour is made, the more we are likely to realise that it is only another and larger phase of that more organic conception of social progress and social responsibility before which the theory of the free scramble has already begun to wither at home. And the more also an immovable conviction as to the eventual realisation of the ideal will tend to grow in the mind. There need be no tendency to ignore or to evade any of the difficulties in the way. The arguments from the fact that we are not as yet in sight of free trade within the Empire, from the difficulties of home taxation, from the possibilities of threats and retaliations from other countries, will have to be encountered and dealt with. They will, I think, be found to represent bogeys which we shall see, all in due course, undergoing peaceful disrobement. Successfully to challenge the tendencies now involved in the economic process we must have a base wide enough to enable us to become masters of the situation. There is only one such base possible. No other country, not even the United States, has before it the possibilities which are involved in the economic consolidation of the British Empire. It is the first step towards the organisation, under the influence of a motive higher than the economic motive, of the largest economic base in the world.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

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THE 'YELLOW PERIL' BOGEY

WHEN the German Emperor in the summer of 1900 descanted on the Yellow Peril, and posed for half an hour as the European Michael, he set an example which has proved infectious among observers of the situation in the Far East whose imagination is more easily excited by the spectres of their own creation than controlled by the sound knowledge and calm judgment that alone make any opinion of value. The Yellow Peril is again being raised by Russian, French, and even German writers and politicians, whose names are well known, in order to excite Continental opinion, first against Japan, and secondly, and perhaps more definitely, against England, the ally of that Great Power of the Orient. There is no more popular theme in the Continental press and periodicals to-day than the alleged approaching combination of the yellow races, welded and led on by Japan, the magician of the Far East, for the purpose of defying, humiliating, and in the end menacing Europe.

The prospect placed before the uninstructed reading public is a revival of the Hun and Mongol terrors, and the names of Attila and Genghis are set out in the largest type to create a feeling of apprehension. The reader is assured in the most positive manner that it is the doing of that enterprising nation of Japan. Nay, there is a still greater culprit, it is England, who stands behind her, and unfortunately a very large number of foreigners believe it, and add this one to the long list they have compiled of our enormities as a nation.[1]

Before examining the Yellow Peril in a matter-of-fact manner it will be as well to give one or two specimens of what is being written about it on the Continent. M. de Lanessan, an ex-French Colonial Minister who has studied colonial questions with some assiduity, has published a long article aiming at showing what China may become under Japanese teaching and leading. He is aware that some of the Chinese authorities have made use of Japanese instructors, not merely for military but also for pacific pursuits, and

[1] A typical instance of these opinions may be found in the description of England given by a Belgian Senator, M. Picard :—'Ce peuple est aussi enthousiaste et *brigand* comme nation, qu'il est honnête et loyal comme individu.'

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he assumes that results have been attained many years before they are possible. For instance, he asserts that 'the Viceroy of Yunnan has now under his orders an army of 50,000 men well trained by Japanese officers, and provided with modern weapons.' This statement is not based upon fact, and is a typical exaggeration among the collection of details put forward to make out a plausible-looking case. Yunnan is one of the poorest provinces of China. If the ten Japanese officers who went there in 1902 have succeeded in drilling a thousand men, they are as many as the Viceroy would care to pay for. In order to create a sense of peril, it is necessary to exaggerate, and M. de Lanessan gravely assures his readers that the education which the Chinese are receiving at the hands of the Japanese 'contains nothing favourable to the Western nations.'

In another part of his paper he extols the 'military qualities' of the Chinese, whose sole defect from this point of view is that they have 'no taste for the soldier's profession' and 'no sense of military honour.' But these defects are removable, and wherever they are given a chance Japanese instructors are already removing them. General Frey, a French officer who served in China, has just published a book on 'The Chinese Army, as it was, as it is, and as it will be,' in which he supports M. de Lanessan's conclusions, and enlarges upon the formidable proportions that the future Chinese army—the force of a nation of 500 millions—will attain. It is possible to agree on this point to a great extent with the author, and to hold the highest opinion of the military qualities of the Chinese race without foreseeing or apprehending the disturbance of the present political system or the danger to Europe that has been conjured up as the inevitable consequences of the revival and progress of the Far Eastern States in a fit of nightmare.

But if French writers are somewhat alarmist, it is in Russia that the general imagination is running riot on the subject of the Yellow Peril, arising from the anticipated and dreaded *accaparement* of China by Japan. The Russian papers are full of the subject, and as they only deal thus persistently at any rate with matters approved of by the official authorities, it may be concluded that design and calculation are at the root of the demonstration rather than mere imagination. The expression of these opinions is not confined to the journalists of St. Petersburg and Moscow. A Russian officer, Commandant Eletz, who served in China, has lately been lecturing on the subject in Brussels and elsewhere. Some of the gallant officer's remarks were a little surprising—as, for instance, his assertion that 'the arrogant and dictatorial attitude of some ambassadors, especially the English,' was responsible for the present situation, which he described as 'worse than before the Boxers.' He evidently forgot the presence in Pekin of M. Lessar, who outdistances all competitors in arrogance and imperiousness, and indeed admits of

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no rivalry in those respects. Commandant Eletz does not confine himself to one extraordinary statement. We, who think that English action in the Far East for the last ten years has been extremely supine, are assured that the attitude of the English ambassador is especially arrogant, but in the next passage a still more serious charge is laid to our account. Our 'territorial acquisitions by force' (*brutales*) have been, it appears, the real incentive to the Chinese and Japanese to combine and create a formidable Yellow confederacy. Yet it is Russia, and not England, who has absorbed Mongolia and Manchuria, and come down to the Yellow Sea. A little inaccuracy of this sort is not surprising on the part of persons who see in the employment of Chinese labourers in South African gold mines a contributory to the Yellow Peril.

An officer of the Russian Imperial Guard entrusted with a semi-official mission as a propagandist does not allow himself to talk nonsense such as this without a strong motive. What is it? Russia is brought face to face with Japan. She tried a game of bluff and browbeating, and Japan did not flinch. Russia recognises the seriousness of the position, and is alive to its hidden dangers. But against a small Power such as Japan is still considered to be, against an Asiatic Power which she always must be—and Asiatic on the Continent means inferior—she cannot call out to her too faithful ally, France, for aid. No matter what the reverses of war, neither pride nor self-interest will allow of such an appeal—pride, because Russia is, after all, a great empire on the map; self-interest because, if Russia cannot vanquish Japan, the question must be asked in Paris what possible use can Russia be against Germany? All these contingencies have been passed in review at St. Petersburg, and the necessity has been realised of creating the impression of a common danger. Hence the Yellow Peril has been evoked. Russia does not want aid against Japan, but against 'a peril which is common to all Europeans and their immense interests in China.' The situation is painted as worse than it was before the Boxer rising, and the prediction is made as a crushingly conclusive argument that 'Chinese soldiers will become first-class, and that Japan will make out of them the most formidable army in the world.'

The object of these statements is clear. It is to rally France and Germany to the side of Russia, to revive in 1904 the triple alliance of 1895 which humiliated Japan in the hour of victory, and to avert, for the benefit of Russia, the unpleasant admission that she has gone too far and must draw back under the pressure of diplomacy or by the force of arms. These are the definite aims and objects which have made Russians set their wits together to conjure up the Yellow Peril, and some of their sympathetic friends in Paris are backing them up. In Berlin, too, the idea has been well received. If there is hesitation there, it arises from the doubt as to what the

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three allies of 1895 could accomplish against the other three allies of 1904, for everyone ought to know that, though there may at this moment be no written bond, the co-operation of the United States with England and Japan in face of such a menace would not be delayed one hour after the other side had revealed their intentions.

As our Continental friends are for their own reasons devoting so much attention to the so-called Yellow Peril, it is not wholly waste of time to give it careful consideration from our point of view, and to reduce the problem to its correct proportions. Assuredly if there were a real Yellow Peril, we could not escape feeling its consequences just as much as any of the others. It would mean the disappearance of our trade throughout the greater part of Asia, the probable loss of Burma, a constant menace to India, and the closing of Central Asia more effectually than is done by the Russian tariff. The magnitude and tempting character of the prize that our possessions in Southern Asia would offer might even prove the safeguard of Europe, by diverting the overflow of those millions of armed warriors before it reached the Volga. It is with no intention of diminishing the possible consequences of the peril, whenever it may have attained corporate reality, that I proceed to expose the non-existence for us of the Peril itself within any considerable period of time. We have to deal with the questions and facts of the day and our most carefully arranged political combinations must be based on them, and can at the longest only have force and value for twenty years. There are some questions that must be left for posterity. It is perfectly clear why the Russians are conjuring up the Yellow Peril, but the very reasons which are actuating them in creating this racial Frankenstein should make us see in it a Yellow Protection.

The great and central fact upon which all these suppositions are based is the Chinese nation, 400 millions or more of active, vigorous, unchanging and self-perpetuating individuals, upon whom time, contact with European civilisation, and the ravages of famine, pestilence, and war seem to have produced none of the accustomed and anticipated impressions and modifications. There we are confronted with an ocean of humanity, impassive, unimpressionable, for which we have no plummet, that is tranquil to-day, but that may at any time become agitated by some national upheaval as sudden and terrible as the typhoons that sweep its seas. It is not surprising that the imagination should run beyond the limits imposed by custom and common sense at the contemplation of a society and a nation which in all essentials are what they were at least 2,500 years ago. But up to a recent period there had been no sense of grave peril as the result of this contemplation. The Chinese were distinctly free from the military spirit, and what was still more assuring, they had effected no real progress in the military art. The purchase of modern arms and artillery had not made them any more

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formidable as opponents than they were in the gingal and bow and arrow period. The study of the Chinese question suggested then a mystery rather than a danger.

But the progress accomplished by the sister nation of Japan raised apprehensions and changed the perspective. Here was one of the Yellow races emancipating itself from a past scarcely less hoary than that of China, and placing itself without an apparent effort on a level with the foremost nations of the world, and especially, and above all things, in military science and equipment. The overthrow of China in 1894–5 as a feat of arms did not count for much, but the scientific manner in which it was accomplished created a deep impression, and that impression was further deepened by the incidents of the international campaign in China in 1900–1. There the Japanese were associated with the picked troops of all the Powers, and there is no disputing the fact that they displayed the greatest courage and dash of them all. If they had a competitor for the first place, it was the Anglo-Chinese regiment led by English officers. This demonstration of what Yellow troops could do on the field of battle was enhanced by the poor show of the Russian troops. If a secret ballot had been possible of the opinions of the foreign commanders as to the merit of the different contingents, there is scarcely a doubt that the Japanese would have been placed first and the Russians last. Of course the Japanese were more on their mettle than the English or the French. They wished to show what they were made of before Europeans, and their temerity sometimes cost them more than was necessary, but on the other hand it furnished some ground for the boast of a Japanese officer that when they had to deal with the Russians 'they would walk through them.'

If the question of Japan's future had remained detached from that of China, it would still have presented a serious aspect for the Power which had practically absorbed Mongolia and Manchuria, which aspired to control the affairs of Corea as well, and which regarded the Chinese ruler as a mere puppet. From its geographical position Japan commands the route of sea communication between Russia's old possessions at Vladivostock and her new occupations round Port Arthur. By its industrial and commercial necessities Japan requires an outlet in Corea, and Russia is well aware that she will never acquiesce in her being ousted from that peninsula, whilst it is perfectly clear that Japan's occupation of Corea in a military sense would render Russia's position in Manchuria so precarious as to deprive it of any real value. Finally neither her pride nor her political aspirations would allow Japan to look on idly while Russia acquired the control of the central Chinese Government at Peking and converted the Manchu Emperor into a vassal prince. Her feelings on that subject might be compared to ours if Germany attempted to place a Hohenzollern on either of the thrones of the

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Netherlands. For all these reasons Japan represents a formidable obstacle, and one that must become more formidable with the lapse of time, unless Japanese influence can be excluded from the Asiatic mainland until Russian preponderance has been firmly established there. But Russia has already failed to accomplish this object. Japanese influence has asserted itself not merely in Corea, but also in Manchuria, and, more remarkable still, it has acquired an ascendency over the councils of China.

The gravity of the expansion of Japan for Russia is not to be denied. Before she has consolidated her position, while indeed it reveals to the eye of the casual observer the most glaring weaknesses of all kinds, Russia is exposed to the morally certain and probably imminent first trial of strength with Japan, on the result of which her future position in the Far East must depend. The ordeal is rendered the more severe by the fact that all her diplomacy and all her expenditure, which has been enormous, have not availed to make the Chinese Government subservient to her. Instead of being able to pose and act as the protector of the Chinese Government, which was the original aspiration of the Russian Government, it has to recognise that the co-operation of the Chinese trained forces under the able Viceroy Yuan-Shih-kai with the Japanese is assured. For the moment, then, the interests of China are merged in those of Japan, and Russia, who had hoped to set one country against the other, finds herself confronted by the two.

Under these circumstances it will be seen and admitted that Russia has displayed very considerable ingenuity in bringing up the Yellow Peril as such a menace to 'all Europeans' that they ought to band themselves together once more in China for the purpose of contributing to the success of Russia's own little game, or, as the hope can scarcely be indulged that England will turn upon her ally, that the triple alliance which revised the treaty of Shimonoseki to the detriment of the victor, should be resuscitated in order to arrest the progress of Japan and prevent the interference of England. Whether Russia succeeds or not in her plan, it is quite certain that she could not have conceived a more ingenious device for obtaining support in the coming struggle without having to make the admission that she stands in need of assistance against an Asiatic and therefore apparently weaker antagonist. But even if she were to succeed in her plan to the fullest extent, it is inconceivable that England would stand aside and thus consent to lose a most favourable opportunity for establishing her naval superiority and security on an unchallengeable basis.

If it is clear that Russia has discovered and obtruded the Yellow Peril only for the purpose of promoting her own designs, and if some Frenchmen out of complaisance to their country's ally have pandered to the same idea, those who can regard the alleged danger

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with calm and unprejudiced minds, as the peoples of Great Britain and the United States are able to do, must pronounce it for the present generation at least the creation of either a disordered imagination or a subtle policy, and in either case a matter not calling for their opposition or interference.

Let us leave aside the Platonic theorising of M. de Lanessan and the interested diatribes of the Russian officer, and let us examine coolly and dispassionately the real significance and the more remote possibilities of the alertness of Japan and the conjectured awakening of China. The Japanese can have no objection to our taking careful stock of the situation and to our expressing our candid opinions. So long as we fulfil our formal engagements with them, they will not mind our indulging in some speculations as to the future of certain questions in which they, not less nor more than ourselves, are deeply interested.

We may have nothing but admiration for the energy and thoroughness with which the Japanese have gained their place in the family of nations and maintained it by courage and constancy in the face of danger, and at the same time we may have reasonable doubts as to whether the Chinese, even under Japanese leading, are going to imitate the wisdom and to display the self-restraint that they have exhibited. The Japanese are not likely to lose their heads or to be carried away by even the most signal success in any struggle with Russia. They will feel quite convinced that such a contest cannot find its definite settlement in a single campaign or even in one war. They will also feel that the very magnitude of their success calls for a special display of moderation and dignity, so that they may be held to wear their laurels worthily. The Japanese have a very remarkable appreciation of the fitness of things, and above all they really desire to figure well in the estimation of the British and American publics. They are self-respecting, and they wish to be respected on and for their own merits. But after all they only represent half—the better half indeed in every way—of the Yellow problem.

On the other hand, it is impossible to feel any assurance at all about the proceedings of the Chinese. Success in their eyes does not signify the obligation to show themselves worthy of it, but merely that it provides an avenue for escaping from their responsibilities, and a means of gratifying their own latent passions. The defeat of the Russians might well be followed by a resuscitation of the Boxer movement, and by an attempt to exclude, or at least curtail, the rights of all Europeans in common. The fact is that the Chinese Government, so long as it is subject to the dominant influence of the Empress-Dowager, is worthless and rotten. The possession of even a passably efficient army is no proof or guarantee that the Government is animated by a right spirit, or that it means

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to turn the fruits of victory to reasonable account and not to abuse them. The Russian presentment of the Yellow Peril makes the most of these possibilities, which are not hidden from any observer, but what is entirely overlooked in it is the fact that Japan, not less than England and the United States, is altogether opposed to the Boxer programme, and would send her troops just as freely as we should to cure Chinese Chauvinism and to uphold the right of treaties. Japan, it may be remarked, has pledged herself to the policy of 'the open door,' while Russia is bent on closing harbours and treaty ports and preventing all access to the region that she seeks to monopolise. These facts speak for themselves, and are not to be set on one side because some designing persons cry out that Europe may find itself again exposed to the peril of a Tartar invasion.

In resolving the problem of the Far East we must proceed step by step, and deal with each successive phase as it arises. The Yellow Peril is not practical politics to-day, it will be the affair of some future century. But what is most pressing is to ascertain how far the patience of the Powers interested will endure in face of Russia's manifest intention to appropriate as much as she can of Northern China. The acts of provocation are committed by Russia. It is she who by her aggressiveness is making herself the enemy of every one else, and the success with which the easy tolerance of England has allowed her measures to be crowned really constitutes the only visible Peril in the Far East. Yet her diplomacy has been so astute, and her representations have been so specious, that serious consideration has been paid to her suggestion that she is quite innocent and inoffensive, while the Japanese are calculating villains in the first place, and are destined in combination with the Chinese to become the most formidable enemies of the human race later on. It is surprising that any credence has been given to such a misrepresentation of the truth, but the transparency is too clear to admit of protracted deception.

Even if there were a great deal more fact upon which the Yellow Peril theory might be based than there is, that would still furnish no reason for allowing the Russians to accomplish their own object, which is nothing less than the *accaparement* of China by Russia. And if Russia were to be permitted to carry out her policy, what would be the position then for the rest of the world? It would be confronted by a Yellow Peril far more formidable than it could ever become under the care and direction of Japan. This position of the question only needs the slightest consideration for it to be realised that the grave peril for the rest of the world does not come from the side of Japan, even a victorious Japan, but from that of Russia herself. The affinity between the Russians and Chinese is quite as marked as that between

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the latter and the Japanese. When Li Hung Chang was show Moscow the portraits of the old Czars he exclaimed, 'But these my ancestors.' They are given to political speculation in long cipation of the event on the Spree; a theme for their considera may be suggested in the appearance of Russo-Chinese hosts or Vistula in the year 1925.

If it is fair play for Russia to dazzle Europe with the pha magoria of a Yellow Peril under the auspices of Japan, we ar more justified in directing serious attention to the well-calcu and hitherto successful measures of Russia to secure for hersel control of China. She has already lopped off the trans-r possessions of China in the north, and nothing but defeat i will make her resign them. In four or five years' time, assu that peace is preserved or that she experiences no reverse, sh be ready to make her second spring forward, and this will Peking itself. The possession of Peking means the commenc of the conquest of China, the termination of the 'open door' and the reversion to the policy of partition with all the adva on the side of Russia and all the obstacles against ourselves, Ar and Japan.

An entirely fresh vista is then opened up. Russia, secured all the outlying possessions of China, opens the new of the China question with a bold declaration that the ti come for breaking up China. The proposal is favoured and su by France and Germany, both of which States are even now p willing to enlarge their areas of authority or spheres of in China. France claims the province of Kwangtung, in w the great city of Canton, and by that period a railway large with French money and under French and Belgian engine be far advanced towards completion, forming a trunk line the west of China from Russian territory to French. Th serious outlook for us, and no *entente cordiale* can diminish i for British enterprise and interests. Nor is the outlook mo ing if we turn to Germany. The province of Shantung is her preserve. No Englishman can take up his residence in of it covered by the yellow and black flag. Does anyone th Germany is satisfied with that province as her share? there are projects of encroachment into Nganhwei and Hon a far more serious blow is intended. The Germans have t on the Yangtsze Valley, which theoretically is the Britis and the British Government, contented with theories, nothing whatever to establish its claim on the sound fo which Germany did in Shantung by the occupation of Kia It has been admitted by the Foreign Office that there is a reading in London and Berlin of the Anglo-German agre 1901, and it needs no second sight to predict that the com

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belli between England and Germany will arise in the Yangtsze Valley. Under such circumstances it is suicidal policy for us to remain inactive while Russia is consolidating her position, from which she will be able to beckon her allies, present and contingent, to her side, and while Germany and France are acquiring the claims created by the construction of railways, the investment of funds and establishment of commercial, property, and individual rights that must carry with them extensive encroachments upon our hitherto nominal sphere in Central China.

The Yellow Peril as expounded on the Continent has no practical meaning for us. It is a will-o'-the-wisp that may divert us from our path and lead us far astray. Even if the worst according to the Russian prophecies were to happen, it must be remembered that Japan, the motive power according to M. de Lanessan, is an island State which would always be liable to the moral and naval pressure that the English-speaking States, England, America, and Australasia, could bring to bear upon it.

But if we substitute Russia for Japan the Yellow Peril assumes a totally different aspect. Russia is not an island State. She is a vast land empire stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific. She has few vulnerable points, and once she is secure in Manchuria there will be fewer still open to attack. Naval reverses will not bring her to her knees, when her land communications across Siberia have been perfected. She will be able to deride the terrors of a blockade. These may be serious matters for all her neighbours, but for British interests in Asia, commercial as well as political, they must signify a heavy and perhaps a deadly blow. While we can afford to look on the development of the so-called Yellow Peril under Japanese auspices with calmness, and even to encourage its progress with a clear reservation as to our sphere in the Yangtsze Valley, no such tolerance can be safely extended to the realisation of Russia's schemes for obtaining the control of the destinies of China. Her success would mean the creation of that formidable militant Power that is described in such impressive language as threatening Europe with a return to the days of the 'scourges of God.' But whereas the Peril under the direction of the Japanese would never be more than a phantom for any State except Russia, it might become in the hands of Russia a menace to the peace of the world, and the means of overthrowing the British Empire in Asia and of laying the whole fabric of British commercial prosperity level with the ground.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

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EDUCATIONAL CONCORDATS

THE correspondence which has recently taken place betwee
Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Horton, although for the mo
it has not achieved the object proposed, has at any rate set p
thinking upon the educational problem. Irretrievable injur
ensue if the present strife continues. It cannot be that the p
of this country will allow the interests of the children to
while their education is being made the sport of the fanatic a
partisan.

No laboured analysis is necessary to establish the fact th
Education Act of 1902 has aroused an opposition which, al
varying in intensity, is almost unexampled in its extent.
are those who, being keenly anxious about collateral issues
the Act with a vehemence more political than educational
characteristics. A criticism which never leaves the sup
degree cannot be permanently formidable. The objections
Education Act which are really formidable come from modera
who, without distinction of party, are profoundly alive
importance of making our elementary schools as efficient as
It cannot be denied that a very large section regard the Act
as inequitable in some of its provisions, as perpetuating
creating, serious grievances, and as retaining privileges w
amorphous, if not indefensible. Reasonable people recog
there cannot be steady progress in education when the w
being continually spragged by the agitator. In saying th
not blind to the great progress marked by this Act in co-o
primary and secondary education, and in creating for el
and secondary education an authority which will have
advantage of local interest and local knowledge. These u
merits afford an additional reason for removing grievanc
may still retard the efficiency of our schools. Before we
close quarters with these grievances, two facts stand out
all the Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary discussio
Education Act of 1902. The people of this country will
secular system of education. They are determined t
national system of education shall be as efficient as it ca

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I entertain an inextinguishable hope that the grievances which seem to bar the attainment of these two objects can be removed by a sober consideration of all the facts involved, and by a resolute determination to accept a reasonable compromise.

The history of the Welsh Concordat may be useful and opportune. Wales, with its State colleges, with its long-established system of intermediate schools, with its genuine zeal and sacrifice in the cause of education, with a body of Nonconformists not less vigorous and capable than their English brethren in defence of their principles, can supply a valuable test and criticism of the Education Act. Soon after the passing of the Act a meeting of the representatives of the Welsh County Councils invited the Voluntary school authorities in Wales to a conference, 'with a view of bringing the management of Voluntary schools into line with the provided schools, on condition that religious education should be safeguarded, and facilities for special religious instruction should be given where demanded by the parents.' One diocese in Wales accepted this invitation. A conference followed at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, the 24th of March, 1903. The names of those present indicate the character of the conference. The chair was taken by Mr. Frank Edwards, M.P. Among the representatives of the Welsh County Councils were Mr. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., and leading men from the various Welsh County Councils. The Voluntary schools were represented by Lord Kenyon, Lord Mostyn, the Hon. Laurence Brodrick, the Hon. George Kenyon, M.P., Mr. Stanley Weyman, Archdeacon Wynne-Jones, the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, the Bishop of Menevia (for the Roman Catholic schools), and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The proposals which were eventually, after prolonged discussion and several meetings, agreed to on both sides are instructive. Let me say at once that these proposals, inasmuch as the Concordat failed, bind no one. They are, however, an indication of what might have been done eight months ago, and they may be an encouragement for another attempt in the same direction. It was agreed (1) that a syllabus of religious instruction, on the lines of the London School Board syllabus, be taught in provided schools from 9 to 9.45 A.M. on four days in the week, and that on one day facilities be given for unrestricted religious teaching to the children of those parents who desired it.

It was agreed (2) that a syllabus of religious instruction, on the lines of the London School Board syllabus, be taught in non-provided schools from 9 to 9.45 A.M. on three days in the week, and that on two days facilities be given for unrestricted religious teaching.

It was agreed (3) that there should be an annual examination in the general religious syllabus, and that the diocesan examiner might examine in the unrestricted religious instruction.

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It was agreed, but in this case only as an experiment, (4) that the teachers may, if willing, give the unrestricted religious teaching in provided as well as in non-provided schools.

It is my belief that these conditions would have been accepted by the Voluntary school managers if there had been legal or permanent security for their fulfilment. I leave for the moment the question of how far these conditions ought to satisfy the requirements of those who represent the Voluntary schools, in order to state fully the grievances of which Nonconformists complain. Our conferences, conducted in the most friendly spirit, and with an earnest desire to conciliate and to co-operate, yielded abundant evidence of the reality of these grievances.

Fully to appreciate the Nonconformists' point of view, we must remember that they acquiesced with comparative tranquillity in the Act of 1870, believing, as one of their leaders stated, that in five years from that time School Boards would be universal in Wales. Prominent among the causes that falsified this anticipation was the growth of the School Board rate, which soon and largely exceeded the promised limit of threepence. Under the influence of the rate-terror the Nonconformist bore patiently the grievance of being compelled to send his children to the National school. The present Act intensifies that grievance by making the Voluntary schools rate-aided. It may be said that only the Nonconformist conscience could find a greater hardship in rate-aided than in tax-aided schools. But, after all, taxes are largely indirect, and therefore impersonal, miscellaneous in purpose, and centrally administered. The tax is paid so unconsciously that the sense of responsibility for its administration hardly touches the individual. Hence rate-aid revived the old grievance in an acute form. Two grievances, however, surpass all others in their magnitude and prominence in every Nonconformist discussion on the Education Act. The first is the retention of a religious test for head-teachers; the second is the question of public control. I desire to state the facts fully and frankly on both these points. There are 31,026 certificated head-teachers in the public elementary schools of England and Wales. Of that number 10,919 are employed in Board schools, 16,144 in Church of England schools, and 3,963 in other denominational schools.

Now the broad fact stands out that 20,107 certificated head-teachers out of a total number of 31,026 are employed in denominational schools. Putting the case in another way, the head-teachers in our elementary schools are now for all practical purposes Civil servants, and the Act of 1902 leaves unaltered the fact that two out of every three head-teacher-ships are subject to a religious test. I only wish to state this fact without comment. Then there is the second and the greatest grievance of all. The demand for public control in the non-provided or Voluntary schools is urged upon the principle that the measure of public control must be commensurate

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with the contributions made from public funds. Stated briefly and in decads the facts are as follows:

Of the total cost of maintenance for each child in average attendance in the Voluntary schools 37·7 per cent. came from public funds in the year 1869. This had risen in 1879 to 44·2 per cent., in 1889 to 47·7, in 1899 to 77·6 per cent. In the year 1904 the contribution will be over 90 per cent. It must be at once granted in the face of these facts that the control cannot remain where it was in 1869. While we accept at once the principle upon which public control is demanded, it must in all fairness be pointed out that a just and precise application of that principle would not logically, and as a matter of course, give that form of public control which is now demanded in non-provided schools. A concrete illustration will make this point clear. We will take the case of a non-provided school, where the cost of maintenance is, as at present, 2*l* 6*s*. 3*d*. per head; to this must be added for rent of buildings 17*s*. 3*d*. per head. This sum will be made up in this way—viz. 1*l*. 19*s*. from the Government grants, 18*s*. 11*d*. from the owners of the non-provided school, and 5*s*. 7*d*. from the rates. In this calculation I leave out the endowments, which are valued at 1*s*. 2*d*. per head in the Blue-book, and, on the other hand, I do not allow for the probable increase in the cost of maintenance under the new conditions. Put in another way, it appears that out of every 1*l*. the State will contribute 12*s* 3*d*., the owners of the non-provided school 5*s*. 11*d*, and the rates 1*s*. 10*d*. I simply take things as they are. In this balance-sheet we find that the State contributes almost two-thirds of the total cost, the owners of the school more than one-fourth, and the rates slightly more than one-twelfth. Applying the principle with which we started, we find that the predominant control must rest with the representative of the taxpayer. Now the grants from the Imperial Exchequer depend upon the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Board of Education, and that fulfilment must be certified by his Majesty's Inspectors. These conditions cover the course of instruction, the qualification of teachers, the number of the staff, the fitness of the structure, the adequacy of its equipment. In fact, if religious instruction and the appointment of the teachers are excluded, there is scarcely a detail left upon which his Majesty's Inspector cannot claim the last word.

For nine-tenths of the school-day the school is under the supreme control of his Majesty's Inspector. What is there left to quarrel about? The one-tenth of the school-time, and the appointment of the teachers. There is already public control, of which none complain, but the present demand is that the local management should be local public control. I do not desire to oppose this contention; but it may be reasonably asked why, for the purposes of control, the difference between rates and taxes should be obliterated in this connection and emphasised in another, and the ratepayer

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claim for his representatives what in many cases may be a disproportionate share of control? But let this point be waived, and, for the sake of peace, let it be granted that there must be public control through and through, and that theoretically private management is indefensible, and that public control, locally and imperially, is symmetrical and less open to criticism. Only let it be remembered that it is on these general grounds, and not always on that of financial equity, that the ratepayers can claim to be the predominant partner.

This brings us to the subject of the nature of the public control demanded for the ratepayer. His representatives are to appoint the teachers, and there are to be no religious tests. So far, all is clear, complete freedom is to be given to the local body in the appointment of teachers, but where religious instruction is concerned, this freedom is to be severely restricted. The moment religion is named, the vehement champions of public control produce the Parliamentary fetters. Like their prototypes in 1649 they have 'no intention of countenancing a universal toleration.' The religion taught in all the elementary schools must be rigidly pruned by the Cowper-Temple clause, and kept bare of any leaf or twig of dogma. This section of the opponents of the Act interpret that clause in a much narrower and more exclusive spirit than its original framers ever intended it to convey. Be this as it may, we are here face to face with the real cause of the present educational strife. Strong in the belief that this difficulty can be overcome, I desire to state the problem fully and frankly. Having endeavoured to state the grievances of the Nonconformists without any desire to mitigate or to understate them, I wish in the same spirit to put the case of the Voluntary schools.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, in his very able article on 'Elementary Education,' uses words that seem to imply that the Voluntary schools were recognised by the Act of 1870 'as part and parcel of a national system of education, and that then for the first time they were allowed to become public elementary schools.' But what are the facts? Elementary education in this country first began with voluntary effort. This voluntary effort was in 1833 aided by building grants from Parliament, to be followed in 1839 and 1846 by training-college and augmentation grants, then came in 1862 Mr. Lowe's payment by results. The Act of 1870 was passed not to recognise but to supplement this voluntary effort, and to establish a locally elected body for providing where necessary public elementary schools. The voluntary system has its root deep in the past. Up to 1870 the Voluntary schools held the whole field. Relying upon the honour of Parliament, the Voluntary schools have largely developed. Since 1870 additional accommodation has been provided by voluntary effort for 1,844,745 children, at a cost of at least 12,000,000*l.* (Report of Education 1903, p. 21–22.)

The Voluntary schools claim consideration not on sentimental,

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but on these solid and equitable, grounds. The Act of 1870 met the religious difficulty in this way. It practically said to the Nonconformists, 'We give you the Board schools, from which we shut out any dogmatic and distinctive religious teaching, and, if the ratepayers like, all religious teaching.' It allowed the Voluntary schools to teach their children their own religious belief, while it protected the Nonconformist by a conscience clause.

Practically the compromise has worked in this way. The rates and taxes have paid for the teaching of the School Board religion, and the Church schools have paid for their own. For thirty-three years an undogmatic religion approved by the Nonconformists has been taught at the public expense in public elementary schools of this country. The State, in the Cowper-Temple clause, more brief, but not less binding than the Thirty-nine Articles, defined this School Board religion, and established and endowed its teachers. For thirty-three years this compromise— call it, if you like, concurrent endowment—has worked fairly well.

Under the plea of public control, and the grievance of rate-aid, a demand is now being made to force this School Board religion upon all the schools of the country, or to exclude all religion. The Free Churches, we are told, are opposed to any dogmatic teaching whatever. It is, then, abundantly evident that while Churchmen are asked to give up the control of their Voluntary schools, they are not to be offered freedom and toleration; they are not even to be allowed to provide at their own expense for the teaching of their own children in their own faith.

I have endeavoured to state fairly the grievance of the Nonconformists and the claims of the Voluntary schools. In recognising the latter, the Act of 1902 seems to have aggravated the former, and there is a growing conviction that matters cannot be left permanently where they are. What policies or remedies are suggested? The critics who have described the Act as 'shapen in iniquity,' 'bishop-made,' 'priest-endowing,' are now afraid to advocate the secularism which they really believe in. On the other side, there are those who, like the Roman Catholics, will not have the atmosphere of their schools tainted by any breath of public control. The Roman Catholics have been consistent throughout, and, unlike the Secularists, are not afraid to declare their whole policy. It will hardly be maintained that either of these parties is strong enough to dictate the educational policy of the future. Educational peace can only be secured by the co-operation of those on both sides who are ready to give and take. Religious instruction is the cause for which the authorities of the Voluntary schools contend.

From this standpoint let us survey the position and policy of the Church schools. According to the last Blue-book there were 4,890,237 children in average attendance in all our elementary schools; of that number 2,546,217 were in Voluntary schools, and

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the rest in Board schools. Again, of the total number in Voluntary schools, 1,882,184 were in Church of England schools. It will hardly be maintained that under the Act of 1902 there is any great prospect or even possibility of extending the Voluntary school system. If that is so, the Church of England will be left with her own non-progressive system, and, as a penalty for this possession, she will be permanently shut out from teaching her own children in the provided schools. The practical question, then, for Churchmen is this: Is it better to retain our own schools, where we can teach some of our children in our own way, or to accept a compromise which would give us the right (I assume that no other compromise has any chance of acceptance in this country) of providing religious instruction for our own children in our own faith in every public elementary school in the country? The acceptance of the latter alternative would, I believe, greatly promote the cause of religious instruction in what are now provided schools, where the adoption of such a syllabus as that of the London School Board would under the new conditions probably meet with no opposition. The practical working of such a compromise does not seem beset with great difficulties. The general syllabus of religious instruction would be taught in all schools on four days, and on one day there would be facilities for unrestricted religious teaching. Under this plan every denomination would have the right to provide for the religious instruction of their own children, in their own faith, at their own cost. All the Voluntary schools would then become provided schools, either by sale or lease. What is the great obstacle to such a plan as this? As the law now stands, facilities for definite religious instruction cannot be given in provided schools within the school hours. It is obvious that if we are to start afresh, this survival of the compromise of 1870 must go. The vehement party who denounce the present Act closely resemble those preachers of toleration to whom Cromwell in 1655 said, 'Is there not yet a strange itch upon the spirits of men; nothing can satisfy them, unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there.' But it can hardly be possible that the great majority of the Nonconformists would commit themselves to a position so unreasonable and so harsh. They cannot in common justice ask the Church of England to give up all her schools and the right, for which she has made such splendid sacrifices in the past, to teach her own children in these schools, while the Nonconformists would then have in all the schools of the country the Board school religion of which they approve, taught by teachers paid by the rates. Churchmen have borne patiently this injustice for thirty-three years in the Board schools; they can hardly be expected to bear patiently its extension now to all schools. If counsels of moderation do not prevail the wrangle will go on, and education will suffer much, but religion most of all.

A. G. Asaph.

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HOW LONG WILL THE EDUCATION ACT LAST?

A YEAR ago I was permitted to give in this Review what seemed to me to be good reasons why the Education Act of 1902 ought not to be regarded by Churchmen as a permanent settlement of the religious difficulty. Those reasons were (1) that the acceptance of the Act implied that Church schools are an effective means of teaching the religion of the Church of England—which is true only of some of them; (2) that even if they had been this in the past they would not remain effective for that purpose under a system of rate aid; and (3) that the exclusive reliance on Church schools, even if better justified than it seemed to me to be, left out of sight the great and growing multitude of Church children who attend schools where the only religious teaching is undenominational.

I have no intention of reopening the controversy on these positions. I am quite willing to allow, for argument's sake, that I was wrong as to every one of them. I will concede that Church schools, as they are, are the best possible instrument for teaching religion as the Church of England understands it; that their efficacy in this respect will be in no wise impaired by the action of rate aid—including the Kenyon-Slaney clause; and that the importance of training the children at present in Church schools justifies the entire neglect of a larger number of children in the schools of the local authority. But when I have cleared the ground for the moment by these provisional admissions, I have still a question in reserve. What is the probable life of the Education Act? Or rather, since a great part of the Act will, as I believe, outlast any amount of amending legislation, what is the probable life of the management clauses? Will the present preponderance of denominational over representative managers be maintained? Will the head-teacher in rate-aided Church schools continue to be appointed by the Church managers and to be of necessity a Churchman? Those of the clergy who advise us to make the best of the Act must sometimes put these questions to themselves. How do they answer them?

On the whole, I suppose, they answer them pretty much to their own satisfaction. They cling to the assurance, so often given them, that it is not the habit of English legislation to repeal a great

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measure within a session or two of its passing. The Education Act of 1870, it is argued, lasted for a generation, and would not have been replaced then had not the clergy themselves asked for further help. This, therefore, is what may be expected to happen in the present instance. The Act of 1902 will not last for ever, any more than the Act of 1870 did, but it will last our time. To reason in this way is to forget an exceptional and essential feature of the case. 'The proceeding,' says Sir George Trevelyan, speaking of the repeal of the American Stamp Act, 'was intensely English: but unfortunately it lacked the most important condition of a great English compromise, for it was not accepted by the beaten party.' It is needless, however, to inquire what the real value of the parallel with 1870 is, because it assumes that Church schools are safe unless the Act is repealed. But all that the assailants of the Act really insist on is its amendment in one or two particulars. The management clauses are only one feature in a measure of great length and complexity, and they might be removed without interfering in the slightest degree with the educational machinery set up. The control of elementary and secondary education would still be vested in a single authority, that authority would still be the county council, and provided and non-provided schools would still be alike supported out of the rates. The only difference would be that in non-provided schools a majority of the managers would be appointed by the local authority, and the head-teacher would no longer be required to be a member of the Church of England. Hardly a word would have to be omitted from the Act; a mere transposition of certain figures in the management clauses would do all that is wanted.

It may fairly be objected, indeed, that since these management clauses were the most fiercely contested part of the Bill, and since even this seemingly trifling alteration in them would reverse a policy which the Prime Minister has specially and repeatedly made his own, they are perfectly safe so long as the present Parliament exists. As, however, the life of the present Parliament is exceedingly uncertain, the value of this respite must depend on the degree of probability that the next election will renew Mr. Balfour's tenure of power. The appearance of the fiscal controversy has made this very much less likely than it was a year ago. Whatever other consequences this controversy may have, there is one which is already visible. The divisions in the Liberal party, if they are not yet healed, are in a fair way to be healed. The Education Act itself has done much to bring this about, and the attack upon free trade has given the last touch to the process. Moreover, the party will be strengthened as well as reunited. Numbers of people who, before the disclosure of Mr. Chamberlain's intentions, would have hesitated to call themselves Liberals, have not the slightest scruple about doing so to-day. They may have no very strong feeling against the

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Government; they may have something more than good will to Mr. Balfour himself. But the issue now presented to them leaves them no choice. They are convinced believers in free trade, and, except in a few isolated cases, the only way in which they can show their faith by their works will be to vote for the Liberal candidates. How large a transfer of votes this change will bring about only the result can show; but when, to the Nonconformist dislike of the Education Act, the mismanagement, real or alleged, of the war in South Africa, and the reaction which invariably follows a long term of power, is added the danger which now threatens free trade, the most ardent Ministerialist will hardly deny that the prospect of another Unionist victory at the polls is nothing like as bright as it was.

Even if it were, it would not necessarily give any longer life to the management clauses. To them a Unionist victory will be only one degree less damaging than a Liberal victory. For a Unionist victory promises more and more to be a victory for Mr. Chamberlain. Two rival policies are now before the Unionist party, and upon the choice made between them must depend the choice of a leader. It is conceivable, no doubt, that the general election will reveal such a general preference of Mr. Balfour's limited scheme of fiscal reform that the larger plans associated with Mr. Chamberlain's name will fade from our view, and a united party will enthusiastically undertake the search after articles on which to levy retaliatory duties. But though this is conceivable it is nothing more. If we come to probabilities, they are all in favour of Mr. Chamberlain. The whole drift of Unionist speeches tends in this direction. Here and there, no doubt, a Unionist member addressing his constituents, or a Unionist candidate in search of a seat, may declare his preference for Mr. Balfour's policy over Mr. Chamberlain's. But in almost every case, unless the speaker happens to be a free-fooder, he does this because he thinks it more prudent to take the Protectionist cherry at two bites. If the course of the controversy shows, as I believe it will, that the enthusiasm, the determination, the thoroughness which go to make a policy popular are all on the side of Mr. Chamberlain, a Unionist victory at the polls must place him at the head of the Unionist Government. In that case what motive will he have for keeping the Education Act as it is? He is not himself an admirer of it. On the contrary, he has said plainly that it is not of his making. He would have disposed of the education difficulty in a way that has nothing in common with denominational management. He acquiesced in the Bill because his leader had framed it, because his party had accepted it, because he had other objects in view that claimed his whole attention. But when he himself takes the reins he will naturally be disposed to give effect to his own ideas of an educational settlement, and he will find a section, probably a

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large section, of the Unionist party quite willing to give him a free hand in the matter. They are anti-clerical in feeling; they have no objection to undenominational teaching; if they have any passive resisters among their constituents they will not be anxious to be associated with distraints for the education rate. And if Mr. Chamberlain does get a free hand he will naturally wish to bring back to his side those Nonconformist Liberal Unionists from whom there might by that time be nothing to part him if once the management clauses were out of the way. In circumstances such as these, what possible reason could Mr. Chamberlain have for resisting an amendment with which he himself is in complete sympathy?

Let us suppose, however, that in spite of appearances it is Mr. Balfour, not Mr. Chamberlain, who wins the election, will the management clauses be safe then? I greatly doubt it. Mr. Balfour, indeed, defended them sentence by sentence and word by word. But a Minister—he, perhaps, more than most Ministers—has to think of his party, and from this point of view Mr. Balfour will hardly welcome a continuance of the present conflict. Had the Nonconformist hostility to the Act been foreseen, we may be quite sure that the Government would never have provoked it. Passive resistance may be illegal, or illogical, or unreasonable, or anything else we like to call it, but it has to be dealt with all the same, and I do not think that Mr. Balfour is the man to disregard it, or that he would long remain the leader of the Unionist party if he did disregard it. Why, indeed, should he be expected to die in the last ditch in defence of the management clauses? He framed them to give effect to the wishes, real or imaginary, of the clergy. He honourably stood by his agreement, and he has earned no gratitude by doing so. To suppose that he is going to risk further unpopularity in order to maintain a settlement which is repudiated by a growing minority of those it was meant to please argues a strange ignorance of the methods of popular government.

But passive resistance is not the only thing that a Minister determined to maintain the Education Act in its integrity would have to reckon with. In the questions for candidates at the March election of the London County Council suggested by the Executive of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation there is one which has an ominous sound. 'Will you support a proposal that the London County Council should make a representation to his Majesty's Government that before the Education Act for London is put into operation it should be so amended as to give complete control [to the Council] in the case of all schools maintained out of the public funds?' It is not impossible that a majority of the members returned about two months hence may have taken this pledge, and in that case the representation in question will at once be made, and the Government will have to consider what answer to give to it. If they content

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themselves with a simple intimation that the law must be obeyed, they will run the risk of the London County Council following the example of certain Welsh Councils and refusing to devote any part of the rate to the maintenance of Voluntary Schools. If the London County Council—if any County Council, for the matter of that—takes this course, what is to happen next? Even if we imagine the Government to have applied for and obtained a *mandamus*, the only ways in which it can be enforced are imprisonment or fine. When things come to this point, a bill to amend the Education Acts of 1902–3 will not be far off. Indeed, I doubt whether the intervention of so great a Council as that of London will be needed. It seems to me far more likely that Ministers will shrink from imprisoning or fining even a Welsh County Council. How little any Government cares to quarrel with a local authority may be inferred from the relations of the Local Government Board with Boards of Guardians. By law every workhouse must have a chaplain, but this provision is frequently disobeyed without, so far as I know, any harm coming to the refractory guardians.

One possible bulwark remains. There are those who fix their hopes on the House of Lords. But the House of Lords is rightly chary of provoking a conflict with the House of Commons unless it has good ground for thinking that it has the country behind it. In the case of the management clauses it will not even have the whole Unionist party behind it. To prove this I need only repeat some words of Mr. Balfour's which I quoted in these pages a year ago. He was defending his acceptance of the Kenyon-Slaney clause—a clause which had caused great and just offence to many of the clergy—and the reason he gave was the impossibility of passing the bill without it. 'I had difficulty enough,' he said, 'in passing it as it was . . . difficulty among those who are my most constant and loyal friends on this side of the House.' The course of the debate had shown that there were some among the Ministerialists who would willingly have left the appointment of all the managers in the hands of the local authority, and were only prevented from voting for amendments conceived in that sense by the knowledge that Mr. Balfour felt bound by his understanding with the clergy to retain a majority of the denominational managers. But they only consented to keep the clause in the form in which it had been introduced on condition that 'the sting which lay hid in it'—I am quoting the words of the Bishop of Rochester in the House of Lords—was made evident by the Kenyon-Slaney amendment. Is this a party to which the Lords can look for support in the event of a dissolution caused by the rejection of a Government bill to amend the Education Acts?

If these speculations are well founded, changes in the management clauses which will make the existence of Church schools a matter of pure accident cannot be very long delayed, and their

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arrival may possibly be only a matter of months. Doubtless it i
to Churchmen to reply in some such fashion as this: 'All thi
be quite true and yet make no difference to our reading of our
What we have to do is to fight for the management clauses s
as they are there to be fought for, and to regret them when th
gone. After all, there is still the chapter of accidents in reserve.
of these alternative predictions may come to pass, and if some
them does come to pass, its results may be less harmful in fac
they are in prospect.' This would be a very reasonable way c
ing at the matter if Churchmen had no power of influencing
to follow upon the abolition of the management clauses. As a
of fact, however, they have a very real power of doing this.
promise of some sort is certain to be effected, and the char
the religious instruction given in elementary schools will dep
what the terms of that compromise are. What we want t
then, is what Nonconformists ask from Churchmen, an
Churchmen ought to ask from Nonconformists. If we ask to
we wreck the prospects of an educational settlement. If we
little, we make that settlement worthless when gained.
already in possession of the minimum and maximum of the
formist demand. The minimum is to be found in Dr.
letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the maximum
'Scheme of a National System of Education' unanimously
by the General Committee of the Free Church National C
their meeting on the 30th of November. The minimum
appears, with a slight but not unimportant variation,
documents. Dr. Horton embodies it in two fundamental p
(1) 'That all schools maintained by public money must
lutely under public control; (2) that in all schools maint
public money all teachers must be appointed by public
without reference to denominational distinction.' The Com
the Free Church Council add a third position: 'That no dis
denominational teaching or formulary shall be given o
public schools in school hours, but simple Biblical instruc
be given according to a syllabus, as is general at present in
schools.' Here, then, we have the two forms of the Non
demand, and the issue, which of the two shall be the form
embodied in an Act of Parliament, will depend in a grea
upon the time and nature of the action which Churchme
regard to them.

The first condition of any permanent and friendly set
the controversy must be the full acceptance by Churchn
principle of public control. It may be hard to demand
but unless they are prepared to go this length they mu
all thought of coming to terms with their opponents.
have been well if they had recognised this necessity i

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instance. There was a time, indeed, when they saw the inevitable consequences of accepting rate aid much more clearly than they have done of late. Their change of mind is mainly due to the growing difficulty of maintaining Church schools on any other footing. This must be supposed to have been the reason of Archbishop Temple's remarkable change of front. So long as he thought that Church schools could be maintained out of the Parliamentary grant supplemented by voluntary subscriptions, he saw as plainly as anyone the danger of rate aid. It was only when these two sources became inadequate to the work that had to be done that he came to regard rate aid as, at all events, a lesser evil than the abandonment of separate Church schools. There is no need, however, to dwell on the incompatibility of rate aid and denominational teaching. The next Parliament, if not the present, may be trusted to make this clear. The question for Churchmen to ask themselves is not, How shall we keep Church schools? It is rather, How shall we give them up with the least injury to the one object for which Church schools ought to be maintained?

It is strange that it should be necessary at this date to remind people that Church schools exist for a special object, and that in so far as this object is not attained the reason for their existence ceases. The object of Church schools is not to teach children the three R's, or to give them instruction in special subjects, or to qualify them for passing into secondary schools—these things are done, and done better, in provided schools. Neither is it to give children 'simple Biblical instruction,' to lead them upward, as has been well said, 'from *Stories from the Book of Genesis* in Standard I. to *Stories from the Book of Joshua* in Standard V.'—that also is done, and done as well, in provided schools. It is not for these purposes, good as they are in themselves, that Churchmen are asked to find money when a hundred more pressing needs are staring them in the face. No, the object of Church schools is to teach the children who attend them the religion of the Church of England. I will leave on one side the consideration how far they fulfil this object—in how many Church schools the teaching is radically different from that given in a well-managed provided school, or what religious impression is likely to be made on the scholars by teachers whose connection with the Church is limited to the accident that they find themselves in a Church school. I will assume that the teaching in these schools is in all respects what it claims to be, and insist only on the fact that it cannot remain what it claims to be under that popular management which is bound to come, and probably will come very soon. But, with Church schools gone, can the religion of the Church of England be taught in elementary schools? I believe that it can, if only Churchmen will look at the substance and not at the shadow. The danger is that the Nonconformists, and through the Nonconformists

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the Liberal party, may be committed before we know where we a
to the larger of the two demands I mentioned just now. The for
which this larger demand commonly takes may be seen in th
resolutions adopted by the Education Committee of the Free Churc
Council, and in the questions which the Executive of the Metropolit
Free Church Federation recommend should be put to candidat
at the next County Council election. In the former the sixt
resolution runs thus: 'That no distinctively denominational teac
ing or formulary shall be given or used in public schools in scho
hours, but simple Biblical instruction may be given acccording
a syllabus, as is general at present in provided schools.' In th
latter the fourth question runs: 'Will you maintain the existi
system of Biblical instruction carried on under the London Sch
Board and resist all attempts to introduce denominational teachi
into provided schools?' The two formulas differ somewhat
wording, but they mean the same thing. Undenominational teachi
is to be given to all children not expressly withdrawn from it,
the regular teachers, as part of the school curriculum, and at t
cost of the ratepayers; denominational teaching is to be given
those children whose parents expressly ask for it, by outside teache
out of school hours, and at the cost of the persons providing it.

It will not be difficult to show that this scheme is fatal to
giving of denominational teaching in elementary schools; t
it will probably be adopted unless Churchmen bestir themselv
and that the only way in which they can usefully bestir themsel
is by coming forward with an alternative proposal.

The fact that so many people who really value denominatic
teaching are yet blind to the worthlessness of what are called '
side facilities' can only be set down to an entire misreading of
average parent. I believe that the vast majority of the class wl
children attend elementary schools wish them to have some kin
religious instruction. That, however, is quite compatible with
equally general indifference to the particular kind of teaching.
parent has played a very prominent part—on paper—in the educati
controversy. But he has played it only on paper. Both sides
suffered from the impossibility of getting him either to protest
vote against the treatment his children receive, whether in Board sch
or in Church schools. The Nonconformist can point triumphantly t
entire acquiescence of parents who call themselves Churchmen i
teaching given under the Cowper-Temple clause. There have
moments when to show that even a few thousand Churchmen
used their right of withdrawing their children from the reli
lesson in Board schools would have been an invaluable controv
weapon. But no such expression of distaste to undenominat
teaching has ever been produced. The Nonconformists, however
make no capital out of this fact, because they find it equally i

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sible to bring forward any appreciable number of Nonconformist parents who have withdrawn their children from the religious lesson in Church schools. There are thousands of parishes all over the country in which the Church school is the only school that the children of Nonconformists can attend. But the Nonconformist parent is not in the least disturbed. Though he might, if he liked, forbid his child to be present at the religious lesson, he is apparently of opinion that the wholesome medicine of the Sunday chapel will be a sufficient antidote to the poison of the weekday school. The effect of this indifference will be that if there be one religion taught in school hours by the regular teachers and as part of the school course, and another religion taught in the school buildings indeed, but out of school hours, as something extra and optional, and by outside teachers, the former will be the religion in which 99 per cent. of the children in every school will be brought up. Yes, it may be said, this is what would happen if the choice of the parent lay between the religion taught in the school and none at all. But it will be different if the opportunity is given him of having his child taught the religion he himself professes after school is over. He may not think it worth while to withdraw his child from the undenominational religious lesson, but he will welcome the opportunity of having his child taught by the clergyman of the parish or by his own minister when the other children have gone home. But there will be three influences steadily making against any such arrangement, and any one of the three, as I believe, and certainly all three in combination, will be fatal to its success. There is the influence of the child, who naturally prefers getting out of school at the same time as the others to being 'kept in' for an additional lesson. There is the influence of the mother, who wants something done in the house or fetched from outside, and thinks that it is quite enough to forego these services during the hours when attendance is compulsory. There is the influence of the father, who knows that when the child comes out of school he may earn a few pence, and has no wish to see the time in which he can do this shortened. If any one thinks that the parents' regard for the real interest of their children will stand in the way of their being put to these base uses, how does he explain the necessity for a law making school attendance compulsory? If a parent cannot be trusted to send his child to school in order to get that secular education without which he can hardly hope to earn his living, why should he be more unselfish when the attendance is optional and the subject taught is religion?

Thus, if *all* religious teaching is given out of school hours, it will be given to empty benches. If denominational teaching is given out of school hours and undenominational teaching in school hours, the only religion taught will be undenominationalism. The first result will be tantamount to banishing religion from the school,

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the second to the establishment of a particular religion in th school and to its endowment out of the rates.

Yet, although one of these two solutions of the education problem is not desired by the nation, and the other directly conflic with the principle of religious equality, one or other of them stan a good chance of being adopted if Churchmen continue to thi that their strength is only to sit still. A large part of the peo of England, including a number of Nonconformists, seem to ha persuaded themselves that it is possible to draw a distinct between 'simple Biblical teaching' and denominational teachi Their idea appears to be that all religions are alike up to a cert point. Undenominationalism is the stock which serves as common foundation of all soups. Denominationalism is only flavouring which differentiates one soup from another. I do wonder that undenominationalism finds favour with the mass the Anglican laity. In their eyes the Church is little more t an institution founded to teach such parts of the Bible as do contain any disputed statements of doctrine. Anything bey this is variously set down as 'narrow,' or 'extreme,' or 'parti or 'beyond the comprehension of children.' If this 'simple Bib teaching' were given in Church schools as well as in provided sch the mass of the laity would be quite satisfied. They would t that the clergy were doing their duty by the children as mu what they withheld as in what they imparted. What is surpr is that Nonconformists should equally desire to see this so teaching made universal and provided at the cost of the rateps What has become of all their protests against establishment endowment? What has become of their insistence on the in able right of every man to shape his religion on the pattern his own conscience prescribes to him? They are shocked notion that a school in which the authorised teaching is that Church of England should be supported out of the rates. Bu a school in which the authorised teaching is founded on a pri which directly contradicts that of the Church of England sho supported out of the rates seems to them an arrangement th offend no one. It should be a sufficient answer to Nonconfo of this type that it does offend a great many. The dis Churchmen to the Cowper-Temple clause is identical in pr with the Nonconformist dislike to the management clauses. objections may be exaggerated, or illogical, or politically inconv but so long as they feel them and are resolved to act upo this does not matter. The line that politicians love to f the line of least resistance, and that is not the line that leads s up to a fortified position, whether that position be held by Chu or by Nonconformists.

Fortunately, the view I have been combating is not take

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Nonconformists. A Nonconformist journal of high character and great influence has lately said: 'High Churchmen have just the same right to protest against the teaching of the Bible apart from the interpretation of the Church as we have to protest against the teaching of the Bible under the interpretation of the Church.' With this acknowledgment the way to an educational settlement ought to be easily found. I am quite willing that all religions should be taught in elementary schools at the cost of the ratepayers provided that my religion finds a place in the list. I am equally willing that no religion shall be taught in elementary schools at the cost of the ratepayers provided that an exception is not made in favour of what I regard as the worst religion of the lot. But though the best Nonconformist opinion goes, as I believe, with the *British Weekly*, the mass of religious indifferentism in and out of the Church of England clings to the Cowper-Temple clause. It is in possession, it falls in with the general trend of popular opinion, it satisfies the teachers, who do not wish to see their province invaded by volunteers, it has an air of rough common-sense about it which pleases the practical man, who does not mind riding over a religious conviction provided that he can do it without any risk of subsequent trouble. The opponents of Established Undenominationalism—as a voluntary religion it has the same right to exist that every other religion has—have therefore to convince politicians first that they are in earnest, and next that they are prepared with a proposal which saves their conscience without hurting anyone else's.

Such a proposal has often been put forward, but not as yet by those to whom governments and politicians naturally listen. It starts with accepting the two conditions laid down by Dr. Horton in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: the subjection to representative public control of all rate-supported schools; and the appointment of all the teachers without reference to their religious belief. I do not myself attach any importance to this latter point. Religious equality would be just as well attained by the German system, under which the teachers are taken from the several Confessions in proportion to the number of children belonging to each. But this plan would certainly be disliked by Nonconformists and by the teachers, and it would probably wreck any compromise of which it formed part. (I can see no reason, however, against allowing the regular teachers to give religious instruction as the paid servants of the denomination employing them.) The prudent course, therefore, is to accept these two conditions frankly and fully. Churchmen should say in effect: 'We resign all claim to the control of the secular education in our own schools. The management of the schools and the appointment of teachers shall be wholly in your hands; you shall have the use of the school buildings during school hours on any terms that may be adjudged fair. These are the concessions

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we are willing to make, and in return for them we ask that denominations—including the Undenominationalists—shall have statutory right of providing and paying teachers to give religi instruction in school hours to the children of their own memb In practice this would resolve itself in a great number of schools class receiving Church teaching and a class receiving undenominati teaching. In the opinion of those best qualified to speak, the majo of Nonconformists would be satisfied with such teaching as is now g under the Cowper-Temple clause. The only difference woul that the teacher giving it would be paid, as the Church tea would be paid, by those who valued the teaching and were anxious it should be given. If it turned out that the Wesleyans, Congrega alists, or Baptists desired to give separate religious instructio their own children, they would of course do so. The parent w only have to send with each child on its first coming to s a written statement showing what religion he wished the child taught. It would be the duty of the managers of the school to notice to the recognised authorities of each denomination, the case of Undenominationalists to the Committees that probably be formed to provide 'simple Biblical instruction,' tl many children were awaiting religious instruction at the time d to the religious lesson. That time might, as now, be the first quarters of an hour in the school day. Attendance would be before the religious lessons began, and then the children wou off to their several classes. Where a parent wished his cl receive no religious instruction he would be set to some lesson. Where a denomination had made no provision for re instruction, the parent might be given his choice whether hi should go to the religious lesson of another denomination, or secular lesson instead.

All kinds of practical objections may be taken to this pla against what plan may they not be taken? What I have t mitigation of them is simply this—that the difficulties that the way of its adoption are objections of practice and detail, the difficulties in the way of any other plan go deeper, an upon matters of principle and conscience. I believe that plan were tried it might be worked with only a reasonable of concession. But the end of an article is not the p indicating what these concessions should be, nor have I th ledge required for suggesting or criticising them. I h sought to establish three things: that the management cl doomed; that if Churchmen do not move, and move soon, real danger that undenominational religion, and und tional religion alone, will be taught in elementary scho that the only way of preventing this is to come forward with a proposal such as I have described. The next two m

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be of inestimable importance to the place of religion in elementary education. If they go by unimproved, we may in the end have to choose between the entire secularisation of the schools and the exclusive establishment in them of a type of religion which we regard as worse than none at all.

D. C. LATHBURY.

P.S.—I had written this before the publication of the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to Lord Ashcombe. But his Grace's argument does not touch the aspect of the question with which I have tried to deal. He gives reasons why the Education Act ought not to be attacked in Parliament; I give reasons why it certainly will be attacked in Parliament, and probably be attacked with success. He believes that to maintain existing Church schools is the only, or at all events the best, way of maintaining Church teaching; I believe that it is the existence of Church schools that blinds Churchmen to the fact that a yearly increasing number of children who ought to be, but are not and never can be, in a Church school get no Church teaching at all. More than this, the Archbishop is prepared to make a concession which would very soon be fatal to Church teaching even in Church schools. He proposes, in 'single school areas,' to draw a distinction between 'denominational instruction' and 'simple Scripture teaching,' and to give the parent the choice which his child should attend. This seems to imply that denominational teaching and Scripture teaching are different things, whereas, as every consistent denominationalist believes, denominational teaching is simply right Scripture teaching. A Churchman can no more teach the Bible undenominationally than he can teach the Church Catechism undenominationally. But to pursue this argument would lead me on to a wholly different ground from that covered by the present article.

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SOME NOTES AS TO LONDON THEATRE: PAST AND PRESENT

LORD ROSEBERY, in one of his delightful speeches at an annu dinner of the chairman of the London County Council, gave, as on of the proofs of the growing popularity of that body, the demanc that were daily made by the public for endowing them wit increased powers—great though those powers were at that time.

Personally, in the increasing mass of business undertak gratuitously and successfully by men who devote their abilitie their energies, and time for the public good, I play an infinitesim part. That part is in connection with the licensing and manag ment of the theatres and places of amusement in the County London.

This business has happily brought me into close and intima relations not only with the daily increasing numbers of theatri proprietors and managers, but with the professional and able advis of the Council, from whom I have gathered much information cc nected with the history of theatres, which I have found of gr interest and which may afford some amusement to others.

Going back to times preceding those of Shakespeare I find tl no theatres existed in any part of the country, and performan took place in barns or yards of inns, where the overhanging galleri which some few of us remember and all of us have seen in prints, afforded the only shelter to the spectators. Churches gav temporary home to what were called 'morality plays,' and we of t generation have learnt how pathetic and touching these plays co be by seeing the simple story of *Everyman*, which has been showr us with an art probably eclipsing that of old days. Sometimes plays were performed in amphitheatres, which had been used for l and bear baiting, and were constructed in the form of an arena rounded by galleries, which, when these were not required for n brutal sports, were occasionally devoted to the more refined use the histrionic art.

The first building appropriated solely for stage plays was kn as 'The Theatre,' which was erected in 1575 in Shoreditch. 1599, the Globe, where Shakespeare often appeared, was erecte

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Bankside. Between the first date and the Restoration, a dozen other theatres sprang into existence; but how different from the present luxurious theatres with their gorgeous scenic effects and furniture!

Although the French word *matinée*, to which we have become accustomed, had never been heard of, the plays began at three o'clock exactly, and the prices of admission ranged from 1*d.* to 1*s.* Think of that, ye managers of to-day!

These theatres, as they appear in old prints of London, before county councils were even dreamt of, were octagonal or circular, with tiers at different levels, the topmost row only being covered with a roof, while the enclosed ground in front corresponded to a space which in the theatres of to-day would be occupied by stalls and pit. These were open to the air, and it is to be hoped that the heavens were more propitious to outdoor amusements in those days than they are in the year of grace 1903.

The buildings being circular, it of necessity arose that the actors were obliged to turn their backs on some portion of the spectators, a habit which, curiously enough, seems now to be a growing fashion.

The position of actors in Queen Elizabeth's time well illustrated the feudal principles in force in those days, for by the Act of 1547 great noblemen and landowners gave their patronage and licences to companies of play-actors, who by their permission only were allowed to give performances in the neighbourhood. Queen Elizabeth, however, at the beginning of her reign appointed Justices, Mayors, and Lieutenants of Shires to act as Censors of plays; but there evidently existed at that time in many quarters an antagonistic feeling against play-actors, who were driven in their own defence to appeal to a higher authority, with the result that a Master of the Revels was appointed by the Crown, who exercised his authority throughout the country until his office was merged in that of the Lord Chamberlain.

In 1642 all plays were forbidden by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, and many of the old theatres were pulled down by the Puritan soldiery, and the magistrates were enjoined to have apprehended all actors as rogues and vagabonds.

Up to the time of the Restoration no woman had ever ventured on the stage, but now great changes took place, and actresses were not only tolerated but were welcomed. The first English actress appeared in the character of Desdemona on the 8th of December, 1660, at the Tennis Court Theatre, Vere Street, Clare Market. The patent to Killigrew granted in 1662 runs:

'We do likewise permit and give leave that all the women's parts to be acted in either of the said two companies, the King's and the Duke's, for the time to come may be performed by women.'

We who have hung entranced with the acting of Rachel, Ristori, and Sarah Bernhardt, and have listened with rapture to the exquisite

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songs of Grisi and Jenny Lind, have been moved to tears by impersonations of Ellen Terry, and laughed till our sides ached Mrs. Keeley and Mrs. John Wood, are beginning at last to re that we owe some debt of gratitude to the more elastic times of Restoration.

With the Restoration, the policy of the persecution of a came to an end, Sir William D'Avenant and Killigrew each obtai perpetual patents for the representation of stage plays, by whic the competing theatres were extinguished, and play-acting beca monopoly in their hands.

Killigrew was born in 1611–12, and at an early age began wr plays, which were acted at the 'Cock-pit' in Drury Lane. Af stormy political youth, much of which was spent of necessity o Continent, he returned to England at the Restoration, and several minor Court appointments he was, with Sir W. D'Av granted Royal patents to erect two new playhouses, much t disgust of King Charles's Master of the Revels, whose authori thus overruled.

Drury Lane was opened as the Theatre Royal in 1663. In it was burnt down, for there were no County Council inspect those days, and the company played, till it was rebuilt, in the doned Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where his Ma company of comedians were advertised to play *The Lady' Stake, or The Wife's Resentment*, to be followed by *The Dev Wife*.

Killigrew himself subsequently became the King's Master Revels, and died in 1683.

Sir W. D'Avenant, the partner of Killigrew, was said scandal-mongers of his day to be an illegitimate son of Shak Meeting an old townsman on his way to Stratford and bein where he was hurrying, he replied that he was going to see l father, Shakespeare, and was met by the retort: 'Have a ca you do not take God's name in vain.' The same Master Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, who had protested against th given to Killigrew, also accused Sir William of disloyalty he had been a Master of the Revels to Oliver the Tyrant— which I should have thought would have been a sinecure days. In spite of Sir Henry Herbert's opposition he r obtained his licence, but was appointed Poet Laureat number of his plays was prodigious. He had lodgings in Inn Fields, where he died in 1668, and was buried in We Abbey, where on his grave is written in silly imitation Jonson's epitaph:

O rare Sir William D'Avenant.

Killigrew's company was named 'The King's Thea D'Avenant's 'The Duke's,' in honour of the Duke of Yor

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many vicissitudes the lessees of Covent Garden and Drury Lane claim that these patents are in force to the present day.

Playbills of performances in 1753 contain footnotes which still appear strange to us. One runs 'As any obstruction in the movement of the machinery will prejudice the performance of the entertainment, it is to be hoped no person will be displeased at their being refused admittance behind the scenes.' Another runs '*The Provoked Husband* will be given at the particular desire of several persons of quality.' I wonder if the husbands were anxious to provide a lesson to their wives and to teach them a moral. Another note says: 'Ladies are desired to send their servants by 3 o'clock.' I suppose that they were to preserve their seats. This was nothing to what happened at the opening of the Gaiety Theatre the other night, when I am informed a *queue* was formed at 5 o'clock A.M.

Before permanently moving to Drury Lane and the Duke's Theatre, Killigrew and D'Avenant exercised their patents temporarily at other premises.

Christopher Rich purchased in 1688 a share in the management of Drury Lane, the patents of which had been combined in 1682 with that granted to Davenant, and notwithstanding endless quarrels involving many lawsuits, he succeeded for a long time in holding undisputed sway over his Majesty's theatre of Drury Lane, and on his ultimate expulsion from the theatre he took with him the patents and in 1714 established the Lincoln's Inn Theatre. Drury Lane, thus deprived of its privileges, was forced to depend upon temporary patents until the year 1837, when the owners produced the original patent granted to Killigrew, having previously purchased it of Covent Garden, where it had been secreted.

Although the patentees had the exclusive right of stage-playing, yet many theatres, by methods more or less legitimate, contrived to encroach on their vested interests.

Some of these minor theatres founded their claim to this right upon the Act relating to grants of licences for music, dancing, and other entertainments of a like nature. Others maintained that public stage plays were not being acted, the playbills inviting patrons to have tea, during the supposed service of which performances took place.

A curious case of a like nature has recently occupied our Law Courts, where the Theatrical Managers' Association sued the Palace Theatre for producing a part of a stage play known as *La Toledad*, and the magistrate decided against the Palace Company and fined them 10*l*., the Palace only being licensed by the County Council for music and dancing.

The exclusive privileges of the patent theatres were being brought, by the public demand for more places of amusement, to an end, with the result that the Theatres Act of 1843 was passed, by which the

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Lord Chamberlain was allowed to grant full stage play licence London, and magistrates were given similar powers in the countr

This Act is still in force, but in such parts as are included in County of London the County Council have taken the place of justices, the Lord Chamberlain remaining the sole authorit Great Britain with respect to the censorship of plays, which submitted to him before they are presented to the public; but morals of theatrical performances have improved, and there w now be no need, as there appears to have been in old days, for o the audience to complain at a benefit of Mrs. Gardner's that sh soon announce her intention of standing on her head, for the a ment of the *savoir vivre* and the Macaroni Club.

In the time when George the Second was king, however, of entertainment were still the scenes of every kind of disorder shown by the preamble to the Act 25 Geo. II., which says:

> Whereas the multitude of places of entertainment for the lower people is another great cause of thefts and robberies, as they are tempted to spend their small substance in riotous pleasures, and in cons are put on unlawful methods of supplying their wants and renewin pleasures.

This Act made it incumbent on the lessees of such pl obtain a licence from the Justices, and is the source from wh jurisdiction of the County Council in respect of music and d is derived.

In 1855 the number of places licensed for music and danc 305, against 67 in 1845. Five-sixths of the licences were fo only, and three-fourths of them were granted to public-house

About the middle of the last century the Sacred H Society and Exeter Hall gave a taste for oratorio, and great such as Sims Reeves and Santley, in the zenith of their appeared on the scene, and these places became the home high-class entertainments. To a great extent these halls, w been the outcome of small rooms connected with public-hou been supplanted by the modern theatres of varieties.

In 1878 there were in London at least 300 public-houses for music, while at the present time there are only about tw

The restaurants where music is allowed during meals efforts of religious bodies in establishing mission-halls and i have contributed to overwhelm the licensed victuallers in this

For the first few years of the authority of the Count the sale of intoxicating drinks was allowed in these places tainment; but the Council have since that time, while fering with existing licences, decided with regard to new ments to prohibit the sale or consumption of intoxicati on their premises; and this policy has resulted in a great s

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the places holding licences with this restriction have been among the most popular.

They have drawn a distinction at present between theatres and music-halls, and it appears to me with reason, for while in the former people would only seek refreshment in the limited time between the acts, in the other there would be constant opportunities of hanging about the bars, and thus causing a temptation to unnecessary drinking.

It is fair to say that few if any cases of misconduct arising from drink have ever been reported.

The Licensing Committee of the London County Council, in the past year, licensed 331 places for music, stage plays, and dancing, or music only, twenty-three of these being for stage plays.

The responsibility imposed on this Committee is considerable as regards new places of entertainment, but the difficulties in cases of old theatres are still graver.

All these theatres are inspected from time to time by the officials of the departments of the superintending architect, chief officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, and other departments. And now, as the development of electric light increases, a new difficulty has arisen and great care is necessary in its application.

It is unnecessary to call attention to the fact of the enormous advance in fireproof materials which has tended so much to the safety of the public. Every theatre and music-hall in London has, or will shortly have, a fire curtain separating the stage from the auditorium. Chemical science has now provided a substance which for some time has been used at bazaars, to render muslin and canvas uninflammable, and this has already been taken advantage of for scenery, and it is to be hoped that it will be soon adapted for use in the more inflammable dresses used by actresses.

In 1100 selected cases occurring between 1797 and 1897 at home and abroad, the number of fatalities, according to some authorities, is fixed at not fewer than 10,000, and the loss of valuable property has been enormous. In this generation there have been fires at Brooklyn in 1876, when 400 people lost their lives. In 1881, at the Municipal Theatre at Nice 150 to 200 were killed, and in the same year 450 perished at the Ring Theatre, Vienna. In 1887, 115 perished at the Opéra Comique, Paris, and in the same year at the Exeter Theatre 127 persons were burned. In 1891, thirteen lost their lives at the Theatre Royal, Gateshead; and the fire at the Paris Bazaar, which should not perhaps be classed in the same category as the buildings with which this article deals, is fresh in all minds, as is also the fire at the Comédie Française in 1900, which occasioned the death of the artist Mlle. Henriot.

In London, in a properly licensed building, no life has been lost (except that of a fireman in the performance of his duty at the fire

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at the Alhambra in December 1882) since 1858, when a Cobourg Theatre, now Royal Victoria Coffee Music-hall, si persons were killed in a panic resulting from a *false alarm* c Previous to that, the fire at Covent Garden in 1808 was respo for from fifteen to twenty victims, and they were not from a the audience, but persons who lost their lives by trying to ge the theatre to extinguish the fire. In 1807 twenty-three live lost through a *false* alarm of fire at Sadler's Wells Theatre.

One case has occurred, however, at premises which we licensed, in 1887 in the Hebrew Dramatic Club, Spitalfields, seventeen lives were lost during the performance of a stag In 1892 five children were injured at the St. Pancras Unionist Club during a magic-lantern entertainment.

The importance of taking precautions to prevent and al is further illustrated by the fact that since 1866, 410 *incid fire* have been reported at places of public entertainment, in thirty-one cases where the building has been totally destroy nineteen cases where persons have been injured. In this con a question has been raised in the Press, which has never, a I am aware, been publicly answered. It is argued, and right the majority of fires in theatres originate on the stage, a therefore it is unnecessary to take a great deal of care to m auditorium fire-resisting. Perhaps those who raised this will be interested in the following facts.

In London since 1866, eighteen fires have originated auditoria of theatres, of which ten occurred during perfo and seventeen fires have occurred in the same localities music-halls, four of which were during performance. In Surrey Theatre, and in 1896 the Cambridge Music-ha destroyed by fires which commenced in the front of these while from 1811 to 1897 there are records of twenty-sev theatres in the provinces and abroad at which fires have co in the auditoria, the most notable of which were:

On the 26th of December, 1811, Richmond, U.S.A seventy-two were killed and many were injured.

On the 28th of February, 1847, at Carlsruhe, sixty-th and 203 injured.

On the 23rd of March, 1881, at Nice, 200 killed injured.

On the 28th of December, 1891, at Gateshead, thirt and many injured.

On the 27th of December, 1895, at Baltimore, U.S.A four killed.

In July 1901, regulations founded on twelve years' e and guided to some extent by the practice of other coun after long and careful consideration issued by the Council

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hoped that they will have the effect of bringing the various premises, as far as possible, up to the standard of safety justly demanded by the public, and will be of great use to the licensees themselves, as well as to architects engaged on new theatres.

Great progress has been made in this direction with the co-operation of architects, owners, and lessees, who are well aware that the greater the proved safety of the theatres is, the larger will be their audiences.

The committee strive hard, with the skilful co-operation of their permanent officials, to mitigate the necessary inconvenience caused to licensees and proprietors by alterations which are deemed necessary for the protection of the public; and all their endeavours are responded to and assisted by the co-operation of the Lord Chamberlain, who declines to issue any licences to places not sanctioned by the London County Council.

At the present time the chief difference of opinion that has arisen between the committee and a minority of the Council has been on the application of temperance legislation.

We are all at one, of course, in our desire to do what is in our power to prevent excessive drinking, but I am always in fear that the extreme portion of teetotalers may damage the cause we all have at heart, by pushing too fast and too far their principles of total abstinence.

An old friend of mine, a witty and Liberal lady, passed a few days in a country house where Radical and teetotal views were pushed to extremes. On leaving it, she exclaimed: 'It is only by God's mercy that I have not become a confirmed Tory and an habitual drunkard.'

When I was Vice-Chairman of the Royal Commission on Licensing, I asked Lady Henry Somerset, who has done more for the cause of temperance than any woman living, whether, if there were no such thing as excessive drinking, there would be any necessity for any of her societies or efforts. Her answer was, 'None whatever.'

It is in a spirit of moderation and reform, not giving occasion to our enemies to blaspheme, that I hope the Council will proceed, removing, where and when it is possible, temptation to drink, and, above all, setting their faces like flints against all excess.

Readers of the *Creevey Papers*, which have been lately published, will see with pain how common, and almost universal, drunkenness was in the days when the Georges reigned. Such sights, familiar in the times of our ancestors, are unknown among gentlemen of the present generation. This should give us hope that education may step in and accomplish the good work, and remove the shame that still hangs over us of spending millions of our annual income on strong drink.

There is another point on which feeling runs high, and that is

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the question of the employment of women at bars where intoxicat liquors are sold. Miss Orme, whose experience is unrivalled, appointed by the Labour Commission to inquire into the quest She gives many arguments from a moral and physical point of against such employment, and many good women whose noble ef on behalf of their sex appeal strongly to the sympathies of men a with her; on the other hand, it is said it would be cruel to circ scribe the already narrow field in which women can gain a livelih In the face of such conflicting opinions, and taking into cons ation the comparatively small number of barmaids employed in music-hall bars under the Council's control, I think that p opinion must be brought to bear on the hardships of their lot, a view to their amelioration, and that the Council exercised a discretion in saying that they would lay down no law on the sul but that they would view with satisfaction any diminution i number of young women employed in bars where alcoholic drinl sold.

ALGERNON W

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LENDING LIBRARIES AND CHEAP BOOKS

MUCH has been written lately in condemnation of the free libraries, on the ground that they were chiefly used by those who cared only for light reading, and that the more serious books were rarely in demand. It is quite true that out of each six books taken during the year from a free library five will be novels. But it would be quite unfair to take no notice of the considerable number of more serious books that are read as well. Taking, for instance, the annual report of our Bromley Library, I see that during the last twelve months more than seven thousand books have been borrowed from the departments of 'theology and philosophy,' 'biography and history,' 'travels and topography,' and 'laws, commerce, politics, &c.' This is certainly a quite respectable figure, the more so as our library contains, all taken, only 5875 volumes in all these departments, to which 120 volumes only were added during the last twelve months. It must also be said that the very wide division of 'laws, commerce, politics, &c.,' which surely would have been in great demand during the last few years, is represented in the library by 260 odd volumes, and that only *five* new books have found their way to the shelves of this department during the last twelve months (as against 280 in the branch of 'prose fiction').

Besides, it seems to me that the *rôle* of the free libraries has not been quite understood in these discussions, and that the poor reader has been unjustly censured. It would be perhaps more correct to say that the free libraries have fulfilled their function admirably, as they have developed a taste for reading, and have powerfully contributed to create a quite new class of readers, especially in the young generation. No very deep investigation is required, indeed, to show that the love of reading has greatly increased wherever free lending libraries have been opened—one has only to look attentively at the scores and hundreds of people who come every day to the libraries to take books. And if these readers have a decided taste for novels, these novels are certainly of a better sort than the penny dreadfuls or the *Police News*, which were formerly so widely read amidst this class of readers. Busy people, who have little time for reading after a day's work, must

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first be brought into the habit of caring for a book in their s time, and this is generally done by light reading. Besides, us not forget what quantities of novels have been absorbe youth by every one of us. Nowadays the novel is the y people's way of learning something about the world and its way

To create in the reading public a love for a higher order of l is certainly an urgent necessity; but for this purpose some else besides the lending library is necessary—I mean cheap ed of serious books. It is a fact that books of a serious character c be read quickly, and a volume borrowed from a lending li cannot be kept for months. If it takes a philosophically tr man more than a month to read a volume of Spencer or Darw order that he may properly understand and assimilate to some e the teaching, how much more necessary is it for the average rea the free lending library to have plenty of time for the compreh of such books?

I have often heard French working men say: 'I cannot serious book from a public library; I must pick it up second Then I read it at my leisure, which is generally at night only all is quiet, when the family is asleep; and even that I can every day. Very often when I am reading a borrowed boo of it leads me to consult another book; so I try to get this book from the library. Sometimes I can get it, sometimes I I succeed in getting it, and have read what I want, I then g to the library for the first book, and as often as not it is out. must have the book upon my own shelf.' That is really ought to be.

Books of serious matter must be the property of the reader to a good novel we all like to refer occasionally, and it is the sa a book of poems; but still more is this the case with a book less scientific. To such a book we should have the facility constantly and on all sorts of occasions. It may be that we read a passage from it to a friend with whom we have a di or we may look in the book for a point to be used in a at a meeting, or else we are anxious to get a general ide going to hear a lecture, or we may want to compare the ide writer with those of some other writer on the same subjec in this way we learn to fully understand an author and to a books. Good books must be a possession, if it be only to of them in some idle moment, to read a few lines at random, upon the margin our own observation, even though it be remark 'How beautiful!' or a mere sign of interrogation.

The free lending libraries are undoubtedly developing for books; but are English books cheap enough for the re small means to buy them? The stream of good books editions, published of late in this country, has been

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encouraging symptom, and the appearance of any good book in a shilling or a sixpenny edition has been greeted with delight by all serious readers. But we claim more from the publishers. First, the price of some of these books must be still further reduced, and we welcome the pretty shilling edition of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, even though we have had (since 1901 only!) a half-crown edition of the same work; secondly, the cheap books should be of a library shape; thirdly, the cheap edition should not be kept until years and years after the more expensive one has been in circulation, as is now the case. This last is a most important point, for every keen reader wishes to have the book while it is spoken about, and while the reviews are calling attention to its merits. Furthermore, there should be the means for circulating cheap editions of serious books in the country, so that even in small provincial towns new books should be brought under the eyes of the would-be buyers.

The high price of most serious books has been until lately the chief obstacle in the way of spreading good educational literature in England, and the great majority of excellent works that came out during the last half-century still remains very expensive. The English publisher seldom realises how unjust he is, not only to the reader and the writer, but to himself, in bringing out only expensive editions of such books, which in a cheap form could be sold by the thousand instead of by the hundred. It would be extremely interesting to know the exact number of copies of the half-crown edition of Darwin's more popular works, and especially the shilling edition, that have been sold lately, as compared with the previous editions; but, failing these figures, we may perhaps take as a striking example in point the sixpenny edition of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*: 130,000 copies of it were sold last winter, while of the beautifully illustrated six-shilling edition only a few thousand copies have been sold in the course of two years.

In France, in Germany, but especially in Russia, the publishers understand perfectly well the advantage of cheap publications, and a vast amount of books, marvellously cheap and well printed, crowd the Continental book market. The result is that such books not only satisfy the need of the reader who is looking out for them, but they also attract those who otherwise would not have thought of buying books and of starting a little library of their own. Perhaps the greatest successes in this direction have been attained in Russia. Cheap editions of good books, both by Russian authors and as translations, began to come out in that country about forty-five years ago; and I must here say that this excellent tendency was due to a great extent to the Russian women. At present Russian classics are circulating in numbers of cheap editions. The whole of Poushkin's prose and verse costs only three shillings in a quite decent ten-volume edition, while his separate poems and stories can be obtained

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at all prices beginning at one farthing. The same is true of works of another great poet, Lermontoff. Some of these pop editions are illustrated by first-rate artists. As early as 1858, a l publishing firm, Kozhántchikoff's, began to publish at low p very good editions of the works of the various modern authors, as the historian Kostomároff, the dramatist Ostróvsky, the nov Gontcharóff, and some other well-known writers. It may be a that on all these books the firm made profits, and prospered, they undertook to publish cheap editions of nonconformist (*rasko* literature; whereupon the terrible censorship ruined the fir seizing most of their editions. Kozhántchikoff's ambition w create readers of national history by giving them Kostomá *Monographs* in a cheap and nicely published edition, and in he succeeded wonderfully: from that time Kostomároff has widely read in Russia. The bulky history of Solovióff, a dry work, originally in twenty-seven volumes, has also bee published lately in a marvellously cheap edition in eight vol As to the 'critics,' both dead and living—Byelinsky, Dobrol Pissareff, Mikhailovsky—sufficient to say that every volu these splendid writers, containing a matter of more than 420 can be had for the modest price of two shillings! And of Byel for whose works the copyright has expired, there are two ed of which the volume, same size, costs only one shilling.

Other publishers have made it their ambition to circulate books of science. The Russian student can have, therefore surprisingly small sum, the gems of the most recent works countries upon his bookshelf. Long ago he had a collection chief works of Charles Darwin for nine shillings. Just now cheaper edition has been brought out; and to judge of the the translation, made anew from the latest edition, it is suffi say that the best professors have done the work. Many y Buckle's *History of Civilisation* was published at three s and an abridged edition at one shilling, of which more tha copies were circulated. Flammarion's *Astronomy*, with 382 tions and three chromo-lithographs, costs only six shilling splendid monumental work by Elisée Reclus, his *Universal Ge* which reads like a first-rate romance but is at the same tim scientific work, was published in Russia as the volumes wer out in France, at an incomparably lower price than in and it is now being republished in five- and six-shilling This is, of course, a work that every cultured household possess, but the price of the English edition makes it inacc this country. The same can be said about the chief histori (Schlosser, Gervinus, &c.), which, with but a few exceptions, known in England, while they are quite familiar in Russia.

The sad conditions of a severe censorship in Russia ha many publishers, and hinder a good many original works fr

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the light. Publishing firms have therefore to rely a good deal upon translations, and it is really wonderful to see the number of good books, well translated and well published at an extremely modest price, that circulate in Russia. The absence of literary treaties, which permits books to be translated free into Russian, certainly cannot explain this fact, because nowhere are the author's rights costly upon translations of serious books, nor is the remuneration which is paid to the translators in Russia lower than it is here. It is simply the taste for reading the best works of all European literature which has been developed in the country, to a great extent, by the cheap editions, and is maintained by the reviews. The result is that there is certainly a great deal of truth in the *saying* which we often hear, namely, that the Russian reader knows the literature and science of other countries better than the readers of those countries themselves.

Another important feature of the Russian publishing activity is the attention that has been given to the country labourer, the peasant. Some publishers, inspired with the desire of spreading knowledge among the peasant masses, as well as several others who are merely guided by commercial calculations, publish a mass of excellent literature and popular science in editions of hundreds of thousands of copies, on good paper, well printed, the books ranging from one to thirty kopeks (*i.e.* from one farthing to sevenpence) in price. So that for a few shillings a poor family living in the country can have a shelf of books upon various subjects, corresponding to a popular encyclopædia, and another shelf of lighter reading for the same price. There are, of course, both at Moscow and at St. Petersburg, a number of very unscrupulous publishers who send to the villages the most objectionable publications—partly reproductions of the oldest absurd romances, and partly of the modern music-hall type. Tons of that sort of literature and cheap pictures are hurled down upon the country, and are spread there by special pedlars, who go from village to village with their loads of farthing books and pictures. But a considerable improvement has taken place lately in that sort of literature, owing to the efforts partly of the women pioneers of primary education, who have started cheap editions of better literature, and partly of Tolstoy and his friends (the firm 'The Intermediary'). This last firm alone spreads every year from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 copies of very well chosen popular literature; so that at the present moment there is a large literature of good popular publications, which would do honour to any West European country. One finds now among these farthing and halfpenny publications all sorts of admirable abridgments of the works of the best writers of all nations—in natural science, economics, geography, agriculture, hygiene, folklore, fiction, poetry, calendars full of reliable encyclopædic information and yet costing only five farthings, and so on. Only history is poorly represented, on account of

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the rigours of censorship. In short, looking through the catal of different publishing firms, it is impossible not to feel gratit those publishers who bring out such a mass of cheap good bo all branches of knowledge, and give every facility for the pu of them by the country readers.

Great attention is also given to the children's literature. thinking Russian attaches the highest importance to the educ question; and both educators and publishers do their best to youthful readers with good books at the lowest possible pr can well remember Paul Bert's delightful little books coming Russia as soon as they appeared in France, books that lead in a most fascinating way through the whole range of natural —physics, chemistry, geology, and biology. Some of these have from 150 to 400 engravings, and they are sold at prices from fourpence to tenpence. And I see now that scores of books of popular science for the youth have been lately tr from all European languages. Quite a number of men and in Russia make their living by such translations, or by comp adapting more serious works—even the most profound philo ones—for the young. Kant's Philosophy, for instance, is up very simply and published at ninepence. As to the E classics, they circulate in Russia as widely as the Russian and separate poems, plays, and novels can be had at al beginning with one farthing. Of course, there are plenty of e editions as well, but these too are much below the English p

The Russian monthly review also deserves to be mentio is of the same educational character as the English *Quarterl* and the *Westminster Review* used to be in years past. It is a large octavo book of from four to five hundred closel pages, and the reader finds there for his two shillings or hal a great variety of most valuable information. There is al novel or two by some of the best Russian writers—a of Turgeneff and Tolstoy having appeared first in som Besides the original works, there is usually a novel transl some European language, running serially. Then comes a of serious articles on all manner of subjects, but chiefly phil historical, and economical—the size of the review permitt take in elaborate articles of from thirty to forty pages. A comes the most important portion of every Russian re literary criticism, in which the critic, *à propos* of a new drama, discusses at some length and in an attractive style matters pertaining to social and domestic life. The greatest of intellectual Russia have always been her art critics— Dobroluboff, Pissareff, Mikhailovsky, and so on—each philosopher and an artist himself. Finally, each review detailed survey of political, social, and literary life at abroad. Notwithstanding all obstacles offered by censo

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'Review of Inner Life,' which was always conducted in the best periodicals by first-rate writers, has been for the last forty years an inexhaustible mine of information about all vital questions in the country. As to the 'Foreign Review,' the letters from Paris (once written by Elie Reclus) or the letters from England, which have now run from month to month for some years already in a certain review, reminding one of the well-known London letters of Louis Blanc—these letters give to the Russians a knowledge of life, as it is in these two countries, such as is seldom found in France or in England themselves. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but the rich mines of information contained in British Blue-books are nearly always better known in Russia, through our reviews, than in England. Some of the reviews have lately introduced the system of publishing the works of their contributors in book form, charging the author with the bare cost of printing, and giving him all the advantages of advertisement by the review. An extremely interesting book on English politics and social life was thus published a few months ago by the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* at the remarkably low price of three shillings for a large octavo book of 560 pages, with the result that three thousand copies of the book were sold immediately. The author was well remunerated for his work, and the review has had the best of advertisements.

But where the Russian publishers excel is in the supplements which they give with the illustrated weekly papers. There is one publisher who is especially noted for that. He publishes a weekly illustrated paper, something like the German *Gartenlaube*, for which the annual subscription is six roubles and fifty kopeks, or thirteen shillings, which can be paid, if required, in three or four instalments. For this modest sum the subscriber receives not only the weekly illustrated, of which each number consists of twenty quarto pages, and a monthly fashion-book with all sorts of dress and fancy needle-work patterns, but also a monthly magazine of about two hundred pages in each number, in which there are novels, poems, and popular science articles; and in addition to all that, the publisher gives the complete works of some popular writer, like Turguéneff, Gógol, Goutcharóff, or Ostróvsky. This year, for instance, the subscribers receive in instalments the complete works of Tchékhoff in sixteen small octavo volumes of 200 pages each, and twenty-four volumes of another less popular novelist, Lyeskóff. This latter, although not a writer of the first order, is still worth having in a library. As to Tchékhoff, he is, after Tolstoy, one of our best living writers, and to buy his works alone would cost twice as much as the yearly subscription to the weekly paper. In short, in the course of the year the subscriber will receive more than nine thousand printed pages of good reading, besides a thousand pages of the illustrated weekly itself.

It may, of course, be asked, How is it possible to give all that

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printed matter for thirteen shillings? But the secret is ir enormous circulation of the paper, which has had nearly 20 subscribers ever since it gave, one year, the works of Turguéne supplement, and in the fact that the subscription is paid in ad It must also be added that the authors of the works given supplement are well paid, I am told, and the publisher c weekly does not reserve exclusive rights on the works of authors. All taken, this system seems to have given such ex results that there are now quite a number of weeklies whicl similarly rich supplements. Some weeklies devoted to edu achieve wonders in this line.

One more example of cheap publications is the series e *The Library of the Primary School.* It is a series of geographical descriptions, historical and natural history readin so on, mostly suited for young people who have only recei are receiving primary education. The books are small and illustrated, and so arranged that the subscribers receive them would receive a monthly magazine, but in batches of from two books at a time. This enables several families in a village together for one subscription, and they receive each montl three hundred pages of printed matter for sixpence. The bc really very pretty, with an elegantly illustrated cover, and no advertisements excepting one on the back of the cover, t that all these publications will be sent to subscribers in any the Empire for six shillings yearly, or three shillings the h paid in advance.

There is scarcely any branch of science and art, as wel sort of odd subject useful in life, which has not been uti these cheap popular editions; and this can be said too al classics of all nations. In the Russian high schools for b and boys the history of foreign literature forms part education, and the pupils of these schools, being guided teacher's advice, read excellent translations of the best I literature. But, thanks to the very cheap editions, even th pupil of a country primary school can have a correct notion Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Victor Hugo, and other men have written, always provided that the priest is not the sch of the village.

Students' books and school books are also very cheap i as compared with the prices in this country. Sometimes I to recommend a good text-book on botany, biology, or chem I hesitate about recommending Mendeléeff's book, which co guinea, or an equally good book on botany, by an Englis which costs as much. In Russia, Mendeléeff's Chemistr volumes, was published twenty-five years ago at the price shillings, and now it is still cheaper. It is the same with al

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books in Russia; they are from one-half to a third of the price at which they are sold in England.

The English reader will probably say to this, 'No wonder! Your writers and translators are poorly paid, and altogether work is so much cheaper in Russia than it is in England'; but this would not be quite true. As far as the printers are concerned, the money wages in the printing trade are lower in Russia than they are here—at least in London and the great cities—although the difference becomes much smaller if we take the wages paid in the country towns of England. Printing, as a rule, is slightly cheaper in Russia, and therefore some English publishers have now part of their artistic printing done at St. Petersburg. But it must not be forgotten either that the machinery which is used by the large printing houses at St. Petersburg and Moscow is of the latest improved type and of the very first quality. It requires some good machinery to bring out the above-mentioned illustrated weekly, with all its supplements, admirably printed, in 200,000 copies every week; and everyone, however slightly acquainted with printing matters, will understand that no reduction in the wages would effect on the printing the economies which are effected by driving all the year round the most perfect machinery, and by issuing editions in hundreds of thousands of copies. Besides, are not the pretty shilling editions of the World's Classics (even without the usual soap and corn-flour advertisements to spoil them) the best proof that printing, paper, and bookbinding are not so awfully expensive in England, provided the proper style of publishing be chosen, the proper machinery be used—and the intention of having cheap books be there?

As to the authors and the translators, they are not, as a rule, paid less than here, and they are often paid better. In England, occasionally, a popular novelist or an explorer—someone who makes a sensation—may get a large sum for his book; but the majority, we find, are paid less than the average Russian writer gets for his work. So that in this case the question of cheap labour may be left out. The secret of success in this kind of enterprise has lain in the demand for cheap books on behalf of a wide class of educated people possessed of but modest means, but chiefly in the initiative of a few publishers who really wanted to spread education broadcast amidst the masses, and, having begun to bring out cheap editions of favourite authors, compelled the other publishers to adopt the same system. I have named one of them, Kozhántchikoff, but I ought to name quite a number of men and women publishers, as well as publishing societies, who have worked in the same direction with the same intention.

These few, who began their publishing activity with the desire of spreading knowledge, and whose publishing business was increased from year to year as they saw what a rich mine they had struck

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by offering good, varied, and serious reading to the great public—these few have compelled the others to follow suit, and at the presen time a Russian publisher is bound to ask himself, first of all, to wha public he means to appeal; and if he is going to publish a boo of popular science, sociology, or ethnography which can appeal t a wide circle of readers, he knows that he must publish it at a pric of two or three shillings—never higher than five shillings—but the he also can reckon in return upon a sale of about ten thousand copie or more.

I know that there are now a few publishers and publishin associations which do excellent work in this direction in th country as well; but there is no reason why the same should not b done on a much larger scale, not for old books only, but for ne books as well, and why all the treasures of knowledge which ha been accumulated in other countries within the last fifty yea should not be brought out, so as to render them accessible to tl great mass of the English people—why the little country towns a villages of England should not be flooded, just as the Germ villages are, and the Russian villages begin to be, with a special written popular literature dealing with all possible branches human knowledge, and sold—perhaps by special pedlars—at t price of a very few pence—not more than two or three. No amou of laws for the protection of birds and their nests could do so mu as an attractively published book about birds and their habits on t cottager's bookshelf. It is not in the nature of a child to be cr to creatures with whom he is familiar. And most certainly ma branches of land culture, and small industries too, would not h been in the precarious state in which they are now if the needs the cottagers had been approached by disinterested publishers— merely in a mercantile or narrow chapel spirit, but with an inte gently sympathetic mind.

And now some readers of this article will surely make an ironi remark, somewhat in these words: 'Well, according to what we told, Russia ought to be the most enlightened country in Euro but to us it seems just the contrary.' To this quite natural rem I can only reply by referring the reader to what he may find in Russian free press abroad. He will see then that all the educatic movement in Russia is very young—it dates from the abolitio serfdom only; and he will notice, perhaps even with some adm tion, what a struggle the initiators of education, of libraries, an everything that tends to progress, have had to maintain during tl last forty years against the regressive tendencies of an autoc government. Government prosecutions in matters pertaining to cation and the press have been a long and great tragedy in Rus life.

SOPHIE KROPOTKI

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THE NEW DISCOVERIES IN ELECTRICITY

THE recent discoveries in this branch of science may be grouped under two heads: those tending to render more certain the belief that electricity and light are essentially one; and those which are revealing the hitherto entirely unknown phenomena at present grouped together under the general name of *radio-activity*. All the discoveries point to one conclusion; namely, that electricity is a far more important factor in the material universe, as known to men, than has ever been dreamt of before. Many believe that a recognition of this truth will lead to a great extension of knowledge, and at the same time to a unification of the different branches of physical science, which will probably modify all existent theories.

The connection between electricity and light was suspected by Faraday, who could give no reasons for the strong conviction which led him to try many different combinations in the hope of discovering some interaction between electricity or magnetism and light. He succeeded in showing that if a ray of polarised light traverses a strong magnetic field, the plane of polarisation is changed. He failed to find that which he principally sought, an alteration in the period of the emitted light by electro-magnetic means. Where Faraday failed, Zeeman, working with the far more sensitive instruments of the present day, succeeded in 1896.

What Faraday found was sufficient to prove that there is some interaction between the forces which traverse a magnetic field and the 'ether' waves of light. The ether is assumed to exist throughout all the material universe, and to be the medium which conveys light and radiant heat. When it was proved that light must be a wave-motion, and not, as Newton had supposed, an imponderable emanation, it was necessary to conceive of something which could be thrown into wave-motion. Obviously this something could not be, as in the case of sound, the air. Yet, though in one sense the ether is a pure assumption, endowed with properties as required for the functions it is maintained to fulfil, yet, inasmuch as this assumption is found to be a satisfactory explanation of many phenomena, it is held by most scientific men that the ether is quite as real as matter or energy; in other words, that like matter and energy it is that expression of unknown realities which the limitations of our intellect

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and of our senses enable us to conceive. In ultimate essen know absolutely nothing.

Faraday believed that the electric and magnetic for attraction and repulsion act by means of stresses and strains i ether, and Clerk Maxwell worked out an elaborate mathem theory to show how all the then known phenomena of elec might be explained as mechanical disturbances of the ether, an light might be considered a special case of such disturbances. present belief of many physicists is that Maxwell's theory artificial, but that it certainly contained elements of truth, foreshadowed the existence of electro-magnetic waves sim nature to the waves of light. Of these waves there was in Ma day not the slightest experimental evidence. Helmholtz tried them, but without success. The problem was solved by H 1889.

Given the velocity with which a periodic disturbance of a traverses a medium, then the wave-length can be calculated period of vibration of the disturbing cause is known. The of electricity had been experimentally proved to be equal velocity of light. An oscillatory movement of electricity w the theory was correct, ought to produce ether waves, was g an electric spark. For, if the light of an electric spark is th means of a rapidly rotating mirror upon a photographic pla found to produce bands of light and darkness, showing that our eyes appears as a single spark really consists of several to and fro. The period of this vibration can be calculated given case, and thence follows the length of the ether waves produce. Hertz recognised that it was not possible with th at his disposal to find waves 300 metres or more in length, the spark of an ordinary Leyden jar would produce, and tha necessary to construct apparatus which should give sparks of much more rapid oscillations, and hence producing mucl waves. He succeeded in obtaining a wave-length of only thre and he proved the existence of these ether waves by the ph of resonance. When an insulated ring of metal of suitable di was rightly placed, sparks were seen to pass a tiny gap in showing that a current had been induced in the metal by tl of the waves. We now have a much more sensitive de electric waves in the coherer, an instrument which depends fact that bits of metal in such loose contact that the ordinarily allow any current to pass, come into closer co form a good conductor if they are traversed by electr Various explanations of this phenomenon have been put for it is not yet satisfactorily understood. Upon the cohere the possibility of wireless telegraphy, into the technical which it is not necessary to enter here.

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While engineers have been utilising these waves for practical purposes, physicists have been studying their properties. Generally speaking, those substances are transparent to electric waves which are bad conductors of electricity, while metals are opaque. For short distances the path of the waves is a straight line, but for long distances it follows the curvature of the earth in some way. Trees, high buildings, and any steep irregularities of the surface hinder the propagation of these waves. Like the waves of light, they can be reflected from metal surfaces, focused by lenses, bent out of their path by prisms. And just as wave-lengths of light and of radiant heat are measured by means of the phenomena of interference, so also can wave-lengths of electricity be experimentally determined. The shortest wave-length yet measured is about 3 millimetres in length. The waves of light are measured in ten thousandths of a millimetre, so that between the longest ultra-red wave-length which has been isolated and measured, and the shortest wave-length produced by spark gap apparatus there is a great unknown region. And yet there is good reason to believe that there is absolute continuity between the short waves, the effects of which are known to us as heat and light and chemical action, and the longer waves of electricity. Theoretically, ether waves may be of any length. We do not know whether different effects are produced by the different wave-lengths of electric waves; neither do we know anything about the waves which lie beyond the shortest ultra-violet that has been isolated and studied. It hardly seems probable that only those wave-lengths produce physical, chemical, or physiological effects, which lie within the narrow limits of the spectrum.

Spark gap apparatus suggests questions respecting lightning, which is a natural electric spark on a gigantic scale, but the whole subject of atmospheric electricity is as yet very little understood. Physicists hope that they will be able to attack these problems more successfully now that within the last ten years something has been learnt about the movement of electricity in gases.

For till quite recently this was unknown ground. The beautiful and varied light effects which are seen when an electric current traverses a vacuum tube were described and classified, but not understood. Hittorf and, a little later, Crookes, experimented with tubes in which the gas was rarefied to a millionth of the normal pressure. At pressures as low as this, the luminous effects almost entirely disappear, the current still traverses the tube, but in darkness, and a new effect appears at the cathode. It becomes the *starting* point of rays, which, though invisible themselves, cause the glass wall opposite them to fluoresce brilliantly. These cathode rays do not carry the current, for they go absolutely straight forward, wherever the anode may be. They are produced by the current, or

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are rendered observable by the current, but they are not the curr itself. They cause fluorescence in many substances besides gla they produce intense heat when they strike a surface, and they be permanently deflected from their path by a magnet, so that tl describe a curve which is the resultant of the original straig forward motion and the motion induced by the magnetic field, a this curve can be rendered visible by means of a fluorescent scre In 1879 Crookes gave a lecture in which he demonstrated his exp ments and stated his explanation. He thought that the cath rays consist of 'radiant matter,' that is, matter in so exceedin rarefied a condition that it differs from a gas at ordinary pressure, a gas differs from a liquid or a liquid from a solid. His views w not accepted by the majority of physicists at the time, but la discoveries have shown that he was right in considering the catho rays to be streams of *something* and not, as Hertz had supposed form of ether disturbance. Hertz was able on his theory to accou for the *magnetic* deflection, but when, later on, J. J. Thomson prov that the cathode rays could also be *electrically* deflected, and tl they are attracted to a positively electrified plate exactly as negative charged bodies would be, then it was generally admitted that t cathode rays are streams of electrified particles. Physicists are al to calculate the velocity with which the particles move and the rat of the electric charge they bear to their mass, and thence to estima what the electric charge is and what the mass is. The results many different experiments with various gases and many differe calculations substantially agree. The velocity is about a fifth of tl velocity of light. The mass is less than a thousandth of the mass an atom of hydrogen, which had hitherto been thought to be tl very smallest particle capable of existing independently. To the far tinier particles, the size of which 'bears the same ratio to tl size of a bacillus, as a bacillus to the whole earth,' has now by gener consent been given the name *electron*. They are supposed to b portions, as it were, knocked off an atom. Besides the cathode ray so-called, there are other rays which also start from the cathode, ra consisting of positively electrified particles. But they are muc more difficult to detect and study, and very little is known abo them as yet. The mass is found by experiment and calculation t be of the same order as that of an atom, and the theory is that the constitute the residue of the chemical atom after a negative electro has been removed. There have been three great theories of ele tricity. (1) The old fluid theory of Weber, which assumes tha electricity is a primarily existent something, distinguishes betwee positive and negative electricity, and speaks of individual particles c electricity, these particles being the seat of forces which act at distance through space. (2) The theory of Faraday, Maxwell, an Hertz, that there is no such thing as action at a distance without

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medium of communication, and that the explanation of electromagnetic phenomena is to be sought, not in the particles of electricity, but in the intervening ether. (3) The theory now held, which is an amalgamation of the two former. Electricity is again assumed to be a primarily existent something like matter and energy, and to be probably dual in essence, there being a real difference between positive and negative electricity corresponding to the difference in their manifestations, so that it is not only a question of more or less. The individual particles of electricity are believed to be imbedded in the ether, and connected with it in such a way that every movement of the particles causes disturbances in the ether, and every rearrangement of the particles affects the strains and stresses of the ether. Furthermore, matter and electricity are so related that wherever there is matter there also there is electricity, so that all the different ways of producing electricity are only different ways of separating the positive and negative electricities, and so rendering them manifest.

There is something—what it is we know not—about the distribution of electricity which is exactly analogous to difference of level. We call it difference of potential or electromotive force, and measure it by the work done by it or against it, just as we measure work done by or against gravity. And just as a small amount of water produces great results if it falls from a height, so a small amount of electricity at high potential produces far more striking results than a very much larger amount which flows between points, the difference of potential of which is small. It is the contrast between the waterfall and the sluggish stream. There is not much electricity involved in the electric spark of the friction machine; perhaps not even, relatively speaking, in the lightning flash. Of the three chief artificial methods we possess of producing electricity, the frictional method gives us little electricity at high potential, the chemical method gives us much electricity at low potential, and by the magnetic method, the method of induction, we obtain both much electricity and high potential. Hence the mechanical marvels of the present day.

What is it that really takes place when an electric current passes through a solid, liquid, or gas? The flow of the current through a liquid is accompanied by chemical change, and it is believed that the molecules of an electrolyte are constantly breaking up into positive and negative 'ions' and as constantly reuniting, so that at any given instant a certain number of ions are free. As soon as the circuit is closed the electromotive force directs these free ions towards the negative and positive poles, where, when they strike the metal electrodes, some interchange of electricity takes place, so that the charged ion becomes a neutral molecule. Although in one sense the existence of these ions is purely hypothetic, their velocity can be both calculated and experimentally determined, and it is so extremely low that it is measured in fractions of a millimetre per

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second. Yet the current, or amount of electricity which crosse: section in unit of time, is relatively great, because the ions b very large charge. The charge carried by an ion is a de quantity whatever that ion may be. This is a remarkable law discovered by Faraday, which in the light of modern resea shown to be of exceeding importance. If it is the motion o ions which constitutes the current, then, in liquid electrolyte current is really a convection stream—moving matter electr charged.

Nothing is known of the way in which electricity mov metals, but mathematical physicists are now trying to see h will work out if they assume that the current is carried in a conductor by the actual motion from particle to particle of elec and so far the calculations seem to agree with the observed p mena.

With respect to gases the theory which has proved more than any other, and is therefore believed to be nearer the tr that here also the current is of the nature of a convection s It is supposed that particles of any of the substances contai the gas, or of the gas itself, are split up into positive and ne parts or ions; not however of the same nature as the elect ions, because there is not necessarily chemical decomposition in If there are a few to begin with in the line of electric stress few by their movement break up other particles; but recomb keeps pace with decomposition, until the electromotive force increases the velocity, and therefore the power of the io obtained such a value that by rapid impact the numbers inc an avalanche grows. The ions set towards the poles, the cl passed on from particle to particle by collisions, and thou individual ion may only have travelled a very little way, el passes with the speed of light.

By a most elaborate method J. J. Thomson measured the on a gaseous ion and he found 'that the charge on the io to be independent of the agent by which it is produced a of the gas from which it originates, and that it is equa electrolytic charge on the hydrogen atom.' Furthermore has found that, 'although at ordinary pressure the ion seem a very complex structure and to be the aggregate of many n yet at very low pressures the structure of the ion, and esp the negative one, becomes very much simpler.'

This theory of discharge through gases does not re more than one perhaps in a billion particles should be br ions, but it does require that before a spark can pass should be there to start the collisions. Hence it woul follow that if two paths were equally easy for the disch path would be chosen where, before the electromotive fo to act, there were most ions ready to pass the current on.

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There is much, very much, respecting the passage of electricity through gases which is not yet understood, in spite of the great advances of the last ten years. In a vacuum, as perfect as it can now be constructed, the electric current does not pass at all, thus proving that the presence of some gas is necessary, as assumed by the theory of ions. But the meaning of the colours, and the bands of light, and the dark spaces when the current passes through a gas not too highly rarefied, are not understood. Indeed, why should there be any luminous effects at all connected with the gentle discharge through a gas? The light of a spark is accounted for by the heat generated by the violent discharge, but there is very little heat generated in the rarefied gas, certainly not enough to cause incandescence. It is light without heat, like the light of the glow-worm; it is electricity sending out the ether waves which we know as light. There are other noteworthy peculiarities about the electric discharge through gases. In order that a spark should pass even across a very small gap of air, a tolerably high electromotive force is needed; but if cathode rays, Röntgen rays, or Becquerel rays are passing through it, a gas will conduct electricity under very feeble forces. The theory is that these rays in some way 'ionise the gas,' as the phrase is now. There is also a remarkable action due to ultra-violet light. When it shines on a bright metal surface it draws negative electricity out of the metal, so that if the metal is negatively charged it loses its charge under this illumination, and if uncharged it becomes positively charged by subtraction of the negative electricity. By making the experiments with metal enclosed in vacuum tubes, and by very delicate apparatus, it was found that the particles of negative electricity, drawn out of the metal by ultra-violet light, are similar to the electrons of the cathode rays; they are deflected by a magnet in the same way, and their velocity is found to be of the same order. So that here again there is another instance of what the Germans call 'body rays' (Körperstrahlen) to distinguish them from ether rays of light or electricity. Moreover here are 'cathode rays' without any electric current to produce them. Another effect of ultra-violet light is that it is able directly to ionise the gas through which it shines in proportion as it is absorbed by that gas. Hence it is supposed that there must be something in the gas which vibrates with the same period—probably the electrons in the atom. By absorbing the energy of the wave of light, the energy of the oscillating electron becomes greater and greater and may become so great that it breaks away from the atom, and so ions are formed. In any case here is another remarkable connection between electricity and light.

The discovery which Zeeman made in 1896 amounts to this. He found that if the source of light which is sending forth a definite colour—that is, wave-length—is placed between the poles of a

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powerful electro-magnet, then the spectrum of that light is changed. He experimented first with the bright yellow sodium light, which gives two definite lines in the spectrum, and he found that these lines were altered, which means that the period of vibration of the source of light was affected by the strong magnetic field. And that means again that the vibrating particle which sends out the ether waves is electric in nature, for it is affected by the magnetic field as a charged electric body would be. By most elaborate calculations Zeeman and Lorentz discovered that this electric vibrating particle which produces light is in essentials identical with the electron of the cathode rays. And so, in the words of Professor Kayser of Bonn: 'After electrons had once been recognised in the cathode rays, it was soon found that they exist almost everywhere and that they play a great part in the economy of nature.'

The story of the 'accidental' discovery of the Röntgen rays is too well known to require repetition, and the phenomena are perfectly familiar nowadays; but with respect to the category to which they belong, they are still x rays, as at the time when they were first observed. Wherever cathode rays are checked by a glass or metal surface, they give rise to these marvellous Röntgen rays, which differ from the cathode rays essentially in this: they cannot be deflected by electric or magnetic means. And that is why they are believed not to be 'body-rays,' but to be some disturbance in the ether. The penetrability of the Röntgen rays seems to depend only upon their density, and not upon the material of the substances through which they pass. When the Röntgen rays strike a surface they in their turn give rise to secondary rays of more than one kind, some of which, when the surface is a metal, are 'cathode' rays, such as those drawn out of a metal by ultra-violet light.

The cathode rays may be said to be the foundation stone of a new branch of physics called radio-activity, so that the investigations begun by Hittorf and Crookes a quarter of a century ago into the phenomena connected with the passage of currents through rarefied gases, and which were then considered by many to be a sort of scientific trifling, are leading to vast results. When any substance produces fluorescence, blackens the photographic plate and ionises the air, as the cathode and Röntgen rays do, it is said to possess the property of radio-activity. The discovery of radio-active substances followed on that of the Röntgen rays, which gave a great impetus to research. In the laboratories all over the world experiments were undertaken in order to find rays with the same wonderful penetrating powers, which should be independent of an electric current. It was thought that the rays were connected in some way with the substances that fluoresce, and Becquerel made experiments with fluorescent salts of uranium, to find out whether they also had the power of blackening a photographic plate through an opaque wrapper.

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exposed them for several days to sunlight, then brought them into a dark room, and found that this was indeed the case. He thought that the absorbed energy of the sunlight not only produced the fluorescence, which was a familiar phenomenon, but also these penetrating Röntgen-like rays. But one day, when for some reason the exposure to sunlight had been omitted, it was found to make no difference at all. The rays proceeding from the uranium salts were not dependent upon a previous supply of energy from the sun, nor did time bring any diminution of their power. In 1898 G. C. Schmidt was able to show that compounds of thorium send out similar rays. The minerals, which contain, among many other elements, uranium and thorium, may be called natural radio-active substances. From these natural radio-active substances far more powerful radio-active substances have been extracted by chemical means, and new elements have been discovered, the best known being radium, pure salts of which were first obtained by Professor and Madame Curie from the mineral pitchblende, a uranium ore found in Bohemia.

In the present state of our knowledge, when almost every week brings new facts to light, no generalisation on the subject of radio-activity is possible. Suffice it here to quote the words of the *Times* of the 26th of June of last year: 'Matter in quantities invisible under the microscope, unweighable on the finest balance, and beyond the range of detection even of the spectroscope, can be accurately studied and quantitatively investigated, if it possesses the property of radio-activity.'

Scientists are not agreed as to the source of energy of the Becquerel rays, rays capable of doing 'work' in the scientific sense of that term, without any energy being supplied from without, to our knowledge. Lodge, Crookes, Rutherford, and many others are advocates of the disintegration theory, namely, that the elements in question are disintegrating at an extremely slow rate into other elements, so that the source of energy is the internal energy of the chemical atom. Madame Curie and others think that the energy of the radio-active substances does come to them from without, that they are able to absorb the energy of rays of some sort which pass through other substances unperceived. But on this point all are at one: that the discovery of the radio-active elements is revealing facts hitherto absolutely undreamt of; that, as Professor Grätz says, there apparently is, behind the world of phenomena as we know it, an entirely unknown region the very first coast-lines of which we are only just beginning to perceive.

Such an extension of our knowledge naturally brings with it a shaking of the foundations, and at least one eminent chemist has called attention to the fact that, after all, our chemistry is only the chemistry of the means at our disposal; that our very greatest heat,

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the heat of an electric arc, which breaks up all molecules into atoms is insignificant compared with cosmical heat, and that we have n idea what the effect of other conditions might be.

It has been thought for some time that chemical affinity is reall electric in essence, but it has not yet been possible to work out an satisfactory theory. On the electric theory of matter, namely, th atoms are complex—'an aggregate of smaller bodies restrained an coerced into orbits by electrical forces'—chemical affinity shoul admit of an electric explanation. Experiments with radio-acti substances seem about to confirm the electric theory of matter in a astounding way. Of the three principal kinds of rays given off by radium salt—distinguished by some scientists as α, β, and γ—the rays are the most easily absorbed. A metal plate will shut them o and enable the more penetrating rays to be studied alone. These ra will produce a dot of light on a phosphorescent screen. If n electrical and magnetic forces act on the rays, then there appear the screen a fainter, undeflected dot and a band of light; the ba and dot being separated by a space. The fainter dot is caused by t undeflected γ rays and the band of light by β rays of varying veloci These β rays are found to be streams of electrons, like the cath rays, but with a velocity approaching one-third that of light. And t result of mathematical calculations based on the experiments was, t at velocities so high as this, the mass of the electron was no longe constant. Now mass, if it really is mass, cannot become a funct of the velocity, so it was evident that part at least of the mass apparent and due to the inertia of electricity known under the na of self-induction. Indeed many physicists consider it proved t not only a part, but the whole, of the mass of the electron is appar from which it follows that 'cathode rays,' whencesoever obtai consist of pure negative electricity.

And there are men who are now going a step further still. T say: 'If forces that are purely electro-magnetic produce exactly same effects as would be produced by the inertia of matter, perh all matter is in the same sense only apparent.' At present phenomena of physics are, as it were, divided into two can acoustics and heat, which are explained from the laws of mechan and electricity, with its subdivision light, which has not been s factorily thus explained. For half a century we have tried to ex electricity mechanically, and may be said to have failed; let us try to explain mechanics electrically, and see where that will lea

Perhaps it is a mere matter of words whether we say th matter is electrically charged or that all matter is modified tricity. But it may lead to the most far-reaching conclusions explaining phenomena, the laws of electricity should be taken a premiss from which we start, instead of, as hitherto, the inert matter. And, inasmuch as the more nearly any explan

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approaches the truth, the better does it point the way to fresh knowledge, the fact that so radical a change may be about to take place is one of the reasons why there is a feeling of expectancy in the air. It is hoped that light may be thrown upon universal gravitation and other obscure problems, and it is suspected that science is trembling on the verge of something great.

ANTONIA ZIMMERN.

Berlin

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A KNIGHT OF THE SANGREAL

'SAMSON placed this cross for his soul,' runs the legend on one the old carved stones at Llantwit Major which have the virtue, l the stone the damsel gave Peredur, of making the invisible visil Their power comes of the names they bear, and of one in particu more wonder-working still than that of St. Samson of Dôl, the ne of a knight, 'Iltuti,' carved above a panel of interminably wo Celtic ornament. Iltutus or Illtyd is the patron saint of the chur but he is much more than that, for I believe we have in him type and prime of those shining men that grew in mediæval fan into the questing knights of the Holy Grail.

As one deciphers the letters on the stone shaft, and turn look round the empty church with its air of some mediæval sculp workshop long dismantled, and recalls his story, Illtyd seem rise from the oppressive multitude of the Welsh saints and himself in his natural colours. He starts to life, a Breton kn young, ardent, hot from the chase, and dressed in a semi-barl dress, part Roman, part British: just as he was on the day whe gave up his hunter's quarry to follow a great mystery. That at Llancarvan, and to understand this primitive Knight's Tale must range further than Llantwit, and explore some of miniature valleys, or shallow cwms, which are so like the her retreats—the hollow with the cell or 'cuddigl meudwy' of the V Arthurian tales; and you must certainly visit that of the C where the princely hermit, Cadoc the Wise, met his young kin at an ominous hour. The cwm at Llantwit itself, where the chu stand by the brook Hodnant, is one of the same kind; but t it reminds one too strongly of the mediæval people who used Il cross as a centre round which to build to let one easily tra the scene back again to its wildness. Five or six years ago, I stone stood out in the churchyard, and then its power over th was more certain. You could stand before it then, just sculptor Samuel did, when he saw it set up, and found it, I dar very good to look on, with its wheel-top—now unluckily superbly crowning it. You could look away from it into the the actual descendants of those he and Illtyd knew, or he

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brook babbling precisely the same busy mysterious babble to the sea below Colhugh. Or, turning away from it some autumn evening, you could hear a hoof strike on the St. Donat's road, and believe it indeed a knight that came riding down the bank: a wilder knight than that told of in the French romances, with skins of animals and feathers of birds wrought into his dress below his Roman breast-plate and his torque; with a deer-skin belt, the reddish hair still on it, to carry his knife; and a great hurling spear to eke out his sword and the ringed and bossy targe at his saddle.

Arriving in Llantwit to-day, you get there by the newest of railway lines; but once arrived you pass, descending gradually, through a village that used to be a Tudor town; and street by street you knit up antiquity as you go, till you reach the church-cwm where hide—oldest things of all—the crosses of Illtyd and Howel. On the way you pass small buildings of almost every age; old thatched cottages of the true Glamorgan style, with yellow-washed walls, old inns like the 'Swan,' or a diminutive Tudor town-hall, with an outer stair under the pent-roof and belfry where hangs Illtyd's bell. Then comes the market-square, really a squandered triangle, and more inns and more cottages, white and yellow, and a long-deserted one-story building, with a sad little Henry the Eighth window, boarded up and mysterious, out of which the last monk might have hurriedly looked on the eve of the great disruption. This points the way to the dip in the road and the deeper hollow under it, populous with graves and brown stone and broken walls. There what might be three churches set end to end stand stretched in a diminishing line, with a good Norman tower keeping guard.

Now the relation in time of these mediæval remains to the old stone shaft of Illtyd, which stands in the middle church, is very much the relation which the mediæval stories, written by men of the same temper with the builders, bear to Illtyd's real story. Stripped of its pious adornments in the *Vita Sancti Iltuti*, it becomes one of the most moving of what may be called the 'renunciation episodes' to be found in all the Arthurian cycle, early or late.

Illtyd Farchog, Illtyd the Knight, came of noble Breton stock. His father, says the monkish chronicler, was a soldier most famous, and found his way presently across from Brittany to Arthur's court. In that day the people of Siluria and Armorica were drawn closer together than they are now. Fostering winds and favouring sea-currents apparently made their intercourse habitual. When wars gave out, or tribal feuds grew too deadly, or the wolf-hunting was over in the deep forest beyond Carhaix, the Breton chief thought nothing of crossing to some ancient port like Porthkerry, on the wild Glamorgan coast, having some claim or tie of kindred to help him to his welcome in the Welsh regions of a hospitable King Arthur or King Saul. In that way Illtyd came, and we can gather

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from his 'Life' and its ornate embroideries and references to his learning and eloquence, 'his exquisite eloquence, his incomparable intelligence, that he must have been a very welcome guest in any tribal hall. And so he settled in the wild train of this post-Roman regulus, Saul, and being no make-believe knight, but one 'whose blade would kill, whose blue armour gleam,' as a Welsh poet said of a much later chief, he looked to attain in his turn. Add to this—for it is a most significant point in his story—Illtyd had married a young and a beautiful maiden, Trynihid.

One day it fell that he went riding out to hunt with the train of his adoptive chief Saul (or Paul); and Saul when his men grew hungry sent them off incontinent to demand food and drink from Cadoc at his harbourage in the Carvan cwm hard by. Cadoc was no ordinary hermit, but of rank at least equal to Saul's, a chief in his own right, who had carried an aroma of riches with him into poverty. Therein lay part of the gratification felt by his fellow chief, in this summary levy upon his goods. It would be a pleasant hunting diversion, to see how Cadoc, in his eccentric humility, would apply his new law as expressed in his Triad,—Love, Liberality, Forgiveness. Alas for Saul and his men! Cadoc had not forgotten half his pride. Bread and beer he seems to have given freely, but when they seized willy-nilly on a fat sow, he rebelled. While they ate, drank, and got merry, he took a horrible revenge on their horses. Then he invoked Heaven, and he pointed their way across one of the Carvan swamps. Their insolence, says the old book, was immediately punished by the wrath of Heaven, and the earth opened and swallowed them. Cheerful souls! they were seen no more. Some of the field and farm names above Llancarvan still show, it is said, where the swamp lurked which swallowed Illtyd's hunting train. He is pictured riding on the higher grounds, hawk on wrist, at the time of this terrible hermit's revenge; and when one thinks of the absolute fellow-feeling that every good hunter has for his men, his sensations may be imagined. And yet again, Cadoc, whose cote and hermitage they had raided, was Illtyd's kinsman. What did Cadoc say to Illtyd?

We know from the 'Morte d'Arthur' and the many strange colloquies over mortal sin and knightly revenge there described between the typical hermit and the Sir Bors or Sir Launcelot that came his way, how bold and ominous, how beseeching too, the hermits could be. Cadoc was the very pattern of these hermit-priests. 'For there were none hermits in those days but that they had been men of worship and of prowess, and those hermits held great household.'[1] This was the heaven-sent abnegant and ascetic for Illtyd: Cadoc the proud and humble, the wise and fierce, the half-tamed chief, who could still speak of the passions he had renounced,

[1] *Morte d'Arthur*, book 18, chapter xiii.

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because he felt them still burning in him; Cadoc, who, like Llyr's son, cut off the lips of his enemies' horses, and, knowing the old barbaric delight of revenge, could say with the more fervour to a knightly disciple:

'Love? It is Heaven.'

'And Hate?'

'Hate? It is Hell.'

It was Cadoc who told Arawn to shut his eyes to every hideous thing, and open heart and soul to loveliness, and open both hands to poverty. What did he tell Illtyd? Of the terrors that Gildas told? Or the bright sudden light that should shine, as Gildas said, across 'the black dark of offences'? Whatever his spell, Illtyd fell under it? Perhaps the vision of a mysterious Christ, and the Cup of the True Blood, came upon him as it did on Sir Bors when Sir Lionel lay slain; and he might cry when he thought of the lost huntsmen: 'Sith the company of you and me is parted, shall I never have joy in my heart. And now He which I have taken unto my Master, He be my help!'

Only, Sir Bors had already taken the Quest of the Grail upon him, while Sir Illtyd's knightly renunciation began with this climacteric scene at Llancarvan. His hunting and hawking, his military knight's ambition, his adventurous delight and zest of life: he gave them all up, obsessed by Cadoc's strange example. He must ride far away from the friendly region of Glamorgan, that he knew; and find a wild place of his own to retreat to. Simple knight, he thought he might take his beautiful Trynihid with him; and they retreated into the ancient Forest of Dean, across the Severn water.

The episode that follows is one of the most telling in his story, if taken for its air and aspect of romance. The waste place, with 'neither hold nor hermitage,' the forest of gloom, and the hut of branches, that appear and reappear in the Arthurian cycle, were his. And Trynihid, we look to see her enter just as the damsel did in the pages of *Perceval le Gallois*—'enter within the door, and her kirtle all torn with thorns and briars in the forest. . . . Her feet were all bleeding for that she was unshod. She had a face of exceeding great beauty. . . .' But the pious chronicler who wrote not with Illtyd's eyes, but with a mediæval celibate's imagination, goes further than this in the *Vita Iltuti*, and pictures her leaving Illtyd's forest couch on the fateful morning of his final abnegation, all unclad, 'her hair spread about her by the blowing of the wind.' He had been warned during the night that her beauty would only be a snare; and there follows a most heartrending scene of poor Trynihid, clothed only by her flowing hair, shivering in the cold and begging in the innocence of her heart to be taken back; and Illtyd, in a sort of terror of austerity, handing her her garments, and

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driving her away from him for ever. One hears the very ech
her loss as one reads in the 'noble tale of the Sangreal' of
'such sorrow and heaviness that there might no tongue tell it.'

'For those knights had holden them in honour and charity.
And many of those ladies that loved knights would have gone
their lovers, had not an old knight come among them in relig
clothing, and he spake on high and said: "Fair Lords which
sworn in the quest of the Sangreal, thus sendeth you Nacien
hermit word, that none in this quest lead lady or gentlewoman
him, for it is not to do in so high a service as they labour in, f
warn you plain, he that is not cleansed of his sins, he shall not
the mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ."'

Like them, Trynihid must accept her lot. Indeed, she w
further than many of them, for, like Sir Percival's sister, she took
vows when Illtyd did not return to her, and ensconced herself in
hills above the vale of Glamorgan in a retreat of her own.

But when the autumn rains came and the floods, the thoughi
him in his low-lying hollow, where he had established his cell
the brook Hodnant, was too much for her. She found her
there and came upon him working at a mud dyke to keep out
water, covered with mud, his hands torn and bleeding.

'Illtyd!' she cried.

But the consuming fury of renunciation was upon him.
would not see her,' says the Latin chronicler, 'nor be seen; nor h
her, nor be heard.' She saw his mean dress, saw him clothed w
hair-shirt and skins, and not as she had seen him before, a splen
soldier' (*militem speciosum*). Heaven, we are told, then blind
her for this pitiful appeal to the earthly affections; and when Illt
—and one is very grateful for this touch of pity on his side
interceded, and the blindness was as quickly taken from her, s
went away from her lost knight for ever, went away 'pale, like o
recovered from a fever.'

But it is a hard fever, that of the affections and desire of the ey
Illtyd could no longer covet his own wife; but at a much la
period in his tale, when he had seen his college and hedge-school
divinity and philosophy at Llantwit grow in its wattled huts into
proverb for its learning and piety, and when he had attained
Quest as Cadoc showed it, we find him still able to covet a Be
Afterwards, these first bells of the Celtic Church became almost
miraculous as the mystic gleam of sunset seen through the tre
in some waste place, or in some old fort or castle, and as the c
and platter of the Sacrament. But as we read again the story
Illtyd's Bell, in his life, we see only the simple old anchorite driv
away from his happy valley and wattled huts that served f
college halls;—cut off from his austere pleasure, reduced to
cave, and dearly coveting, child-like, the bell sent by Gildas a

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intended for another, for St. David indeed. He did not ask for it in so many words; but his longing for it was so extreme, that the bell seems to have sulked out of sympathy for him when it reached St. David, and refused to sound. David, thereupon, with the *naïveté* of the saint, realising that a soundless bell was of no account, gracefully returned it to him; when it sang as sweet as ever.

If anything was wanted to complete the fine threads of association that draw together the lives of the Welsh saints and certain Arthurian knights, it is to be discerned in this incident of the bell. In the Grail histories you may read passages identical with those in the saints' legends. King Arthur himself in one is discovered longing for a bell, and haunted by the sweetness of the first he heard, just as Illtyd was. In the same romance of Perceval we see a train of hermits issuing from their llan, or monastic close, and coming to King Arthur in the Castle of Souls; and one of the train carrying a bell 'with the clapper and all at his neck.'

'Ha Lord!' saith King Arthur: 'what folk be these?'

'Sir,' saith Perceval, 'I know them all save the last. They are the hermits of the forest-side, come to chant before the Holy Grail.'

In such a train as this an Illtyd, whose bell became so fabulous that its direct descendant hangs in the old Town Hall belfry at Llantwit, might well be bell-bearer. The Town Hall bell still sounds the hours with a tone peculiarly arresting to the ear in the midst of Llantwit Major; and it is impossible to move about in the streets, which probably maintain the very lines of the original pathways trodden by Illtyd and his fellows—so traditional are ways and men—without being reminded at every turn of him whose name is inscribed upon it:

SANCTE ILTUTE ORA PRO NOBIS.

St. David's not excepted, I know of no village or town that has quite as individual an air of antiquity under antiquity as Llantwit Major still wears. You cannot turn anywhere but some secretive angle of a wall, or half-obliterated foundation, or garden returned to nature and wildness, offers you the clue that you would give your whole bookshelf of antiquity to be able to take. However, it is still your romance-books that must help you to disinter this Pompeii of the saints and the original knights errant. Their distinctive scenery, their interest of place, their succession of hermit cwm, forest waste, and miraculous seaside bringing strange vessels to land, recur at every step through the confines of the ancient demesne of Illtyd. If you leave the point in the graveyard, near the old cross, where his wheel-cross stood, and climb the bank above the Hodnant to the old gatehouse and the columbarium, you cross a sloping meadow which is full of buried traces of the grange and outer walls and

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buildings of his mediæval successors. You can cross it and find the traditional road through Colhugh to the sea, where the brook flows out through the smooth pastures haunted by sea-mews and often fondly described by our old poets and romancers; and the sea-coast, wild and rarely rock-built, and pierced with innumerable caverns, is the very seaside of the Grail histories:

'Sir,' said the hermit that carried the bell, when Sir Gawain asked him where he got it, '. . . I rose one night at matins and looked under my hermitage, and saw that a ship had taken haven there. Thither I went when the sea was retreated, and found within the ship three priests and their clerks, that told me their names . . .' Now these three priests from the Land of Promise bring three bells with them, because there were none in the hermit's country; and bell and chalice, and ship and hermit and hermit's tale, are all a part of the legendary furniture of Illtyd's neighbourhood. And when you think, retracing its road to and from the sea, of the process of tradition into literature, and the assimilation of folk-tale and saintly legend by mediæval romance, you see how natural it was that this Breton knight who became a hermit should survive, under whatever disguises. For his early university at Llantwit was the resort of many Breton students who went back to Brittany like St. Samson of Dôl and St. Padarn, and Gildas himself, carrying with them the materials which were afterwards worked into the legendary lives and the substructure of romance. So the tale of Illtyd and Trynihid, and other tales of other knights who roamed the waste lands of Siluria and old South Wales in the post-Roman time, and were converted, and had a desperate struggle with the old tribal custom of the country, were perpetuated, but changed. The early magic of association which worked upon the Breton memories of the wild land of Morganwg still held, the scenes and the characteristic episodes, the characters themselves too, remained. Yet one stage more, and a new apparatus of allusions, and place-names, and names of knights and ladies, Normanised to taste, had been added to suit the mediæval courtly folk. But if you look within the mediæval churches, you find Illtyd's stone, and can with its aid and interlaced pattern discern the wattled huts and small chapel of sawn timber that served him and his studious company. And if you look behind the histories of the Sangreal, you find a scenery very like that of the Llantwit region, whose wildness not a thousand years of agriculture have quite destroyed; you find a disappearing figure of a knight very like that of 'Illtyd Farchog.'

ERNEST RHYS.

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LIFE IN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

ALL Magellanes, commonly known as Tierra del Fuego, is divided, ethnologically speaking, into three parts.

(1) The Onas, living in Tierra del Fuego proper (which is a big island).

(2) The Yaghans, who coast in their canoes the shores of the Beagle Channel south of this island, and those lesser islands and channels which terminate in Cape Horn.

(3) The Alacalufs, inhabiting all the broken archipelago west of the Onas and the Yaghans; that is, west of a line dropped through Cape Froward, and south of that ocean highway which is called the Straits of Magellan.

The above information is not exclusive. It is learned, and straightway forgotten, by every Argentine schoolboy. It may be learned by anyone who cares to travel 1,000 miles away from the capital of the Republic, and that so vividly that in all his life he will never forget it. But in Argentina all currents set to, and not from, the bustling centre; and at Government House fresh burdens are ever unwelcome. 'Sufficient unto the day' is the motto in Buenos Aires, even as it is in Onaland. The troubles that have arisen are therefore chiefly due, to quote a famous sage, to 'Ignorance, pure ignorance.' If certain plain facts were known they might go far to put a stop to the abuses committed on the Onas—abuses which still stain the record of Argentina in the far south. They themselves are a silent folk, little given to speech. Thus the remonstrance must be addressed to the party of the other side, as the lawyers phrase it; and in common justice from that side must come first the redress, as in times past came also the first wrong.

Yet it may be questioned, Why should the Onas be considered above their neighbours? Even if the helping hand be extended to them, are they capable of helping themselves? Darwin gave it as his opinion sixty years ago that the Fuegan aborigine stood at the bottom of the human race—a statement which the world has not since troubled itself to verify, accepting it blindly. But the observations of the great scientist apply almost entirely to the Yaghans and Alacalufs, with whom H.M.S. 'Beagle' came in more frequent contact

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while surveying the far southern channels. Distinctions between the different Fuegan tribes were then unknown. Let us trace the record of these tribes since they have been tried by that touchstone of all aboriginal folk—contact with whites—and then judge, if judge we may, of their deserts. .

The Yaghans have had the benefit of forty years' devoted missionary effort, but it is doubtful if its influence has ever been more than skin deep. Lazy and incurable liars, they adopted with equal readiness the white man's breeches and his gin-bottle. Their first shyness overcome, they developed an astonishing affinity for every contagion, moral and physical, that sails from out a seaport. In thirty years their numbers dropped, through the ravages of disease, from 2000 to 200 souls. The tribe has for many years consisted of 'tame' Indians, as may be seen by the notes made on the Admiralty charts for the benefit of shipwrecked crews. At their present rate of decrease the remnant must shortly disappear altogether, perhaps within five years—a poor, sodden, spineless race.

The Alacalufs are of sturdier fibre, and number close on 1000, being to-day the most numerous of the three tribes. There is no white man who can speak their language, or cares; for beyond the barter of a few poor pelts the wild and desolate regions they inhabit offer no inducement to the most adventurous trader. They have an evil reputation for attacking helpless and shipwrecked crews. With the prospect of plunder, and if in sufficient numbers to guarantee success, it is probable that they do so venture, but they are not of the breed to fight for fighting's sake. They have repulsed every effort to gain their confidence. Their legends and beliefs are a sealed book. Although, owing to their greater virility, they possess more control than the Yaghans over their women, they share to the full that tribe's fondness for liquor—'guayacu,' a kind of raw, anise-flavoured spirit, being the main object of their barter. Their record is that of a cruel, treacherous, and intractable tribe, and the world's verdict on them stands 'Thumbs down.'

The third tribe, though sprung in the past perhaps from a common stock, differs wholly in language and customs from their neighbours, on whom they look down with contempt. The Onas are confined to the narrow limits of an island, girt by icy seas which they have no power to pass, for they are no canoe folk. In the north of their land there are good pastures; to the south rises a jumble of splintered hills, pushing out great glaciers to the sea. For a thousand feet in height these hills are covered with a dense, dark, almost impenetrable forest of birch. Between its stunted outposts and the line of eternal snow there is a narrow strip of ground covered in summer-time with moss, lichens, and a few sweet-flowering grasses. There are the grazing grounds of the guanaco, on which the tribe mainly depend for food. The insipid flesh is eked out with stray birds, berries, and a

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small rodent locally known as the 'tuco-tuco;'[1] but if the guanaco fail, it goes hard with the Ona.

During the winter the quarry leaves the hills and comes down to the coast, where the sea breeze keeps open a scant but sufficient pasture. The Indian must perforce follow: across the frozen highlands; past quaking bogs and little-smiling meads; through windless valleys whose tree-tops shroud a perennial, dripping decay. On the journey arrows must be re-pointed; fire provided—or, rather, manufactured; the camp ever provisioned with watchful care. Although the camp drudgery is left to the women, the want of the bare necessities of life and the mortal risk of their default spur the Ona braves to constant exertion. The Patagonian of the mainland has at his disposal immense herds of game, which are easily run down by a horseman with the 'bolas,' or, as is more commonly the case, with trained dogs. But the Fuegan must pass where a horse cannot, and, dependent on his own sturdy limbs, he has developed into the most skilled and enduring hunter perhaps in the world.

The Ona tribe is divided into small family groups, each of which has its own defined hunting ground. But hunger, in the belly pinch of a bitter season, recognises no law. For this reason, and somewhat also from the love of risk and adventure that is in-bred in them, poaching is freely carried on, and from it arises the vendetta—of which more anon. Yet with every group this is the custom: that whoever kills an animal he may not keep it for his own use, but must deliver it entire at the camp. There some other hand divides the food equally amongst all the family, according to the necessities of each, and he who gets the smallest share and tastes meat last will be the hunter, though it cost him a day's hungry stalking. Is this the self-denial of the weak for the strong, or is it merely the instinct making for common preservation? Be that as it may, it is a manly rule, rigidly enforced.

At the age of puberty the boys are separated from their companions, and only after certain cruel trials and a period of probation are they admitted to the confidence of the older men. Now this probation, known as 'Clo'ct'n,' lasts two years or more. During this time the young brave abandons the protection of his family, hunting in strange coverts and making long journeys alone. The utmost that is allowed him is the companionship of a single dog. He must eat lean, hard meat, with no fat—a real privation even for whites in that bitter climate. A diet of this kind begets, as is well known, a strong craving for bread-stuffs. The greatest treat that can be given to a Fuegan native is a hard ship's biscuit; but not even the luxury of 'hard tack,' offered him privily and backed by a ravenous appetite, will induce a boy to break his self-imposed abstinence when he is 'Clo'ct'n.'

[1] *Ctenomys magellanicus.*

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The men, as is the case with certain African tribes, form a conspiracy whose object is to frighten the women by tricks and certain other inventions into an unquestioning obedience. Women are looked upon as social inferiors, and for this reason a wife is not blamed (though she is soundly beaten) for desertion; having but rendered obedience to her natural master—man—whoever he be. Her abductor, however, must be punished by death. To no woman must a warrior show his whole mind, but only to his father or his friend, or to little children. Their code has a refreshing simplicity and directness. Death is the only penalty: an eye for an eye—or two, if chance offers—to be waited for through long years and surely exacted, if the injured one would not be the scorn and outcast of all his circle.

These and many other lessons are instilled into the boy's mind during the long winter nights by his elders, to whom he yields unfailing respect and obedience. The tie between brother and brother, man and man, is with the Onas far more binding than that between the opposite sexes. A young man may not take a wife until he is nearly twenty years of age and has first proved that he can provide for an extra mouth. Then he must seek his mate from a distant, possibly a hostile, group; for no blood ties, even those of cousinship, are admitted in this relation. During the time he lingers making advances to his future spouse he may count on the cheerful hospitality of her people, even if they be his bitter foes. There is no barter of presents, the choice resting with the girl alone. But once she has accepted the man's bow, and followed his footsteps to the edge of the forest, the feud, after a certain grace, is resumed. There is a saying of the tribe that when a shooting star crosses the sky it is a young brave who is looking for a wife.

At the beginning of the last decade sheepfarmers, crossing the Straits from the Patagonian shore, began fencing the northern country. The guanaco were shot down and driven away from the coast in order to make room for flocks of sheep, forcing the herds to winter in the uplands, where they died in heaps. At the same time a worse danger threatened the tribes in the discovery of gold-bearing sands. A rush of gold-seekers overran the land to its remotest corners, armed with rifle and prospecting-pan, but with little provision either of food or conscience. At one time there were 3000 wandering Austrians alone in Magellanes—a riff-raff of reckless nomads reinforced by the cosmopolitan scourings of Sandy Point, and rendered more selfish and brutal still by the rigours of that inhospitable land.

Now there are two things that sum up the whole world to an Indian: his women and his food. Since the advent of whites the Ona women have been often and wantonly outraged, while the guanaco, on which their meat supply depends, are threatened

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with extinction. In the tropic heart of the continent the jungle swamp and the kindly, pathless forest close down over their children in extremity; but for the Ona there is no outlet, no hinterland of retreat. Ringed in a trap, they faced round, desperate as any baited beast—their religion of vendetta, the very instinct of self-preservation, urging them to instant reprisals on their aggressors.

We may dismiss here the charge of deliberate cruelties of which the Onas have been accused. They are as incapable of practising on a foe the refined tortures known to northern aborigines as of their other degrading habits. A fight begun with the bow and arrow—their only weapon—is often abandoned for close quarters, when, wrestling body to body, they will choke out the life of an enemy with their naked hands; but the object is always to kill, never to mutilate. Another unjust stigma is that of cannibalism. As with the Esquimo, the old or helplessly sick are abandoned to their fate when the burden of their maintenance imperils the existence of the family. The Yaghans are reported formerly, under the stress of hunger, to have eaten their old women, but the Onas express disgust at the thought of human flesh; nor with their hitherto sufficient meat supply has there ever been any reason for their adopting such practices.

The effect of their first raids on the sheepfarms was startling. Fences were constantly patrolled; but to savages accustomed to stalk the shy guanaco under the arrows of an enemy this game was child's play. Besides, these guanaco were of a different breed: white and of marvellous tameness, even as those of which their legends told. The only defect of the new flocks was that they could not travel at the speed exacted by their long-shanked captors. Hundreds of carcases marked a plain road for the wrathful pursuers; the foremost animals were ruthlessly flung into the mountain torrents to make a bridge for those that pressed behind. When a remnant of the flock reached a secluded camp, their throats were cut and their carcases, immersed for storage in a pool of glacial water, provided fat feasting for the wasteful tribes. Had they come to the farms in peace, the meat of the animals that perished in the long winter gales would have sufficed to keep them all in plenty. But when the hard-working English or Scotch pioneers saw their valued flocks, brought with such pains across the storm Straits, ruined and scattered in a single night, they showed as little pity for the raiders as the Indians themselves had shown to the breeding ewes.

In spite of these and other drawbacks the sheepfarms soon began to pay handsome dividends. The farmers then found that it was more profitable to send others on Indian forays than to risk their own lives in such dangerous employ. A fixed reward of 1*l.* sterling per head was offered for every Ona put *hors de combat.* At first their birch-wood bows were required as tokens. Then, when hunters

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were found so dishonest as to cheat their employers with a manufactured article, scalps were insisted on. Finally, when it was proved that Indians could be scalped and yet live on, causing future expense, the hunters were required to bring in the whole lifeless head. There battened on this unspeakable traffic one Sam Hesslop, whose boast it was that he had in his time 'wiped out' 500 Indians, big and little. It is not necessary to dwell upon the fate of any wandering family that came within the range of this fiend's rifle. It is sufficient to say that every head counted, and that the blood-money was paid without question. Between the years 1890 and 1900 the numbers of the Ona tribe dropped from 2000 to 800 souls, man, woman and child.

Sam Hesslop died two years ago. He was not struck by lightning, nor was he lynched for setting foot in Sandy Point. His death was regretted as an accident by the friends who, judging from the position in which his body was found, concluded that he must have walked over the edge of a cliff in a fit of drunken abstraction. After this mishap the profession of Indian-hunting in Tierra del Fuego languished—partly because Indians had become scarce and shy; partly also, let us hope, from that sense of decency and fair-play which can never be altogether dead amongst English-speaking folk.

Save their fervent desire to find a short-cut to wealth, the sheep-farmers and gold-seekers had little in common. In these regions the precious metal is not found in reefs or pockets. It is scattered thinly throughout the whole land, and when released by the action of rain and frost from the safe keeping of the frozen hills, it collects in the tall barrancas that face the pounding of the Atlantic surge. Father Ocean is the true gold-seeker. The particles that fall on the beach sink through a thick layer of shingle to the bed of slate or marl at low water. It is calculated that, in all, three tons of gold have been washed from the beaches of Magellanes: washed by men who, in order to gut the shores of their scant treasure, lived in worse shelters than the Indians themselves; soaked continually by rain and sleet and the salt sea-drift; bartering their lives and health for as much reward as might procure them a few weeks' dissipation in the gin saloons of Sandy Point. Living in an exaggerated fear of the natives, any parties approaching the mining camps were promptly fired upon, without inquiry as to whether their intent was hostile, or merely to exchange a few furs for the luxury of bread and biscuit. The men were killed; the women captured to a worse servitude.

A notable personality stands out from the horde that overran Tierra del Fuego in these days in the figure of one Julius Popper. He was the only man so far south who had any knowledge of the amalgam process of gold washing. By prompt action he secured for

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himself the lease of the richest beaches on the Atlantic, at Paramo in San Sebastian Bay. After that all the time that he could spare from work was fully occupied in discouraging the new-comers who claimed a share in his preserves under local mining laws, or more frequently under no laws at all. Such of his countrymen—he was an Anglo-Austrian Jew—as he caught poaching he pegged down under flat canvas, mounting guard above with a ·44 Winchester until some schooner arrived to deport them to the mainland. With foreigners these formalities were not observed. He defied the Argentine authority at Ushuaia; organised a special mail transport to Sandy Point whose facilities could be enjoyed by those who purchased Popper stamps; and, finally, put in circulation his own one- and five-dollar gold pieces. The design in every case consisted of a simple crossed pick and shovel, surmounted by the all-sufficing legend 'Popper.' Against the natives Popper waged no actual warfare, but he was dependent on Indian guidance while exploring the interior, and tales of his persuasive methods with guides show that in such matters he was no whit behind the old Conquistadores. The end of this brief ascendency came with his sudden death while on a flying visit to Buenos Aires. Foul play was hinted at; if true, it was a fitting end to an unscrupulous adventurer.

As the savage, standing naked in the pride of his manhood save for the loose guanaco rug, gazed upon the beaches where the miners toiled and drank, quarrelled and died, small wonder that he hated and despised them all. For to the Ona his body is a religion. His sole recreation lies in the exercise and perfection of a magnificent physique—in mimic fight, in wrestling, in ten-mile foot-races through the forest to some distant hill-top. His hearing is as acute as a stag's; his powers of vision almost incredible, enabling him to see as far with the naked eye as the white man with a good field-glass. Unused to covered dwellings, he lives and sleeps at all seasons in the open, breathing the pure, keen breezes that blow across the frozen south. His only drink is the water that threads the land in a thousand glacial streams. Indeed, it is sufficient to set the Ona apart from other aborigines the world over that not only have this tribe no knowledge of any fermented drink, but twenty years of unscrupulous trading has failed to induce them to touch liquor. Although fond of sweet things, they have a natural distaste for all stimulants or drugs, including tobacco—a most extraordinary fact when we consider the tendency of the climate and its effect upon their immediate neighbours. To offer spirits to an Ona is considered a deadly insult, likening him to the drunken Yaghan. This the writer has heard confirmed by the Yaghans themselves. Yet, in unconscious irony, the gin-bottles that strew the settlements of the white men are highly prized by the tribe, for they have found that glass is much better material than flint for making arrow-tips.

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By the boundary fixed in 1892, the most fertile Fuegan sheep-farms fall in Chilian territory, and it is across the Straits to the Chilian town of Sandy Point that the settlers carry such commerce as is not conducted directly with Europe. The only existing official authority, however, is in the Argentine portion. The settlement of Ushuaia, facing the Beagle Channel and backed by a triple range of impassable mountains, is cut off from all communication with the rest of the world save by water. Boats which would reach it from the Atlantic shore must therefore pass through the dreaded Le Maire Straits, or if from the Western channels, by the equally dangerous Brecknock Pass. So it happens that those who abuse the tribes easily avoid the authorities both of Chili and Argentina; and while officials shrug their shoulders the Onas are like to perish utterly.

We have reviewed some of the adverse influences that have weighed down the tribe since white men first set foot in their land. Against them there are two off-sets, all too weak as yet to stay their downward path. The first is the mission of the Sicilian monks, who hold grants of ground from both Governments for the purpose of providing the Indian tribes with food and work. Neither of the settlements, which are run as sheep-farms and for timber-cutting, can be said to have sensibly advanced the condition of the Onas. The Italian monks, directed by their capable chief, Monsignor Fagnano, have brought to the work a narrow-minded zeal. The Indians are housed in huts, which in this out-dwelling race promotes insanitary habits and lung trouble, and now consumption is completing the work that the rifle-bullet began. Instead of studying the mind-workings that rule the Indian's life, the Sicilian fathers have set up a ritual for him to study. Herein lies the secret of their failure. The Onas do not want an evangelist; but they are in sore need of a friend.

Of gods, as we know them, the Ona has none. His conscience is the self-respect that his body demands. But, reared together in Nature's Spartan cradle, the birds and beasts, and even the silent woods, all call to him with some voice of kinship; and his intimate sympathy has woven round them, even as children do, a mist of quaint fantasies, imagination groping past material want. These imaginings, now crystallised by tradition, are imposed with much pompous ceremony (as before stated) on the women drudging by the camp fire; and they, going one step further, accept the legend as gospel and its narrator as high priest. Thus no Ona brave can, without loss of social status, bring himself to worship with the womenkind for whom he has interpreted, and even at times impersonated, the All-powerful Doctor. It is a poor foundation for creed or paternoster.

There remains to the tribe one other refuge, the settlement of Messrs. Bridges Bros. at Port Harburton. Its founder, the late

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Mr. Bridges, has left a forty years' record as missionary, naturalist, and pioneer in the Beagle Channel, where his family have grown up. His sons are thus Fuegans and at the same time English gentlemen —the only ones who can speak freely with the Onas in their own tongue of broken clicks and gasping gutturals, 'scarcely deserving,' says Darwin, 'according to our notions, to be called articulate.'

There is no fixed lodging apportioned to the natives at Harburton. The solemn, robe-covered figures stalk suddenly from the cover of the dark birch forest, and as suddenly vanish. If called upon to work they do so willingly, sure here of food for their bellies and a hearing for their troubles. It has grown to be a neutral meeting ground for hostile groups, and here they bring their quarrels, like children, to be judged. From the manner of their up-bringing, the Bridges possess an influence over the tribe which it is impossible for any outsider, however well-meaning, to wield. The Argentine Government recognises this by handing them a yearly dole, to be spent in the interest of the Indians at their own discretion. But this is charity. What is wanted is justice; a reservation that shall secure the remnant of the tribe against the land-grabbers who would make them exiles on their own soil.

There are still to-day in the unexplored interior of Tierra del Fuego several hundred square miles of fiscal land deemed useless by colonists. These latter have in the majority of cases acquired their own holdings in the far south by bringing before the Argentine Government their claim for squatters' privileges and usufruct. Is it just to refuse to the Onas, who are equally children of the Republic, an equal claim? It is not much to ask—a few barren hill-tops in the land where thirty years ago they were the sole masters. In the long cold winter they will come down to the settlements to work, and perhaps in the summer too. But when springtime comes, and C'ren, the sun, calls them, lingering to his rest behind the woods, let them know of a place where they may stretch their long limbs, and run and hunt unhindered as of old.

The Indian will undertake any labour which is, as he terms it, 'man's work.' He has been proved an efficient shearer and a good and intelligent axeman. Last year Messrs. Bridges opened a road between the Beagle Channel and the Atlantic shore, relying entirely on the Onas for workmen. An idea of the difficulties of the country may be gathered from the fact that this journey of but one hundred miles formerly occupied a month, though since the opening of the much-needed road it can be crossed in six days. Herein we see another way in which the good will of the tribe might be turned to account. Most of the land in southern Tierra del Fuego is covered with dense woods, which must be fenced off lest stock stray in them and are lost. These woods nevertheless shelter in places large quantities of a succulent shrub on which animals thrive greatly,

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but to which they can only be allowed access in the season of the winter snows, when their wanderings can be easily traced. Who so fitted for herdsman in this wild work as the Ona, who can follow a week-old trail right across the island, and who for pastime will chase and run down a wild guanaco on foot?

In the recent boundary question between Chili and Argentina the final decision was left to England's arbitration. Before desire of territory and the promptings of national pride, the two countries put the claims of humanity, and their action reflects honour on them both. But is not a settlement of the native races thereby displaced a natural corollary to the settlement of the long frontier dispute? Here is a case that involves no high politics, the yielding of no fertile lands. It would be a gracious act if now, after judgment given, England's representative were to add a plea which might lighten the burdens of at least one overweighted race.

It should fall on willing ears. For with all their faults the Onas have shown themselves to be, in the full force of the word, men, and, as such, deserving to be treated as men, not hunted like beasts. Among the aboriginal tribes of South America they constitute, as do the Zulus in Africa, a natural aristocracy. No T'Chaka has arisen to lead them to fame and dominion. But within the narrow limits of their island home, waging an untiring, undaunted war, each man for his own hand, with hunger, cold, and death, they have proved to the world once again that the primitive instincts of man are towards health and freedom.

We, who are the heirs of the ages, may well pause a moment to thank them; giving them a voice to speak to that world whose force they have felt, but not its justice.

W. S. Barclay.

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THE INCREASE OF FISH-DESTROYING BIRDS AND SEALS

PART I.—BIRDS

IN 1880, after much agitation in the Press and in Parliament, an Act was passed to amend the laws relating to the Protection of Wild Birds during the breeding season. The Act covered the whole of the United Kingdom except the island of St. Kilda, and, while every wild bird was included, eighty-five different kinds were specially mentioned and protected. Anyone convicted of killing, exposing or offering for sale, or having in his control or possession between the 1st day of March and the 1st day of August any of the eighty-five birds mentioned, is to forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one pound for every such bird; in the case of birds not scheduled the offender is to be reprimanded and discharged on the payment of costs for a first offence, and for every subsequent offence fined a sum not exceeding five shillings in addition to costs. The Act gives power to the owner or occupier of any land to kill or give permission to kill any wild bird not included in the list of specially protected birds.

In 1881 an Act was passed to remove some doubts which had arisen as to the construction of an enactment in the Act of 1880, and the lark had the honour of being included in the list of specially protected birds which a man may not shoot in his own park, or farm, or garden.

In 1894 an Act was passed giving the Secretary of State power, upon the application by the County Council of any administrative county, by order to prohibit—

(1) The taking or destroying of wild birds' eggs in any year, in any place or places within the county; or,

(2) The taking or destroying the eggs of any specified kind of wild birds within that county, or part or parts thereof, as recommended by the said County Council, and set forth in the said order;

(3) The application by the County Council shall specify the limits of the place or places, or otherwise the particular species of wild birds to which it is proposed that any prohibition in the order

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is to apply, and shall set forth the reasons on account of which the application is made.

This Act of 1894 also gave the County Councils power to have any bird not mentioned in the Schedule dealt with 'as if that species of wild bird were included in the Schedule' of the Act of 1880.

This Act makes the fine for taking birds' eggs within the prohibited area a sum not exceeding one pound for *each* egg.

In 1896 an Act was passed (from which Ireland was exempted) extending the powers already given to the County Councils to the Council of a County Borough; and giving power to the Court to 'order any trap, net, snare, or decoy bird' used by anyone convicted of an offence against the Act to be forfeited.

From this brief *résumé* of these Acts of Parliament it will be seen that our wild birds are thoroughly well protected; indeed, it is a question whether, in the interests of our fisheries, both marine and fresh water, the time has not come for giving local authorities not only power to protect birds but also to destroy them, including many of the fish-eating birds which are in the specially protected list.

I do not propose to deal at length with the question as to how the British and Irish farmer has been affected by the Wild Birds Protection Acts, except to give one or two illustrations of the nature of the damage done. I was walking with a farmer across his fields (in Bucks), and was astonished at the enormous flocks of sparrows we came across. On getting over a stile a great brown cloud of sparrows would rise from the grain, only to settle down again to their meal when at some safe distance. We must have disturbed hundreds of thousands of sparrows in our walk. My friend was rather bitterly sarcastic at the sentimental grandmotherly legislation which had so enormously increased the sparrow and other grain-stealing farmer's pests. I pointed out that the Act was supposed to have helped farmers by encouraging insect-eating birds, but he did not want any protection of that kind, and said the good done was as nothing to the loss of grain, of seed of all kinds, of fruit of all kinds, and young vegetables, all eaten by the birds.

Another friend, writing from Nottinghamshire, says:

I think there is far too much faddism in connection with wild bird protection. For example, it is a criminal offence to take the eggs or young of blackbirds or thrushes; the result is that these birds swarm for a few years, eating an enormous amount of fruit; then we get a fairly severe winter, and they perish in countless numbers. The school-boy is now afraid to seek for a bird's-nest, and the result is that sparrows have enormously increased. In my own village I used to pay the boys 2*d.* per dozen for sparrow's eggs, but I found the lads were so afraid of the penalties attached to bird-nesting that they had quite lost their love for the pastime, and 2*d.* per dozen failed to attract them. Notwithstanding this Wild Birds Protection Act, I do not see any more of the insect-feeding birds, such as the warblers and other summer migrants, than existed in my youth.

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The fact is, the protection afforded to birds by the Acts has been far more extensive and inclusive than was ever intended or contemplated. The object of the Acts was to prevent the extinction, or threatened extinction, of some birds; the effect has been to greatly increase nearly all kinds of birds, including many which destroy grain, fruit, vegetables and fish.

My object in this article is to call attention to the increase of the wild enemies of our fish, especially of our salmon. As Editor of the *Fishing Gazette*, I have been able to collect information from all parts of the United Kingdom, and I venture to think that anyone who studies it will agree with me that the time has come for decreasing bird protection and increasing fish protection.

DESTRUCTION OF SEA FISH BY BIRDS

It is not easy to get proof of the damage done to purely marine fishes by birds, or to prove to what extent, if at all, our supply of food from the sea is lessened in consequence of what the birds take. Fortunately we have evidence which proves that while no harm can be done by reducing the numbers of certain fish-eating birds, there is every reason to suppose that fish would increase by such reduction, and perhaps very largely.

Professor McIntosh, LL.D., F.R.S., of the Gatty Marine Laboratory, St. Andrews, in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* for June last, gives an account of the accidental captures of sea birds in the nets used for catching plaice and cod in St. Andrews Bay. He tells us that the nets have been worked for two seasons, viz. from the middle of September to the middle of May, that is, for eight months each season. The majority of the birds captured were guillemots; but divers, common and velvet scoters, scaup-ducks, and razor-bills are also taken. Taking an average of twenty-five birds as a total captured by the boats at St. Andrews in a day for this period, and calculating five working days in a week, it is found that the total for the season of eight months is about four thousand birds. This, he says, is probably a low average, for lately 'no less than 620 birds were brought in by the boats in one day, whilst on other occasions 100 and 200 birds were taken in a single day.'

Selecting another low average, viz. thirty, as the number of fishes captured by each bird in a day, it is found that in the 224 days which cover the fishing period of one season, these birds would have disposed of *nearly twenty-seven million fishes*, and yet this is 'but a fragment of the vast tax levied on fishes—especially young fishes—by the sea birds in St. Andrews Bay.'

That thirty fishes a day is a very moderate computation is shown by the fact that thirty small sand eels have been found in a single guillemot as 'the amount consumed in a few hours.' In the same

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way ten sprats between two and three inches long, and several sand eels and other remains of food were found in another guillemot, which is one of the birds specially protected by Act of Parliament. Not only do the birds devour fish, they also eat great quantities of the floating eggs of sea fish.

Here then we have convincing proof of the voracity of fish-eating birds, and although it is questionable whether the vast harvest of the sea is materially affected in a general way, it is quite possible it may be seriously affected in certain localities. At a recent meeting of the Cornwall Sea Fisheries District Committee the damage done by fish-eating birds was considered, the general feeling of the meeting being that measures should be taken to reduce their numbers. The suggestion was made that it might be necessary to get the close time for sea birds abolished, at any rate, for a time.

The Sea Birds Protection Act was in a large measure due to the thoughtless and indiscriminate destruction of the birds by visitors to Scarborough, Filey, and other places on the Yorkshire coast. Now the birds have multiplied to such an extent there and elsewhere that the fishermen complain of the enormous destruction of young sea fish. If we consider the many millions of sea birds, and that each can, and does when it can, eat its own weight of fish in a day, is it not reasonable to advocate a sensible diminution in their numbers now that they have had far more protection than was ever contemplated or is on any grounds necessary? They have suffered themselves from this over-protection, and in consequence of their numbers are driven to seek food far inland, mixing with the rooks on the farms and with the freshwater fowl on our rivers and park waters, where they were formerly never seen.

DESTRUCTION OF FRESHWATER FISH BY BIRDS

There can be no possible doubt as to the necessity for some modification of the Wild Birds Protection Act in so far as it affects our most important freshwater fish, especially the migratory Salmonidæ.

My attention was drawn to this matter from the frequent complaints in fishing reports sent to me from all parts of the United Kingdom, and from personal observation of the great numbers of birds I see fishing with me—especially when salmon and trout fishing.

Mr. Francis Ley, one of our most successful salmon anglers and a conservator and owner of salmon fisheries, writing to me on the 12th of September last says:

I consider the Wild Birds Protection Act productive of great injury to salmon fisheries. You have only to be on the Tweed, the Irish Blackwater, and other

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rivers of like character, possessing large areas of shallow water, to see gulls in April and May feeding voraciously on salmon smolts and young trout. In addition to gulls you will find these rivers infested with cormorants, who know intuitively the time when young salmon migrate to the sea. I have seen upwards of a dozen cormorants on a stretch of less than two miles, harrying every pool.

The taking of salmon fry or smolts is a criminal offence, and any one convicted of taking them is liable to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.*, and the confiscation of all rods, tackle, &c. And yet it is a criminal offence to kill these fish-destroying birds during the very time when our fish are most exposed to their depredations.

Mr. P. D. Malloch, of Perth, is second to none in his knowledge of the salmon fisheries of Scotland, and is also a practical naturalist of very wide experience, especially in connection with water-fowl and birds of all kinds. Writing to me on the 24th of September he says:

You ask if I have noticed any increase in the number of freshwater fish-destroying birds. I have observed an enormous increase since the passing of the Wild Birds Protection Act; more especially gooseander, red-breasted merganser, black-throated diver, red-throated diver, black-headed gull, great black-backed gull, lesser black-backed gull, heron, cormorant, and arctic and common tern. This list I consider includes the most important freshwater fish-destroying birds. The number of fish (salmon and trout) the birds destroy is past anyone's comprehension. Only yesterday, when I was fishing two miles below Perth, I observed a flock of about thirty gooseanders on the Tay, diving and feeding on parr (samlets) and trout. Before the passing of the Act you would hardly see thirty in a whole season; now you can see thousands all over the river Tay, its tributaries and lochs, and in fact all over Scotland. The merganser is not quite so plentiful, but it is increasing every day. When I was in the Lews fishing the Grimersta river in the spring last year, hundreds of mergansers were continually round the mouth of the river waiting for the salmon smolts as they came down. This year, when I was fishing the lochs at Scourie, every hour of the day I saw black-throated divers, and also many red-throated divers. The wonder is there are any trout left.

Cormorants have always been so numerous, it is difficult to say whether they are increasing or not. They do a great deal of damage, and ought to be kept down in all our lochs and estuaries. About a dozen of them stay nearly all the year round on Loch Leven; this means at least a dozen trout a day each. On the Tay I make our seal hunters shoot every one they see. The way they do is, when they see one rising from the water, although five hundred yards away, they fire a Männlicher rifle. The bullet whizzing past them makes them dive, the yacht puts on full steam, and very soon comes up to the bird. It never attempts to fly; it very soon gets exhausted, and is shot with a shot gun. A good way to get them is on a jutting-out rock near to their resting-place; they fly over this and are easily shot. At such a place near the Swaney Hills in Orkney some thousands could be shot in a day. I have shot a hundred in little over an hour.

The black-headed gull I consider a very bad one for fish. They have increased to such an extent that if the weather keeps dry for any length of time they are with us in hundreds, all day long and all night long. I see them in the streams picking up the fry. They wade as deep as they can, walking up the stream and darting down at every fish they see. They also eat up a great quantity of the food of the trout, such as March browns, duns, &c. Within the last few years

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they have taken to diving in the lochs and pools, picking up trout the same as a tern does. If the black-headed gull goes on increasing as it has been doing, I am seriously thinking of engaging men to shoot them down in the open season.

The black-backs and herring gulls destroy many large trout, but I do not think they are so destructive as the black-headed gull. While I was on the island of Handa watching the birds there, I saw a young herring gull put up a full-grown black guillemot minus the head, and then fly away. The great black-back I have seen kill a swallow and a young widgeon duck.

I dare say if you were to ask my friend Mr. Harvey Brown he would tell you a great deal of the destructive nature of the mergansers and gooseanders, more especially in the Sutherland district.

Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, LL.D., Chairman of the Severn Fishery Board, writing with respect to that river, says:

You may take it that a very large number of salmon smolts are killed every year by birds. Among them I include carrion crows, gulls and cormorants, as the chief offenders. The carrion crow destroys the fry when the mills shut off the water, the cormorants kill the descending smolts in April and May. The cormorant, when the smolts are descending, if the tide is running up, has his head down stream: if running down, his head up stream, to meet the smolts which go backwards and forwards with the tide. The gulls kill the adult fish when stranded on the sands. I feel sure the Wild Birds Act, by altering the balance of power, has worked injuriously to the fishing in some places—but only in places.

Writing from Oughterard, Co. Galway, Mr. S. Doig, Honorary Secretary of the Lough Corrib Fisheries Association, says:

The following fish-destroying birds have increased considerably during the last few years, viz. shell duck, merganser, and cormorants, especially the two former, which are very destructive to the young fry. The black-headed gull has also increased largely during the last few years, and is a great nuisance during the may-fly season, as it eats up all the flies the moment they come to the surface, and is also destructive to fry.

Writing from Ballina, Co. Mayo, Mr. George Shannon, Manager of the famous Moy Salmon Fisheries, says:

The cormorants have increased with us. They are most destructive to the salmon fry going down to the sea; they should be excluded from the Wild Birds Protection Act, and killed all the year round.

Mr. Eden Phillpotts tells me the cormorants are such a pest on the lower waters of the Dart (S. Devon) that 'a price is put upon their ugly heads.'

Writing from Alnwick, Northumberland, Mr. John J. Hardy says:

We have far more of the black-backed gull on our streams here than I care to see, as they swallow the salmon smolts wholesale. Farmers here complain of the depredations of the sparrows.

Here, then, we have evidence from all parts of the United Kingdom, evidence which could be multiplied tenfold if necessary, which proves, I think, that all our salmon rivers should be exempted from the operation of the Wild Birds Protection Act in so

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far as it protects and favours the increase of fish and fish-egg-destroying birds.

I am as strongly adverse to the extinction of wild birds as anyone can be, but it was certainly never the intention of Parliament to cause the destruction of millions of young salmon and other fish annually by allowing worthless birds to increase as they have done.

Part II.—Destruction of Salmon by Seals and Porpoises

Has there of recent years been a great increase in the number of seals and porpoises, especially of the former, in the seas which surround the northern parts of the United Kingdom? There can, I think, be no doubt about it; certainly there can be none as regards the very great damage done by seals to the salmon fisheries. Nor is the increase of these animals confined to our country: in Holland for some years past there have been complaints of the destruction of salmon by seals at the mouth of the Rhine; from Norway we hear the same complaint. A salmon-angler who called on me on returning from his salmon river in Norway, this autumn, said that sport had been bad in consequence of the great increase of seals and other fish-destroying animals. He said that when approaching the mouths of the rivers in the district he fishes, the scene from the steamer reminded him of the prints in old Bibles where porpoises, seals, whales, and other monsters of the deep are seen spouting and jumping in all directions. The consequence was that they only got comparatively few salmon, mostly large fish, which often bore marks of wounds made by seals and porpoises which followed the fish for miles up the rivers.

I think that the amount of destruction done by seals is not generally known, indeed I have heard salmon-anglers express doubt as to whether they do any damage at all, but the facts mentioned in the following notes leave no room for doubt on the point.

The Tay is one of our largest and most important salmon rivers, and thanks in a great measure to the improvements carried out by Mr. P. D. Malloch, of Perth, its yield of salmon is increasing annually. I asked Mr. Malloch about the seals, and he tells me that they do so much damage that they have been compelled to keep a crew and a steam launch simply for the purpose of hunting them.

HOW SEALS DESTROY SALMON

Writing to me on the 1st of October last, Mr. Malloch says:

In answer to yours, from what I have seen in the Tay district, seals live on nothing else but salmon. We have opened scores of seals and find nothing but salmon inside them; one of about 20 stone weight that we captured had quite 30 lbs. of salmon in its stomach, quite fresh, besides a quantity half digested;

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it was eating a salmon when we shot it. The seal bolts lumps from a pound to two pounds without chewing it. You have only to go to a sand-bank where they rest to be convinced that they eat salmon; their droppings are little else than salmon scales. In shooting the seals the best time to get near them is when they are eating a salmon. For many years past I have seen seals eating salmon on Tents-Mure fishings just outside the estuary of the Tay. I have seen as many as six seals eating salmon at the same time. The seals will go through the stake nets and take out the largest salmon: they go a few yards away from the net and very soon devour it. They hold the fish in their flippers, exposing the head and shoulders. When a seal is resting with a fish at the bottom, you see the water quite smooth towards shore if the wind is blowing towards it; this is caused by the oil coming from the fish. I am pleased to see from your note in the *Fishing Gazette* that Sir Richard Waldie Griffith is to make a raid on the Tweed seals; I wish every one would do the same. Since August we have killed eighty seals (in less than a month); one day we had five, the largest weighing 24 stone, or more than 3½ cwt.

Writing to me on the 16th of September last, Sir R. Waldie Griffith, Bart., Chairman of the Tweed Salmon Fishery Commissioners, said:

Mr. Morton Grossman brought the question as to damage by seals before the Tweed Commissioners at their annual meeting on the 8th of September, and it was arranged that we should consider what could be done to check the damage to nets and fish. It is a curious fact that nearly a third of the fish caught up the river are marked by seals or nets. I should be very glad indeed if you could give me any information as to what other rivers are doing with regard to sea birds and seals—the number of sea birds up the river has increased very largely.

Crossing for a moment to the west coast of Ireland we find that in the estuary of the Moy the seals are doing much damage. Mr. George Shannon, of the Moy Salmon Fishery, tells me that:

During the fishing season the seals are a constant annoyance, and they destroy and injure a great number of the salmon. When they do not kill the fish outright they injure them so that the fish fetch far less money. I wish some successful means could be devised for their destruction.

In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 21st of September, a correspondent says that Carlingford Lough has been rendered practically fishless owing to the presence of the hundreds of seals which resort and breed there; he laments the fact that the Irish Fisheries Department has not made any attempt to destroy the pests, and thus revive the former prosperity of the ancient town of Carlingford as a fishing centre. He says the seals kill everything, from the salmon to the dab, though they will not touch the congers or dabs when pollock and mackerel are about.

A correspondent at Aberdeen tells me that seals, although increasing in numbers again, are not so numerous as formerly. He says that coal fish do more damage to salmon smolt than anything else at present, although since the nets on the Dee were bought up pike are greatly on the increase.

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Mr. Augustus Grimble, author of works on the salmon rivers of Scotland and Ireland, notes that seals are troublesome in the salmon fisheries all round the Scotch coast, also in Wales.

PORPOISES

The reports as to damage caused by porpoises are by no means so frequent or general as with regard to seals.

The Severn is an exception in this respect, as Mr. Willis Bund, the Chairman of the Fisheries Board, informs me that their salmon suffer much from the attacks of porpoises.

Although the estuary of the Severn is so wide the parts used by salmon on their way to the river are very narrow, and these the porpoises know. A shoal of porpoises will come up on one tide and get between the ascending shoals of salmon and the sea; the result is the salmon fear to run up. This usually happens in the spring and when the wind is from certain quarters; but you may take it that the stoppage of a run of salmon by the presence of a shoal of porpoises is no unusual thing in the estuary of the Severn.

The Tyne suffers from periodical visits of porpoises. Mr. H. A. Morton, of Newcastle, tells me that this year there have been very few; last year many were seen chasing the salmon well up the river.

Porpoises seem to wander about the ocean like the old Vikings, making unexpected and destructive raids on the fishing grounds. They have been so numerous and destructive lately, near Brest, that according to the *Daily Mail's* correspondent there, the crews of forty fishing-boats have received rifles and cartridges from the Government for making war on them. Torpedo-boats are also employed on the same work. The same correspondent reports that a very curious and excellent means of driving away the pests has been discovered by a sea captain of Bordeaux, named Lebel, viz. pouring the blood of cattle into the sea, at the sight of which they are said to retreat in terror. The Mayor of Douarnenez has given orders at the slaughter-houses that all the blood is to be collected and placed at the disposal of the fishermen, who declare that already the porpoises are less numerous and the sardines more abundant.

A Suggestion

In view of the importance of our salmon fisheries, might not our Government follow the example of that of France, and wage war with gunboats and torpedo-boats on the seals, porpoises, and possibly some of the fish-destroying birds? It would be work the crews would enjoy, as they would be having good sport and at the same time carrying out their *raison d'être*—destroying the enemies of the State.

Since this article was written I see that the Norwegian Government is being petitioned to send war-vessels to destroy the seals. Great herds of seals have come down from the Arctic Regions and

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destroyed or driven away the fish, so that the local fishing populations are in great distress. I believe that on some part of the Norwegian coast dynamite has been used against the voracious but valueless beasts, and that as a consequence they are coming over to our northern islands. From Canada also come reports of the great increase of seals, which follow the salmon far up the rivers, doing immense damage. Of course seals are not new animals, and there is nothing new in their destroying fish; the new factor is their great increase just where our most valuable fish are found.

R. B. MARSTON
(*Editor, 'Fishing Gazette'*).

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HARRIS H

THE HOME OFFICE SCHEME FOR 'PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS'

At the close of the Parliamentary Session of 1903 the Home Secretary laid a Bill on the table of the House of Commons 'to amend the law relating to Penal Servitude.' The object of this measure is to promote the detention of professional criminals 'for a lengthened period of years.'

This is gratifying to all who have advocated reform in this direction. Specially gratifying, of course, to myself; for while my first article in this Crime series (*Nineteenth Century*, February 1901) was generally received with marked approval, the official view taken of it at the time was that it afforded no basis for legislation. In saying this I am not referring either to his Majesty's Judges or to the Prison Department. The views of the Prison Department must be gleaned from the pending Bill, and from the Annual Reports submitted to the Secretary of State. And the opinion of the Judicial Bench was indicated by a letter which Mr. Justice Wills addressed to the *Times* (the 21st of February 1901). Mr. Justice Phillimore's charge to the Grand Jury at the Maidstone Summer Assizes 1902 threw further light upon it. Referring to the punishment of old offenders, he said:

> Sir Robert Anderson had written several interesting articles on the subject since his retirement, and the matter had been brought before the judges of the King's Bench Division by one of the oldest, the most experienced, and the most humane of their number. The result had been that communications had passed between the Home Office and the judges with a view of ascertaining whether it would not be possible to devise some new form of detention more or less permanent, but slighter in its incidence than penal servitude, by which old offenders might be restrained from preying on the public.[1]

The Home Office Bill is the outcome of the pressure thus put upon that Department. But the question remains whether it is in any way adequate. And as of course the object in laying a Government Bill on the table at the end of an expiring Session is to give time for consideration of its provisions, the moment is specially opportune

[1] *The Times*, July 12, 1902.

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to raise afresh the general question of our method of dealing with the professional criminals.

The gist of the measure is contained in the first clause, which reads as follows:

1.—(1) Where any person who has previously been convicted more than twice of an indictable offence is convicted on indictment of an offence punishable with penal servitude, and it appears to the court—

(*a*) that at the time when he committed the offence for which he is to be sentenced, he was leading a persistently dishonest or criminal life; and

(*b*) that by reason of his criminal antecedents and mode of life, it is expedient for the protection of the public that he should be kept in detention for a lengthened period of years,

the court may, if it thinks fit, in passing a sentence of penal servitude for any term of not less than *seven years*, direct that, after serving a portion of his sentence under the general rules relating to sentences of penal servitude, he shall serve the residue thereof in the habitual offender division.

(2) The portion of the sentence to be served under the general rules shall be such period as the court may direct, being not less than one-fourth, or, in the case of a person who has served a previous sentence of penal servitude, not less than one-half, of the sentence.

(3) In this section the expression 'habitual offender division' means the special division of convicts instituted under that name by rules made by the Secretary of State under the Prison Act, 1898.

My attack upon the existing law and practice was based upon the fact that while crime in general has sensibly diminished, there has been a steady and serious increase in crimes of the kind that are known to be the work of professional criminals. And from this fact I drew what seemed a very obvious inference, namely, that the causes which availed to bring about the general diminution of crime failed to operate in the case of the professionals. As both the fact and the inference, though then challenged in high quarters, are now accepted—indeed they constitute the implied preamble of the Home Office Bill—it is unnecessary to discuss them further. What concerns us is the practical question whether the proposed enactment would prove a remedy for the admitted evils which it is intended to meet.

Intelligent penologists are agreed that the problem underlying this question involves a due adjustment of severity and leniency. And if we are to make any advance in dealing with it we must refuse a hearing to two mutually hostile camps of agitators. On the one side there are those who advocate punishment for punishment's sake in the case of all offenders, and who will not tolerate reforms to alleviate a prisoner's lot. On the other side there are those who, blind to the truth that useless punishment is cruel, and that all punishment is useless which fails to attain the object with which it is inflicted, are therefore consistently opposed to our acting on the principle which ought to underlie all criminal legislation and adminis-

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tration, namely, that in every case the limit of punishment should never be less than the point of efficiency.

These folk call themselves 'Humanitarians,' and there is no Court competent to issue an injunction to restrain them from this flagrant misuse of the word. Under the influence of a charitable desire to avoid wounding individuals, I coined the expression 'humanity-mongers' as exactly indicating those I wished to hold up to reprobation. But one demonstrative *allotrioepiscopos* at once donned the cap I thus threw down, and he has fitted it on so tightly that he cannot now get rid of it. For any sake let us leave the punishment-mongers and the humanity-mongers to fight out their quarrel, and let us, as sensible, intelligent, and benevolent men, deal with this great question on its merits, and consider whether this *projet de loi* is right in principle and would prove efficacious in practice.

It may be freely admitted that the proposed enactment would *mitigate* the evil which it is designed to cure. I have ventured to challenge the principles of orthodox penology in regard to sentences. I maintain that punishment is merely a means to an end, and that the end is the protection of the public. And now not only is this accepted by the Bill, but further, the fact disputed in such high quarters three years ago is now admitted, that the protection of the public is not sufficiently assured by our present methods, and that legislation is necessary to ensure the longer detention of professional criminals. The judges declare that so long as penal servitude discipline is enforced during the whole term of a sentence, they shrink from passing sentences adequate to protect the community. And as the number of first-class crimes against property depends on the number of first-class criminals at large, a more prolonged detention of the criminals will lead to a diminution in the number of the crimes. The public will be the gainers; and if the measure under consideration had already become law we might be content to congratulate ourselves on this result. But our subject is a pending Bill, and therefore a discussion which would be interesting at any time is of practical importance now. If an evil can be cured, no mere palliative should be accepted. What then is the evil here?

In the newspaper account of the recent arrests for the great jewel larceny in Conduit Street, it was mentioned that one of the prisoners complained that, in his absence, one of his fellow criminals had broken into his place and stolen some of his ill-gotten valuables; and, he added, 'There is honour among the members of other professions, but none in ours.' 'Our profession.' Exactly so: a criminal career of that type is just as much a profession as is the occupation of the journalist who penned that report. The question then is how we should deal with such criminals when they bring themselves within the power of the law.

I will test this by a hypothetical case which I suggested in my

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first article. Suppose the case of a new community where everyone trusts his neighbour. Honesty reigns, and therefore there is no need to bolt doors or to bar windows. But presently certain individuals turn to thieving. Every effort to reclaim them fails. What then is to be done? Either of two courses may be adopted. One would be to get rid of the thieves. The other would be to shut them up for a while every time they are caught, and then to turn them out again to resume their thieving, the whole community meanwhile taking to bars and bolts, and setting up a Scotland Yard with records and finger prints of the criminals. Now I am not preaching or laying down the law. My object is to appeal to a thoughtful and intelligent public. And to that tribunal I submit the question, whether if the inhabitants of my Utopia adopted this second alternative method of dealing with their criminals they would not prove themselves to be not only deficient in the art of government, but wanting in common sense. And yet it is this second method which obtains here in enlightened Britain in this twentieth century!

It will be said that in an old country, and with a teeming population, the problem is by no means so simple. This I readily admit. But in all essential points it is the same. And the more fully my successor at Scotland Yard matures his system for identifying criminals, the more closely will the circumstances in England correspond with those of my Utopia. When high-class crimes against property occur in London, for example, the task of the police is to find the criminals, not among the millions of the population, but among a few dozen of the professionals who are registered in the Convict Supervision Office. Let us suppose that they are found, and that the far more difficult task of obtaining evidence on which to charge them is accomplished. They are brought to trial and convicted. Proof is available that they are professionals. The fear of penal servitude has not kept them from crime. They have already undergone the discipline, and know all about it. They are now sent to penal servitude again for five or six years. Under the new law the judges will presumably impose longer terms. But will these lengthened imprisonments avail to change the criminals? If a sentence that involves the severe discipline of penal servitude fails to deter from crime, is it likely that this result will be attained by sentences involving a relaxation of the discipline during half the term?

In his *Side Lights on Convict Life*, lately published with a quasi *imprimatur* by the prison authorities, Mr. George Griffith writes, 'I have no hesitation in saying that there is no punishment either in penal servitude or hard labour under present conditions to the habitual criminal.' This is an exaggerated statement of a truth —a truth well-known to prison officers. A wild bird will tear itself to pieces against the bars of a cage in which a domesticated bird will live contentedly. The tame bird is at home in a cage. The

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gaolbird is at home in a prison. In certain cases penal servitude is barbarously cruel. In such cases, indeed, its operation is really a disgrace to a civilised country. But to the gaolbird there is no element of cruelty in it. He settles down to it in the spirit in which an officer on service accepts exile in some particularly undesirable foreign station. There is nothing in it likely to elevate and reform anybody. Nothing certainly to bring an old criminal to contrition for the past or to repentance in view of the future. Whether his term be five years or ten, and whether the discipline be made evenly severe throughout or rendered more lenient towards the close, he is as definitely a professional criminal when released as he was at the beginning. There is therefore precisely the same reason for keeping him in gaol at the end of his term that there was for sending him there on conviction. He was a thief when convicted, he is a thief when discharged; and everybody who has to do with him is perfectly well aware that he will at once return to the practice of his profession. If the matter could be presented to our judgment, apart from the prejudice which springs from custom, we should all agree in regard to cases of this kind that the system is absolutely farcical; or if anyone connected with it may be credited with intelligence and common sense, it is not the legislature, nor yet the judicature, nor the executive Government, nor the public, but only the criminal himself. If, I repeat, we could bring a perfectly free judgment to bear upon the problem, we should with one voice describe it as the attempt of a community of fools to deal with a coterie of rogues.

This is not in the preamble of the Bill. But the Bill itself is an admission that the present system requires amendment. Let us see then how it would operate. I am dealing, remember, with criminals of the type described by Mr. Justice Wills in his *Times* letter: criminals 'who follow crime as the business of their lives, who take it as a profession, who calculate and accept its risks, who have entirely ceased to work, if they ever did work, and never mean to do so.' In such cases our present system is admittedly a failure. In what way, then, should it be amended? To the average man it would appear obvious that reform must be in either of two directions. We may intensify the punitive element in our sentences, and make the punishment so severe as to become really deterrent. But Sir Alfred Wills adds, 'Such men are really hopeless. No punishment will alter them, and the moment they are released they begin to practise crime again.' If 'no punishment will alter them,' surely common sense demands that we shall adopt the other alternative, and deprive them of the liberty which systematically and of set purpose they abuse.

If the gallows is barred, these are the only rational alternatives. But the Home Office Bill is not even a compromise between them.

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It aims merely at modifying the folly and mischief of our present system. If superstition decreed that a dangerous beast must neither be destroyed nor permanently kept in confinement, every year added to the period for which it might be shut up would of course be a practical benefit to the community. But most people would think it not only stupid but wicked to turn it loose at all. And if we know that criminals will return to crime on their release, whether we hold them for ten years or for five, it is no less stupid and wicked to discharge them at the end of the longer term than it would be to let them go at once. Why should they be released at all unless and until they give such reasonable proof of reform as might justify the Home Office in discharging them? Let me quote Sir Alfred Wills again: 'What is to be done with them?' he asks; and in explanation of 'the real difficulty in the way of dealing effectually with such persons,' he says:

> The public in general, I am sure, do not fully appreciate what a source and centre of mischief the habitual criminal is. The means of ascertaining whether a man belongs to that class or not are imperfect and not always trustworthy, and it rests with the judge whether an offender is to be treated as belonging to it or not. What appears to be a severe sentence, when nothing is considered but the individual case or cases for which a man is indicted, is apt to raise on behalf of the offender a false and unwholesome sympathy which would never be extended to him (except in so far as every instance of wickedness deserves in a general sense pity as well as condemnation) if the true character of his life were known.

Here Sir Alfred puts his finger upon the radical defect of our present system. The evidence on which a prisoner is adjudged to be, in the technical sense, an 'habitual criminal,' is recorded in a public legal document. But not so the proof offered to satisfy the judge that he is a hardened and hopeless professional. That proof is obtained by an after-verdict inquiry which has no legal sanction, and which is essentially un-English in its character, for the prisoner has no adequate opportunity to refute what is alleged to his prejudice. In the nature of things, moreover, it is *always* 'imperfect,' and in saying that it is 'not always trustworthy,' Sir Alfred very much understates the point. In any case the public, while in possession of the evidence on which the prisoner has been convicted, have no knowledge of the proofs which lead the Court to regard him as a hopeless professional. And the result is that any sentence which seems out of proportion to the crime charged in the indictment 'is apt to raise on behalf of the offender a false and unwholesome sympathy.' And the new Bill will do nothing to alter this. In a case of burglary, for instance, the judge may be satisfied that (in the language of the Bill) 'it is expedient for the protection of the public' that he should impose a life sentence. But unless the evidence discloses some exceptional aggravation of the prisoner's crime, such for example as a flagrant act of violence to the

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person, not even the most trusted and experienced judge upon the Bench will venture to pass such a sentence. And why? Because it would outrage public opinion. And why would it have this effect? Because the public would have no knowledge of the grounds which guide a judge in framing his sentence—the prisoner's career as a whole, 'the true character of his life.' And a few hysterical agitators would at once get up an outcry which would entirely destroy the moral effect of the sentence, however wise and righteous it might be.

But how is this to be avoided? what is the remedy? The answer is obvious and the remedy is simple. I have known cases in which a sentence has raised an outcry of this sort, although if the facts before the Court had been published, the judge, instead of being charged with undue severity, would have been accused of condoning crime by undue leniency. I have known other cases where a police officer has, after verdict, made statements to the judge about a prisoner's antecedents and circumstances which, as I have afterwards reported to the Secretary of State, could not be sustained. My experience of such cases in both categories led me to recognise years ago that whenever the circumstances call for a sentence more severe than would be warranted by the legal evidence given at the prisoner's trial, that sentence should be the result of an inquiry as open as the trial itself. I was not then aware that a similar conclusion had been formulated by Sir James Fitz-James Stephen in his *History of the Criminal Law of England*. But I have been glad to be able to put it forward as the deliberate proposal of that distinguished jurist. His words are: 'I would punish with death offences against property only upon great deliberation, and when it was made to appear, by a formal inquiry held after a conviction for an isolated offence, that the criminal really was an habitual, hardened, practically irreclaimable offender.' I accept this unreservedly, save that for the death sentence advocated by Sir James Stephen, I would substitute an indeterminate life sentence. If the criminal is proved to be an outlaw, he should be treated as an outlaw.

But 'a formal public inquiry' is essential in the interests not only of the public but of the criminal. The grounds on which a Court has to decide upon a prisoner's 'quality' are described by Mr. Justice Wills as 'imperfect and not always trustworthy.' I go further, and condemn the system as utterly un-English and unfair. I am not here referring to the previous convictions officially recorded and legally proved against the accused. No competent and fair judge is satisfied with the information thus afforded by the calendar. The schoolboy's code contains an eleventh commandment, his addition to the decalogue being, 'Thou shalt not be found out.' And our cleverest criminals, who are of course the worst, often prove their cleverness by avoiding the breach of the eleventh commandment, while weaker and less harmful offenders are apt to get caught again

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and again. The consequence is that weak and 'unlucky' men come off worse than the leaders of the profession. Hence the importance of the after-verdict inquiry which a judge institutes respecting a prisoner's general character and mode of life.

I crave attention to this. The offence charged, if it stood alone, would perhaps involve a sentence of a year's hard labour, and this would of course be increased on account of the previous convictions. But the after inquiry above mentioned makes it clear that a much longer term is desirable in the public interest, and seven years' penal servitude is in fact the minimum term within the scope of the new Bill. That is to say, the sentence is at least doubled as the result of the after-verdict inquiry. Now no witness would be heard at the trial whose evidence had not previously been given to the accused, with full opportunity for cross-examination and the production of rebutting evidence. But here statements of which he has no knowledge are received to his prejudice, or at all events, and in every case, allegations are suddenly sprung upon him at a time and in circumstances when an adequate answer is impossible. Judges have told me that their confidence in the information thus put before them about criminals depends on their knowledge of the officers in charge of the various cases. A judge, moreover, who refuses to hear anything relative to a prisoner save what he can extract from police officers in open court, often remains wilfully ignorant of what ought to guide him in passing sentence. And yet a judge who peruses confidential police reports is naturally reluctant to act upon what he finds there.

The whole system is indefensible, and the new Bill accentuates not only its defects but its injustice. Its implied preamble is plainly this, that a prisoner is to be sentenced not merely because of the crime of which he has been convicted, but because he is proved to be a professional criminal. Then that charge, which, if estimated by its consequence to the prisoner, is graver than the crime itself, should be openly laid and openly proved; proved, not necessarily in accordance with the technicalities of English law, but in keeping with the commonest principles of English justice. The prisoner's secret dossier—I call it secret because, of course, the jury at the trial should know nothing of it—ought to be formally laid before the Court by competent authority. And this same dossier, together with the nature of the charge to be based upon it, ought to be communicated to the prisoner, say a week before his trial, to give him ample time to consider it. This after-trial charge would be similar to charges dealt with by magistrates under the Prevention of Crimes Act. Such charges are easily answered if they are untrue. Suppose, for example, that a man is accused of making his living by dishonest means, he has but to name his employer, and the charge is refuted. To call upon a man to prove his innocence of a crime would be like requiring him to prove a negative; in a charge of this kind it is the

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police who have to prove the negative. There is no element of unfairness in it.

These un-English enquiries into antecedents and character are, I repeat, both unsatisfactory to the judges and unfair to the criminals. Upon the information thus afforded them, the judges act always with reserve and often with misgivings. And as for the criminals, the Home Office records would testify that while a real 'habitual' seldom disputes the justice of his conviction, he frequently questions the justice of his sentence. It would be different if the reasons for the sentence were stated as openly and as fairly as the evidence of the crime, and the accused were allowed sufficient opportunity to explain or refute the statements made to his discredit. The convict would then be silenced, and the public would be satisfied.

I might cite case after case in support of my contention. And if I were to give particulars about well-known convicts it would increase both the strength of my argument and the interest of my article. But though I am not without ambition, my ambition does not take the form of wishing to be made defendant in a number of unsuccessful libel actions. I venture to think, moreover, that the proposal I advocate needs no such support. It is put forward, I repeat, with the authority of one who was eminent as a lawyer, as a judge, and as a jurist.

Having said this, it might be expected that I should here lay down my pen, and leave the whole matter to the judgment of an intelligent public, the tribunal to which my appeal is submitted. But it is idle to ignore the fact that the practical solution of the problem is embarrassed by theories of punishment which affect the judgment of men of light and leading, whose influence is felt when reforms of this character are under consideration. This it is which has led me to insist so strongly that the theory which regards the punishment of crime as an end, and not merely a means to an end, is false in principle and mischievous in practice. But this theory prevails in high quarters. In his *Studies by the Way*, Sir Edward Fry has reproduced an article which appeared in this Review twenty years ago (September 1883), in which the view I deprecate is maintained. And one of his avowed reasons for republishing the article is that it has lately been cited with approval by Mr. Justice Kennedy. It therefore claims attention.

'In the apportionment of penalties,' Sir Edward Fry avers, 'we have to regard primarily and directly the moral nature of the crime, and to assign pain and suffering as nearly as we can to the enormity of the sin.' Now if Sir Edward Fry and Mr. Justice Kennedy are right, Sir James Stephen and Mr. Justice Wills are wrong. The jurist's view appears from the quotation given above from his *History of the Criminal Law*. Sir Alfred Wills's is clearly

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expressed in the letter already cited. 'For my own part,' he writes, 'I emphatically agree with Dr. Anderson when he says that the primary object of punishment is the protection of society.' According to the one view, as Sir Edward Fry avers in restating his thesis, 'before everything else we must look to the moral nature of the act in question'; that is, of the crime committed. According to the other view, before everything else we must look to the welfare of the community.

With unfeigned respect, but with no misgivings, I maintain, first, that no human tribunal can estimate aright 'the moral nature' of human acts; and secondly, that English law does not recognise this principle. In the hanging days such a question did not arise. The law arbitrarily classified certain offences as felonies, and anyone who committed an offence of that class went to the gallows. And though in our own day some judges seem to claim in a timid and halting way to be (as Mr. Crackanthorpe has aptly phrased it) vicegerents of the Deity, the genius of English law and the common sense of the English people are opposed to them. Who would deny that the act of stealing a penny loaf from a helpless and starving child is more base and wicked than forging a Bank of England note? Yet the forger would be punished with tenfold more severity than the thief. And why? because the protection of society demands it. Here both acts are morally reprehensible, but in different degrees. But take another case, and any lawyer would cite many of the same kind. Why is a dealer in old metals punished for buying less than 56 lbs. of brass or copper? There is no question whatever here of the 'moral nature' of the act, but society for its own protection creates the offence, and punishes the commission of it.

Let me test the principle in another way still more striking, and more germane to the immediate issue before us. We punish a first crime with marked leniency, or not at all, while a similar crime committed by an old offender is punished with great severity. But speaking generally, the moral guilt of a first crime is incomparably greater than that of a crime committed by one whose moral nature has been degraded and deadened by a criminal career. If the principle I am seeking to refute is to prevail, our Penal Servitude Acts run on false lines, and the new Home Office Bill is a stride in a wrong direction. For in proportion to the number of a criminal's 'previous convictions' his punishment for every subsequent offence should be reduced.

This element of leniency to first offenders, moreover, confirms the proof that the welfare of the community, and not the moral nature of criminal acts, is the ruling principle in English penology. And in this connection the fact claims notice, that in an ever increasing number and variety of cases the reformation of the offender takes precedence of all thought of punishing his crime.

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It is not without significance that this should be ignored in Sir Edward Fry's article. Not of course that the reformation of offenders is overlooked by him. He takes it into account definitely and emphatically. But he deals with it only as one of the 'secondary elements in punishment.' The fact to which I claim attention is that, in our recent legislation, and in the practice of our criminal courts, the reformation of the offender is, instead of being regarded as a secondary element in *punishment*, increasingly thrust into prominence to the exclusion of punishment altogether.

Let me illustrate my meaning by a case of a kind that is of frequent occurrence in London. In spite of the advantages accruing from having a respectable home, some young person commits a felony. If 'the moral nature of his crime' is to decide his fate, he should receive exemplary punishment. But he escapes without any punishment at all. More than this, in lieu of receiving punishment, a benefit is conferred upon him. The judge, instead of committing him to gaol, hands him over to the care of some practical philanthropist, and in due course this youth, who under the old system would have been hanged at Newgate, becomes a respectable and prosperous mechanic, or tradesman, or farmer, and gains a better position than he would have obtained if he had never broken the law. Let no one suppose that this is an imaginary case. Mr. Wm. Wheatley could give details of numerous cases of the kind. Now are we to hold that all this is immoral and wrong? Or is it to be explained as the vagary of a weak and sentimental age? The practice is to be explained and defended, on the ground that punishment is not itself an end, as the philosophers assume, but merely a means to an end; and as that end is the welfare of society, if a criminal can be won over to the ranks of honest and useful citizenship without punishment, it is better in the interests of the community to let him go unpunished.

There are cases, no doubt, in which a crime so outrages the public conscience that not only punishment but, it may be, severe punishment, is imperatively demanded. But so far from these cases being exceptions to the principle I contend for, they only serve to illustrate it, for it is in the public interest that the punishment is inflicted. So also with the numerous cases in which a criminal's punishment is made more severe 'because the example will be beneficial to his neighbours.' The words are Sir Edward Fry's, for he mentions the practice with approval. But I venture to urge that on the punishment-of-crime theory such a practice is wholly indefensible. If a judge's task is 'to apportion the suffering to the sin,' surely it is flagrantly unjust to add to a sinner's stripes in order to deter other men from sinning. Not so, however, if punishment finds its sanction in the public welfare.

I might go on to argue that in claiming to decide the amount

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of suffering due to sin, a judge not only sets himself a task which is beyond his competence, but directly infringes the prerogative of Divine justice. I content myself, however, with maintaining that he thus assumes a function unsanctioned by the law of England. He has nothing to do with *sins*. His duty is in relation to *crimes*. The commission of a crime brings the offender under the power of the law, and the judge's responsibility is merely to deal with him as required by the interests of society, whose representative and minister he is.

There is one point on which I venture to differ from Sir Alfred Wills, albeit I recognise that he is probably expressing the general opinion of the Judicial Bench. I do not believe he is right in assuming that men who in entering on a life of crime 'calculate and accept its risks' are 'really hopeless.' This is all too true of others—wretched weaklings who seem to have neither moral nor intellectual fibre to save them in a world where temptations to evil abound and the way of life is narrow. But the criminals who give most trouble to the police are men of a different kidney—clever men who pursue a life of crime because their calculation of its risks leads them to the conclusion that in the long run it pays. The very uncertainty as to their sentence if brought to justice appeals to their sporting proclivities; and if the fear of incurring a long term of penal servitude does not deter them, it will certainly not have that effect if the prison discipline be rendered less irksome during a considerable part of their sentence. But let it be brought home to men of this type that a further conviction will involve, not the chance of a longer term, but the certainty of a sentence that will bring their professional career to a close, and not a few of them will desert at once from the army of crime.

I freely admit—indeed, I assert it with emphasis—that no such mitigation of prison discipline as the Home Office Bill provides will avail to make a life sentence justifiable under the present system. But this opens up a large question, one question, indeed, of many relative to prisoners and prisons, on which there is much that I wish to say, much which, perhaps, the public would be willing to hear. I am eager to ventilate such questions, but it is better to deal with one at a time. I will only say therefore that the importance of the particular reform I here advocate is enhanced by the fact that it will expedite other reforms of the greatest value; and I am bold enough to prophesy that they will come, and with the good-will and support of the Prison Department.

Our prison system is an attempt to make old bottles—the legacy of a harsh and ignorant age—available for the new wine of present-day facts and needs. In its effects upon very many, a sentence of imprisonment or penal servitude is more senselessly cruel than the gallows. Much may be said in defence of dismissing to the bar of

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Divine justice those who, by persisting in a life of crime, set all human justice at defiance. But no adequate defence of our present methods is possible. If the question be asked, Why is M. or N. sent to gaol? to say that he has committed an offence is no adequate answer. His conviction imposes on the State the duty of taking some action. But if in discharge of that duty the State imprisons him, surely it must be with some definite and intelligible purpose. Is it with a view to punishment? Then let the punishment be sufficiently severe to be efficacious. Is it because, being deemed irreclaimable, he must be shut up to prevent his injuring society? Then let punishment become a secondary consideration, and—subject, of course, to the enforcement of industry and good conduct—let his indefinitely prolonged detention be made no more bitter than necessary. But if the reformation of the offender be the main purpose for which he is committed to gaol, then in the name of common sense let the discipline be directed to that end. To shut up a man alone in a prison cell is admirable as *a punishment*, but the notion that any ordinary human being can be benefited either mentally or morally by such a discipline is worthy of mediæval monks. It serves only to unfit him for liberty when released. What would be thought of a hospital for cripples, which kept the patients on crutches for a measured period, and then turned them out without even a walking-stick to support them?

Then, again, the State punishes any man who neglects his family, and yet when the State imprisons him it compels him to neglect them. Many a criminal has a wife and children for whom in his rough way he really cares. But this influence, so powerful for good, is entirely ignored; and in ignoring it the State, by a prison discipline which pretends to reform, serves only to harden and degrade those who are subjected to it. When a man who has a family dependent on him is committed to gaol for a reasonable period there is no reason whatever—and I speak with practical knowledge of both police and prison administration—why he should not be kept in touch with them during his imprisonment. By the intervention of an Aid Society, a part of the estimated value of his work in prison might, week by week, be allotted to their support. No greater inducement could be found to industry and good conduct; and on his discharge he would be able to return to his home, instead of finding that home broken up and his wife and children on the streets or in the workhouse.

But here the distressing fact obtrudes itself that under the short sentence system which now prevails most of our prisoners are committed for terms so brief that efforts to reform or help them are impracticable. Something might be said for the gallows and the lash, but what defence can be offered for the endless and aimless procession in and out of gaol which the short sentence

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craze involves? My purpose here is not to discuss such problems, but merely to indicate some of the questions which await discussion. And so of this I will only say that while the special reforms to which I have given prominence will be achieved as soon as reason and common sense shake themselves free from the traditions and superstitions of the past, this gigantic evil of the short sentence system—the delight of the humanitarian, the despair of the philanthropist—is so full of difficulties that it might fitly be referred to a committee or commission of able men to devise a remedy. Wiser heads than mine must deal with it.

Not so, however, with the special question on which I wish for the moment to focus public attention. If that should be referred to a Parliamentary or Departmental Committee, evidence will not be lacking that the scheme I here advocate is practicable from the point of view both of police duty and of prison administration.

May I in conclusion recapitulate my 'argument'? The Home Office Penal Servitude Bill adopts and confirms the principle that when an 'habitual' is convicted, his sentence is not to depend merely on *what he has done*, but on *what he is*; not on the isolated offence merely, but on his character and general mode of life. The charge on which he is convicted by the jury is that he has committed the crime specified in the indictment; the charge on which he is to be sentenced by the judge is that he is a criminal in a deeper and fuller sense. Here then all our national instincts of justice and fair play demand that, after the verdict has been given, this grave charge shall be formally made and openly investigated, adequate notice of it having been given to the accused, and full opportunity allowed him to meet it.

And when this reform has been accomplished, and criminals of this type are by legal process thus publicly declared to be outlaws, the morbid sympathy with the dock which, as Mr. Justice Wills has explained, now embarrasses a judge, will give place to a revolt against a system which allows such men to be again turned loose upon the community. And this again will lead to the establishment of what I have termed an asylum prison, in which the inmates shall be enabled to lead useful and not necessarily unhappy lives. Their presence in this world will thus be made a benefit instead of a curse to the community, and their hopes for the next world will certainly not be impaired by being rescued from temptations of a kind which they either will not or cannot overcome.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

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THE CURSE OF CORSETS

SOME years since a series of experiments for the purpose of showing the effects of tight-lacing were made upon monkeys by an enterprising scientist. A number of miniature corsets, exactly similar to those worn by women, were fashioned to size, and a number of poor little creatures encased in them.

Their distress at the constriction and discomfort, their unceasing efforts to release themselves, did credit to their intellectual perception and sagacity. The physical results were as disastrous as they are instructive. For it was found that those which were corseted and laced at once to the regulation V-shape of fashionable woman died in the space of a few days, as though stricken by some mortal malady. Those in whose cases a more gradual process was adopted lived some weeks in sickliness and suffering. Whilst others, the 'improvement' of whose figures extended over a still more lengthy period, did not succumb at all, showing that tolerance became established. But the tolerance was established obviously at the expense of health and happiness. These rudimental martyrs to a civilised vice fell off grievously in appetite and spirits. They were attacked by gastric and other internal disorders. They moped and lost flesh, alternating between extreme languor and marked nerve-irritability. Their tempers rendered them unapproachable, and although they did not die actually of stays, they died within a few months of some disorder of which stays with the health deterioration consequent on their use were the undoubted cause.

It might be imagined that the subject were by this time threadbare, that enough and to spare had been already said and written against corsets. But enough will never have been said or written until the evil has been exorcised.

For at the present moment the use of corsets is more universal than has hitherto been known. The extravagance of modern dress —an extravagance never before reached—is evidence enough were evidence needed of this. Dress has been given to woman to conceal her deficiencies, and to this end she employs it, beauty and dress assuming generally an inverse ratio the one to the other. Our women to-day are frilled and chiffoned to the eyes, are flounced and

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furbelowed to the heels. Their *toupées* and love-locks come home in a box, or are the glorified apotheoses of tresses which lack the vitality to curl without the aid of pins or heated irons. The use of rouge, of powder and toilet accessories innumerable has at no time been so prevalent. The flush of our finger-tips, counterfeiting health, is the art of the manicure. Our modistes are taxed to the utmost in their necessity to simulate natural curves and to conceal unnatural deficiencies by means of folds and frillings. No doubt the wear and tear of modern life—the pace at which we live—has much to do with such physical decadence, but the deterioration is and has been largely hastened by the use of stays.

Formerly the practice of tight-lacing was confined almost entirely to the fashionable and leisured classes. Now it permeates the humblest levels of society. You shall not find a housemaid or kitchen-maid, a shop-girl or a little slave of all work, who does not pinch her waist to a morbid and ridiculous extent. The thing has become, indeed, a national evil, for these wasp-waisted, chlorotic beings are the mothers of the race. They who observe cannot fail to have been struck by that which may best be described as a blighting process which falls upon many developing girls. We see them half-grown, more or less shapeless healthy creatures with the promise of a fine maturity about them. We see them some years later and exclaim in disappointment. The fine promise has belied itself. Development has given place to retrogression.

The abnormal pressure upon vital organs which at this season is first put upon the girl has prevented the natural expansion and growth of liver and stomach and lungs, and of other internal organs whose proper and unhindered development is essential to the full growth of a human individual. Other influences doubtless are also at work, such as inherited degeneracy, over-education, and the strain civilisation puts upon young growing creatures; but the unfortunate girl would be more in a condition to cope with these were her digestive and blood-making capacities left free to answer to her body's needs. Growth is largely a question of nutrition. Thorns are abortive buds. Starve a man and you stunt his nature, he becomes dwarfed or lop-sided. His brain develops at the expense of his body, or his body develops at the expense of his brain. The balance of his powers is lost for the reason that his vitality is not enough for healthy, all-round growth. So, we manufacture degenerates—men and women top-heavy with mentality, because the brain has robbed the body; men and women over-weighted with animality, because the body has robbed the brain. As Herbert Spencer tells us: 'The unfolding of an organism after its special type has its approximately uniform course, taking its tolerably definite time, and no treatment that may be devised will fundamentally change or greatly accelerate these; the best that can be done is to maintain the required favour-

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able conditions. *But it is quite easy to adopt a treatment which shall dwarf or deform, or otherwise injure; the processes of growth and development may be, and very often are, hindered or deranged, though they cannot be artificially bettered.*' The 'hindering and deranging' which in this particular relation takes place is somewhat as follows.

The girl wakens in the morning, her expression calm, her features and outlines plumpened and rejuvenated by the even tide of blood which during sleep has been allowed to flow freely through her tissues. Her lungs and diaphragm have expanded, her liver, stomach, and other organs have relieved themselves in a measure from the cramped, congested state which is their daily normal. Her whole system is refreshed.

She rises, and forthwith proceeds to thwart the healthful expansive processes which have gone on during the night. She encases herself in an abnormality of steel and whalebone, compressing vital organs in an unyielding grip. The resulting sense of constriction, more irksome as every woman knows but too well in the morning, where it does not induce actual nausea at all events occasions a feeling of pressure destructive of appetite; so that after a fast of some twelve or fourteen hours, the girl, whose growing, hungry tissues clamour for fresh supplies, is unable to take the food her system badly needs to start the day upon. Or if she takes it the cramped organs can but ill assimilate it. As the duty of the stomach is to convert food into soluble nutrition which the blood may carry to the tissues, so the duty of the liver is to store the surplus of a meal and to discharge it slowly as the system calls for it. But the capacity of the constricted stomach is so encroached upon that it will not without pain or discomfort contain enough material for the needs of nutrition. Consequently only half enough or even less is taken. The abnormal pressure prevents the natural churning movements essential to assimilation. Added to which there is grave interference with nerve- and blood-supplies. Neither should it be supposed that digestive capacity can be gauged by the bulk of food swallowed. Digestion is a far more complex thing than this; a thing too complex, indeed, for organs hampered and degenerated by decades of constriction to achieve.

The storage power of the liver, intended for the provision of nourishment during such times as the stomach is empty, is encroached upon by so many square inches as the waist is diminished. Moreover, the blood-currents through this organ, whose duty it is to keep the blood in condition, are impeded and become sluggish, and in time its structure shrinks. The same shrinking and degeneration go on in the lungs, which are not permitted full expansion during the hours of action, the hours that is of deepest breathing. And all these conditions from being merely temporary become permanent, resulting in organic change and deterioration. The starved blood is

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pallid, thin, and incapable of nourishing the tissues. These waste. The girl grows flat-chested and hollow-cheeked. Her ill-fed skin is dry and inelastic, and will early shrivel into wrinkles. At the same time the congestion and deterioration of internal organs result in lines and dragged furrows from the eyes and angles of the mouth. While she is yet a girl she has lost out of her face and figure nearly every curve and charm and softness that belongs to womanhood. For beauty is a luxury of Nature, it is something that is elaborated out of the surplus left over from the mere utilitarian demands of the body.

Her abdominal muscles microscopically examined will be found to have atrophied, the healthy muscle-cells being replaced by fattily degenerate cells for the reason that the supple support it was their function to supply has been abnormally and stiffly supplied by steel and whalebone, and they have wasted from disuse. Later in life they will probably yield altogether, the woman becoming the shapeless personage we regard as the norm of middle-age. With this atrophy and atony of external muscles there goes on an associated atrophy and atony of internal muscles, leading to results which custom does not permit us to discuss out of the pages of medical literature.

Dyspepsia may fairly be described as the feminine of digestion, to such an extent do women suffer from this most distressing and injurious of disabilities. Especially is this the case during girlhood. Just at the period when Nature is making great demands upon the resources, dyspepsia with its resulting starvation and impoverishment steps in. Development ceases, or if it continues does so at the expense of health. Either the girl never grows into a woman, or she grows into a sickly woman with ill-nourished and defective tissues. Her structure has been supplied from dyspeptic sources. Food which a capable digestion would have raised to its highest powers, supplying nutrition of the greatest efficiency, has, as a consequence of her poor assimilative capacity, rendered up only half or a third of its value. And this even at the cost of suffering. Small wonder that women's tongues and tempers are not all they should be! The satisfaction of healthy appetite, grateful and pleasing to a healthy organisation, is to the corseted one an ever-recurring source of pain and irritation.

Now the source of all power, physical or intellectual, being digestion, it follows that he who has the greatest capacity for turning food-stuff into energy is the person best equipped in life. Much depends of course upon the form into which the faculties further elaborate the energy derived from digestion, but digestion is the *fons et origo* of all capacity. Given a man with a good digestion and a capable brain, that man will assuredly (all other things being equal) accomplish more than another with an equally good intellectual organ and a poor digestion.

Woman, then, in impairing her assimilative power is impairing

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her human power. She can never fairly keep up with man, whose assimilative capability, uninjured at all events by stays, is more according to his needs. It may be accepted indeed as fundamental truth that so long as women wear stays (for women seldom wear stays without lacing them too tightly) our sex can never properly take its place in the world of work. The inefficiency inseparable from anæmia and malnutrition may pass muster in homes where there is no standard of excellence, where the produce is not a marketable commodity but merely offspring, and where lack of capacity and 'nerves' do not affect the affairs of nations, but it will not stand the strain of competitive life. So long as one sex wantonly curtails its powers and the other sex does not, so long will the sex which does be heavily and insuperably handicapped.

It may be objected that woman is to-day stronger and more athletic than she has ever been. But it must not be forgotten that not even in man, and certainly not in woman, is muscular capacity a test of health. On the contrary, its possession in very marked degree is one of the symptoms of degeneracy. And whatsoever may be advanced in evidence of modern woman's muscularity, it cannot be denied that she is physically immature. She may be tall, she may be sturdy and capable of great athletic feats, but is she womanly? The term is hard to define. Womanliness is not a thing of inches, nor of muscles, nor of strength, but in human and intrinsic value far superior to these: without it any member of the sex, be she as tall, as strong, and as muscular as she may be, is immature—has fallen short in her development. In so far as she is not womanly she approximates the masculine type, and approximates it only in its cruder attributes. The blight of arrested growth has fallen upon her, and the fact that this arrested growth is not necessarily attended by muscular incompetence makes it none the less a blight.

The writer can affirm without reservation that of the women she has known who have reached the highest ideals of their sex in mind and body, of those also who have preserved their youth and beauty into advanced years, each one has been a woman who has not worn stays, or has not at all events employed them as a means of constriction.

In these days girls no longer marry in their teens (for which posterity will have every reason to be thankful), so that the preservation of good looks is indicated for a longer period than formerly. The haggardness and peevish furrows, the sallowness and pallor, the 'nerves' and waspish temper, to say nothing of the angularity resulting from unnatural compression and its attendant malnutrition, show themselves in the well (?) be-corseted long before the average age of marriage.

Once women realise this fact, that the expedient of tight-lacing, which they so short-sightedly adopt in the interests of their appearance, is in truth the most cruel and absolute destroyer of beauty

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that could have been devised, then maybe the practice will be threatened.

That a leopard will change his spots or women discard the use of stays in the course of one generation is not to be expected. Progress is far too slow a thing for that. Even the platform of woman's rights is an object-lesson in wasp-waistedness.

But if women will not themselves abandon this abomination of tight-lacing, with its multiple miseries and race-deterioration, at least they should so far yield to scientific representation as to preserve their growing girls from the cruelty entailed in injured health, arrested growth, abortive womanhood, and restricted power.

One cannot prevent a person come to years which stand for discretion from distorting her figure and spoiling her health, but public opinion should speak plainly and irresistibly, paternal authority should be exerted if need be, to rescue the already too fragile and devitalised girls of our day from this barbarity of corsets, which their own ignorance or the culpable ignorance or callousness of mothers puts upon them. One hears always the same cry, 'The stays are not tight!' Tolerance, doubtless, as in the case of the monkeys, becomes established, but the tolerance is at the expense of pinched degenerating organs and arrested growth.

That the stays are indeed tight is shown by the fact that although the physique and internal organs expand in every other direction, the waist of adult woman *is actually less than that of the girl between ten and twelve.* Moreover, it has been found that the waists of young women released from the abnormal bondage of corsets, described as 'not the least bit tight,' expand in the course of a few months to the extent of some *three to seven inches.* The female waist is naturally *two inches larger* than that of a male of corresponding height and weight. Yet the waist of woman unnaturally compressed is a very great many inches smaller, as we know, than that of her masculine fellow.

The medical aspects of the case, the displacement and disease of most important organs and the disastrous consequences to health, can only be suggested here. But the external physical decadence is a sign on the face of modern woman indicative of grave internal havoc.

Let man, who rails at the proneness of a gentler sex to back-biting, scandal, and pitiful spites, try for himself what it means to spend a day in well-laced corsets, a summer's day preferably, when the blood-vessels respond to the dilating warmth. How much amiability, tolerance, or generous feeling will he succeed in manufacturing during such a day?

It would serve him for a liberal education, and temper for ever after his strange masculine and inartistic enthusiasm for wasp-waists. For it would prove to him once and for all time the cost at which the nineteen inches he applauds are gained. Also, it would

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bring home to him forcibly how much more delectable a place the world would be to live in, freer from jars and sordid bickerings, 'incompatibilities' and disunion, were woman but released from this her weariest burden, were she permitted to reach the full and healthy development of her womanhood, instead of remaining the immature, half-developed (though possibly muscular) being she is to-day. There is no doubt that dress is the charity which covereth multiple grievous deficiencies. The average woman, clothed as fashion clothes her, presents, I confess, an exterior pleasing to our artificial and acquired tastes. Unclothed—alas! she is that to make the physiologist and artist weep.

ARABELLA KENEALY.

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JADE

WITH the Chinese, jade has been prized from time immemorial as the stone *par excellence*, and is familiar in name and appearance to all. It is indeed said that the legendary Emperor Yao, who flourished in the Golden Age, some two thousand three hundred and fifty years before our era, would have none of it; and that when a tribute of jade was laid before him, he ordered the attendants to throw it away. It is also said that the Great Yü, who came to the throne about one hundred and fifty years later, after draining the empire of an inundation, preferred an inch of time to a foot of jade, referring, of course, to the sun-dial; but still the broad fact remains that with the vast masses of the Chinese people, jade always has occupied the highest place as a jewel. In addition, it may be fairly stated that every woman in China wears at least one ornament of jade, which, if not the genuine article, is at any rate a good imitation.

Jade is frequently mentioned in the Confucian Canon. In the *Book of History*, written at least seven hundred years B.C., and edited later on by Confucius, we read of jade tablets, which the feudal chiefs of early days received in token of the authority delegated to them.

In the *Odes*, collected and edited by Confucius, we have the famous lines which assign these same jade tablets as playthings for sons and only tiles as playthings for girls, and from which it has been too hastily inferred that the Chinese have themselves admitted their absolute contempt for women in general. Yet this idea never really entered into the mind of the writer. The jade tablet, it is true, was a symbol of rule; but the tile, so far from being a mere potsherd implying discourtesy, was also an honourable symbol of domesticity, being used in ancient times as a weight for the spindle. Not to mention that between the second and eighth centuries of our era women were admitted to official life, and several actually rose to high rank.

In the *Book of Rites*, which dates from the first century B.C., we are warned not to hurry when carrying jade, but to drag the feet on the ground, and to hold the jade with both hands; also, when drinking from a jade cup not to throw away the dregs, lest the cup accidentally go with them. Hence the saying that the superior man should behave as if holding jade, *q.d.*, with caution.

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In the *History of the Han Dynasty* we are told that to fail to educate scholars, and yet to expect a supply of able men, is like omitting to cut and polish jade, and yet to expect it to be artistic and beautiful.

Jade has formed the subject of many poems, and is frequently used as a rhetorical figure in verse and prose, and in common sayings or proverbs. The great poet Li Po declared that several bushels of jade were not to be compared in value with one bushel of maize. Schoolboys are told that a fault in jade can be ground away, but not a fault in speech (*verbum irrevocabile*). In times of scarcity, food is likened to jade; we read of 'jade brothers and gold friends'; the chief deity in the Taoist Pantheon is called 'The Jade Ruler, God'; the 'jade girl' is a polite way of saying 'your daughter'; and one friend will write to another asking him 'not to spare his jade footsteps,' *i.e.*, not to be an infrequent visitor.

Of legendary lore which has gathered around jade, there is no end. One precious piece is mentioned as giving out a bright light; thrown into water it would swim, and its light remain unextinguished. Another, which had a corner broken off, bled for a fortnight. On a third, flies would not settle; a fourth was highly scented, and so on. We further hear of twelve discs of jade inscribed with the twelve horary characters, and used for telling the time. Placed in a bowl of water, they would rise in turn to the surface and float for a period of two hours each, into twelve of which the Chinese day is divided. There is also the famous story of the fabulous animal known as the *ch'i lin* (or *kilin*), which appeared at the village gate just before Confucius was born, holding in its mouth a tablet of jade inscribed with the following prophetic words: 'The son of the essence of water shall succeed to the decaying Chou dynasty, and be an Uncrowned King.'

We are now face to face with the question: 'What is jade?'—a question frequently heard since the siege of the Legations at Peking. Here is a Chinese answer: 'Jade is the quintessence of Heaven and Earth. It is marked with the dark hues of the hills, with the blue tints of streams. It is white as sliced lard, red as a cock's comb, black as pure lacquer, and yellow as a cooked chestnut.' Some writers add a fifth colour, 'crimson as rouge.'

Nearer perhaps to the mark for western readers will be the following rough details, gathered from conversation with Professor Lewis of Cambridge. The term jade, as popularly employed, includes two minerals, jadeite and nephrite. The specific gravity of jadeite is about 3·1; that of nephrite 2·9. The fusing point of jadeite is much lower than that of nephrite. By the mere process of handling and inspection it is impossible to tell one from the other.

The Chinese, who until recent times have known nothing of specific gravity, test jade by its hardness: 'Jade is hard and veined;

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fire and steel can do it no injury.' Again, 'If your jade is white as pig's lard, and rings when struck, then it is genuine. There are so many substances which resemble jade that it is necessary to discriminate carefully.' Another writer says, 'Genuine jade is soft-looking and glossy, as though steeped in some kind of fat. On being struck it gives forth a clear ringing sound like a bell, which seems to stop and then goes on again, dying away in the distance and gradually.' The Chinese classify jade according to colour and *provenance*: 'The best kind of jade,' says one writer, 'is orange yellow; the second-best is the colour of mutton-fat; the next best is yellow, which is not easy to obtain; then comes white.' Among the rest is a stone, called by the Chinese *fei ts'ui*, from its resemblance in colour to the plumage of the kingfisher, which appears to be chrysoprase, and is now very highly prized. White jade with black or smoke-like streaks also commands fancy prices; though, of course, all really depends, as will presently appear, upon the treatment by the artist of well-selected material.

A disciple is said to have asked Confucius why jade was held to be more precious than prehnite, a stone, by the way, which Chinese experts say can 'easily be mistaken for jade.'[1] 'Is it,' he asked, 'because the former is scarce and the latter more abundant?' 'Prehnite,' replied Confucius, 'is not despised because it is more abundant, neither is jade valued because it is scarce. In the olden days a superior man took jade as a symbol of virtue. Suave and gentle in appearance, it symbolises charity of heart; close-grained and firm, it symbolises wisdom; sharp without doing injury, duty to one's neighbour; hanging down as if weighted, decorum; when struck, it yields a clear and prolonged note which gradually dies away, symbolising music; its flaws do not obscure its beauties, nor do its beauties obscure its flaws, symbolising loyalty; there is an air of confiding trust emanating from it, which symbolises truth; it is like a bright rainbow, symbolising heaven; its energies are apparent in the hills and streams, symbolising earth; among insignia of office it holds the chief place, symbolising excellence; and beneath the sky there is no one who does not value it—a symbol of the True Path.'

Elsewhere we read, 'The superior man may be compared with jade. If there is a flaw in jade, it can be seen from the outside; and in like manner a superior man will not conceal his faults.'

Everything in China of any rarity whatever is quite certain to be dragged into the pharmacopœia of the Chinese physician. Jade is no exception to the rule. It may be swallowed as a powder, or in little pieces the size of hemp-seed, for various stomachic complaints; even

[1] Professor Lewis showed me a piece in the shape of a book, which was quite indistinguishable from jade. The Chinese term *min* has been translated by 'alabaster' and by 'soapstone,' both of which, however, can be scratched with the finger-nail.

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pock-marks and scars may be obliterated by being daily rubbed with a piece of pure jade. It is also considered to be of a very moist nature, and we read of an Imperial favourite of the eighth century who was cured of excessive thirst by holding a fish-shaped piece of jade in her mouth. And so when the tomb of the great commander, Ts'ao Ts'ao, third century A.D., was opened two hundred years after his death, among the usual objects found in such circumstances was a large silver bowl full of water. That the water had not dried up was accounted for by the presence in the bowl of a jade boy three feet in height.

'Between A.D. 847 and 860' [says a well-known miscellany] 'a Japanese "prince" came to do homage. He was good at *wei-ch'i*, and the Emperor ordered a chamberlain to play a game with him. Thereupon the prince produced a Japanese board made of *catalpa* jade and hot and cold jade pips; that is, the jade of the board was the green hue of the *catalpa* tree, while the hot and cold pips were warm to the touch in winter, and cold in summer.'

Jade is chiefly brought from the K'un-lun [2] or Koulkun range, between the Desert of Gobi and Tibet; from Khoten or Ilchi in Yarkand; and from Lan-t'ien on the Belurtagh mountains, still farther to the west. This Lan-t'ien has been confused by Chinese writers with another Lan-t'ien in the province of Shensi, near the city of Hsi-an, whither the Chinese Court fled in August 1900, upon the relief of Peking. In the tenth century A.D. the latter was actually known as the Jade-Hills district, though it does not appear that any jade has ever been found there.

One writer says: 'When white jade is very good, you can see your face in it as in a mirror. White jade comes from Chiao-chou; green jade comes from the Dwarf nation (Japan); and red jade from Korea.'

In one writer we read:

'About a thousand miles south of Khoten is Yü Chou (Jade District), where much jade is found on the hills. The river which rises there and runs to Khoten forks into three; the eastern branch is called the river of white jade, the western branch is called the river of green jade, and the extreme western branch is called the river of black jade. All these three contain jade, but the colour varies in each case. Every year in autumn, when the water is dried up, the King of the country collects jade, and after him the people generally are allowed to collect.'

This account, however, has been set aside, so far as black jade is concerned, as a mere traveller's tale; and at the same time the river, with only *two* branches, has been transferred to the Belurtagh range. The famous Chinese Buddhist, Hsüan Tsang, who travelled overland to India in the seventh century A.D., says: 'At Khoten there is a jade lake, where every year on the 5th of the 5th month, everybody, from the king down to the common people,

[2] The name given to jade by the Kitan Tartars was *Ku Wên* = *K'un*, evidently from the name of the mountains.

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goes to collect jade. Whenever any one takes out a round piece, he throws in a round stone.'

Jade of five colours was said to come from 'Ta Ch'in,' the country of many identifications, shown perhaps conclusively by Professor Hirth to have been the Roman province of Syria.

As regards colour, it is again necessary to correct previous quotations by another from an apparently more sober writer:

Jade occurs only in two colours, white and green. Specimens of red and yellow jade, so called, are in reality other stones, equal perhaps in value to jade, but not actually jade. All jade in its natural state is found in the rocky bed of a flowing stream. Before it has been removed from its place, the jade inside the rough block is as soft as cotton-wool; but when removed it becomes hard at once, and when exposed to the air still harder.[3] It is inaccurate to speak, as is done, of working soft jade. The outside of a block of jade in its natural state is called 'jade-skin.' It is used for ink-slabs and trays, and is of no great value. Of old, if the jade within the outer covering was over a foot square, and without flaw, it was used for the Imperial seals. This is what was meant by 'the jewel worth several cities,' and is not easy to obtain.[4] If about five or six inches square, and without flaw, the jade was made into cups and goblets, which are now also very valuable. Besides these, there is a strange variety which comes from So-li (?). Ordinarily it is white, but if examined in fine weather it will flash red, and in dark rainy weather it is green.[5] It may be called the jade goblin, and is found in Korea. On the T'ai-wei hills in the north-west of Korea there is a deposit a thousand years old, the jade in which is mutton-fat colour, much like the best specimens from the Belurtagh mountains. Although much is written and said about other kinds, I have never seen them.

The reader will now appreciate the old Chinese story of a man who found on the mountains a rough block of jade in its 'skin,' and hastened to present it to his Prince. The stone was declared to be false, and he was sentenced to have his left foot cut off as an impostor. When the next Prince came to the throne, he presented the stone again and with a similar result, this time losing his right foot. Yet a third Prince succeeded, and once more he submitted his stone, weeping tears of blood, not, as he said, for the loss of his feet, but because a genuine stone had been pronounced false, and a loyal subject an impostor. The block was once more tested, one account says 'broken open,' and at length discovered to be a valuable gem.

Considering the extreme hardness of jade, it is a marvel to see what exquisitely cut and highly polished objects are turned out from the workshop. In the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* we

[3] It is notable that Hermann von Schlagintweit, who inspected the quarries in the Kara-Kash valley, found that the hardness of the stone when freshly broken was considerably less than that assumed by it after a short exposure. *Heinrich Fischer.*

[4] Referring to a story of several cities offered for a famous jewel by one feudal State to another.

[5] A piece, said to fulfil these conditions, was taken from the Summer Palace in 1860, and is now in the possession of the son of the late Hon. A. K. Whampoa, C.M.G., of Singapore.

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read that the second Emperor said to his trusted Minister Wei Chêng (*d.* A.D. 643):

Although jade, as a substance, is so beautiful, in its uncut state, unground and unpolished by the skilled artisan, it is not distinguishable from rubble in general; but if it does fall into the hands of some skilled artisan, then it becomes a prized jewel for a thousand generations.

Some centuries before our era, there was a man who carved for his feudal Prince a piece of jade into the form of a mulberry-leaf. He spent three years over the job, and when it was finished, the leaf was so perfect in detail—stalk, veins, and even hairy spikelets—that when mixed up with other mulberry leaves, no one could say which was the imitation. The artisan was richly rewarded; but the philosopher of the day is said to have remarked, 'If God Almighty spent three years over every leaf, there would be scant foliage on the trees. Therefore,' he added, 'the wise man puts his trust in the processes of Nature, and not in cunning or ingenuity.'

There is a verse in the *Odes* which runs, 'The stone of other hills can be used to work jade'; upon which a well-known commentator remarks, 'Two pieces of jade rubbed together will not make anything; but if jade is rubbed with stone, then the former can be fashioned into shape.'

Su Tung-p'o, a famous poet and statesman of the eleventh century, writes:

Genuine jade is very scarce nowadays. It cannot be defined as 'that which fire and steel will not touch, but which can be cut with sand,' for this applies equally to prehnite. I have been told by an old jade-worker that if porcelain-dust from Ting-chou (in Chihli) will not touch it, then that is real jade, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this.

In a work already quoted, there is an illustration of an artisan employed in cutting jade. The following remarks accompany the picture:

When a block of uncut jade has to be cut, fuse some iron and make it into a disc. Take a basin of water, and fill it with sand. With the aid of a treadle cause the disc to revolve, feeding it with sand, and in a short time the jade will be cut through. The sand used in China for cutting jade comes from Yü-t'ien (jade fields) in the Shun-tien Prefecture, and also from Chêng-ting and Hsing-t'ai (all in Chihli). This sand is not found in any river, but issues from springs. It is as impalpable as flour, and is used for working jade, suffering no diminution by waste. When the jade is cut skilled labour is further necessary, and tools of *pin* steel (brought from Hami in Kansuh), with which it may be formed into various shapes.

Another authority says:

A worker in jade must use sand from the Hsing river (Hsing-t'ai, as above, is probably meant). The implements for carving and engraving must be what are called 'diamond awls,' for jade is the hardest stone under the canopy of heaven.

With regard to the results achieved, one writer says, 'Although

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all the best jade goes to Peking, in point of workmanship the palm must be given to Soochow.'

These results are exhibited in manifold beautiful objects of use and ornament. What the bamboo is to the ordinary Chinaman, providing him as it does with almost every imaginable article required by the social conditions of China, that jade is to the connoisseur and man of refinement, if within somewhat narrower limits. It has been made into snuff-bottles, cups, plates, bows, bracelets, earrings, vases, boxes, inkstones, flutes, pestles and mortars, seals, ear-stoppers, sceptres (so-called), pillows, boats, hairpins, rings, head ornaments, paper-weights, Buddhas, human figures, beasts, birds, fishes, etc., etc. It is recorded in an account of Ch'ang-an, formerly the capital of China, that because the Lady Li, favourite of the day (second century B.C.), scratched her head with a jade pin, all the ladies of the harem must necessarily have jade pins to scratch their heads with, and that consequently the price of jade was rapidly doubled. Another work tells us of a jade whip presented to the Emperor, of such flexibility that its two ends could be made to touch. Elsewhere we read of two bowls which would revolve one within the other, but could not be separated—evidently an anticipation of the familiar breakfast-dish. The great Mongol general, Bayan, while digging a well at Khoten, is said to have come across a statue of Buddha three or four feet in height; also a block of white jade, too big to be carried away. In the account of Ch'ang-an, quoted above, there is a note on a green jade lamp-stand 7 feet 5 in. in height, with five branches, around each of which was coiled a dragon, holding a lamp in its mouth.

Ear-stoppers of jade are mentioned in the *Odes*. Some Chinese commentators think that they were worn merely for ornament, but it seems quite probable that they were intended to keep out dust.

Occasionally a stanza of poetry is carved on a jade saucer or snuff-bottle, and if the object is very old and has been much used, the characters are often difficult to decipher. In such cases a little Indian ink, smeared over and then lightly rubbed off, will cause the writing to stand out clearly.

Of all forms into which jade has been wrought, the most interesting perhaps is that popularly and inaccurately known as the 'sceptre.' In shape it is something like an elongated S laid on its side, with a well-defined hilt and guard, like those of a sword; and its Chinese name is *ju i* = as you wish. It is a common form of present between well-to-do persons. Davis says, 'That it had a religious origin seems indicated by the sacred flower of the lotus being generally carved on the superior end.' Franks calls it 'the sceptre of longevity.' The gist, however, of all that the Chinese have to say on the subject may be briefly summed up. The earliest

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mention of the *ju i* in Chinese literature seems to be an allusion in a biography of a statesman who died in A.D. 243, after which the term becomes fairly well known; but it is not until the thirteenth century that any writer discusses it from an archæological point of view. In a work of that date we read, 'The men of old used the *ju i* for pointing or indicating, and also for guarding themselves against the unforeseen. It was made of wrought iron, and was over two feet in length, ornamented with patterns in silver either inlaid or overlaid. Of late years, branches of trees, which have grown into the shape required, and also pieces of bamboo, highly polished to resemble jade, and prepared without the aid of hatchet or awl, have been very much in vogue.'

In support of the first clause of the above, we find in history such passages as (fifth century): 'The Emperor pointed at him with his *ju i*, and said'; 'The Emperor rapped on the table with his *ju i* in token of approbation,' &c.

With reference to the material used for the *ju i*, we further read of jade, gold, rhinoceros-horn, bone, red sandal-wood, crystal, and amber; and from the employment of several of these substances it must be inferred that the *ju i* had already ceased to be a weapon of defence against 'the unforeseen.' The prevalence of the lotus-flower as a decoration is due of course to the influence of Buddhism, but is scarcely sufficient evidence of 'a religious origin.'

A *ju i* of dark green jade, 17 inches in length, was recently sold by Mr. J. C. Stevens for eleven guineas. Such a piece might easily be worth 100 guineas in China.

A fitting conclusion to this desultory note may be found in a verse by an old Chinese poet:

> Here is beautiful jade,
> There is a skilled artisan;
> The man is all to the stone,
> The stone is as naught to the man.

HERBERT A. GILES.

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A WHITE AUSTRALIA: WHAT IT MEANS

To the mind of Australians it is abundantly clear that the significance of the reasons which led them to adopt their national watchword, 'A White Australia for the Race,' has not yet been fully grasped by their brothers of the blood beyond the seas. The Press of Great Britain seems unable to sympathise with the vehemence of Antipodean feeling in this regard, and her statesmen—with some notable exceptions—profess amazement at what they consider the arrogance of a handful of white men, most of whom are clustered on the eastern fringe of a vast and partially-explored continent, in attempting to stem the tide of foreign immigration, which until a comparatively recent period was allowed to flow freely towards their shores. In Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, both the people and their Parliaments are united in regarding the policy of excluding undesirable aliens as one of more vital importance than the settlement of the tariff or any other national question. Come what may, they are determined to realise the ideals on which the Commonwealth was founded, to prevent any large infiltration of alien elements into the component parts of their national life, and to preserve pure for ever the British stock with which they started. This is no sudden *furore*, no mere party cry. From the sun-baked expanse of the Northern Territory to Tasmania, 'The Garden of the South,' across the continent from Sydney to Perth, round a coast line of 8,000 miles, and over a thousand miles of the South Pacific to the snow-capped mountains of New Zealand, comes the voice of a new nation—insignificant in point of numbers, but unalterably resolved that the Commonwealth shall be established on the firm basis of unity of race, so as to enable it to fulfil the designs of its founders—'stern men with empire in their brains'—and enjoy to the fullest extent their charter of liberty under the Crown.

Australians are so fully alive to the imperious necessity of increasing the number of their populations, that they spare no efforts to attract desirable emigrants from European countries. To every man whose standard of living and general social tone are not inferior to their own, they freely offer of their best. Land is sold or leased on generous terms, and bonuses will be given to encourage the pro-

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motion of new industries. Practically, but one condition is imposed —the new arrivals must not be markedly inferior in *morale* to the present possessors, who regard themselves merely as holding a distant outpost of civilisation for the benefit of their descendants and their equals.

Australia occupies a unique position among the nations. It is an island, lying far from the populated centres of the Old World and in close proximity to Java and the teeming millions of Southern and Eastern Asia, who at any time may bear down in flood upon the scanty forces of the defenders. These pent-up myriads are at present in a state of unrest, and there are evidences of a distinct inclination on their part to break bounds and descend upon the coasts of the great southern land. On the north-eastern shores of the continent they have already broken through the thin red line of the British, and have firmly established themselves in the country beyond. Thursday Island, which stands at the northern entrance of the passage between the Great Barrier Reef and the shores of Queensland, has been styled the Gibraltar of Australia, and large sums of money have been spent by the Imperial and Australian Governments in fortifying it. Since it became open to the Eastern nations, the Japanese have discovered twenty different channels through the reef, by any one of which they could avoid the forts and gain an entrance to the sea within the barrier. A few years ago there were 2000 Europeans on Thursday Island, engaged in the pearl-shelling industry; but they were gradually elbowed out until to-day they number less than 100.

The late Professor C. H. Pearson, at one time Minister for Education in Victoria, and one of the most intellectual statesmen who ever resided in Australia, in his *National Life and Character*, admirably summarised the dangers to which his adopted country was exposed by reason of its situation, and the motives which actuated the various colonial Governments in passing enactments designed to place some restriction on the wholesale flooding of their territories.

The fear of Chinese immigration which the Australian democracy cherishes, and which Englishmen at home find it hard to understand, is, in fact, the instinct of self-preservation, quickened by experience. We know that coloured and white labour cannot exist side by side; we are well aware that China can swamp us with a single year's surplus of population; and we know that if national existence is sacrificed to the working of a few mines and sugar plantations, it is not the Englishmen in Australia alone, but the whole civilised world that will be the losers. Transform the northern half of our continent into a Natal, with thirteen out of fourteen belonging to an inferior race, and the southern half will speedily approximate to the condition of the Cape Colony, where the whites are indeed a masterful minority, but still only as one in four. We are guarding the last part of the world in which the higher races can live and increase freely for the higher civilisation. It is idle to say that if all this should come to pass our pride of place will not be humiliated. We are struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought as destined to belong to the Aryan race and to the

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Christian faith, to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs.

If it were necessary to reinforce this impressive warning by drawing a lesson from the past, it might be shown that Australia is not the first instance on record of a Mongolian irruption. Once before—in prehistoric times, if the theories of craniologists are to be trusted—the yellow peoples overflowed their boundaries and never stopped until they reached the western shores of Ireland, leaving many a grave and grassy barrow of their dead in the British Isles to attest how irresistible was their onset. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

According to the last census, the population of the six Federated States of Australia—including aborigines—is 3,771,715, of whom only 1,307,809 are males over fifteen years of age, so that barely one million have reached manhood's estate. The same statistics show that there are 33,231 Chinese resident in the Commonwealth, in addition to many thousands of Japanese, Kanakas, Javanese, Cingalese, Malays, and a motley horde of other coloured races, the total being estimated at 100,000. New South Wales, Queensland, and the Northern Territory, being the regions lying nearest the invaders, have suffered most severely from their irruption, Queensland alone showing an increase of over seven thousand since the last census. Exclusive of aborigines, the yellow and brown races constitute 10·95 per thousand of the population of New South Wales and 47·59 per thousand in Queensland, while in the Northern Territory they have more than gained a footing; they are in an absolute majority.[1] The Chinese influx into Victoria reached its maximum in 1859, when they numbered 45,000; since that year they have gradually diminished to about 7000. These 45,000, however, did not leave Australia. The greater part of them lived their lives out among the whites and died beneath the Southern Cross, leaving behind them their dry bones for transhipment to China, and a tribe of hybrid descendants.

Under favourable conditions, the future Australian race should be a blend of the four constituents which make up the population of Great Britain, and it may be that in two or three generations hence it will be difficult to find under the Southern Cross anyone of pure English or Scottish descent whose family has been a hundred years on Australian soil. There is much intermarriage between the different British elements, and this is leading rapidly to the welding of the various colonists and their descendants into a homogeneous whole. A small German element, more noticeable in South Australia and Queensland than in the other States, may be disregarded, as it is

[1] Coghlan, Government Statist, New South Wales, 1901–2.

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being absorbed and soon will leave no trace of its existence beyond a few Teutonic surnames rudely anglicised. At home much the same process of assimilation is going on, but with one important difference. Her position and climate render Australia peculiarly liable to be made the resort of coloured people of low morality and social development—'vacant of our glorious gains'; on the other hand, England's position and climate make such a disaster not only unlikely but really impossible. It is true that in the vicinity of the docks a Londoner may see a few Lascars—'Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd'—and occasionally a Chinaman or an African negro; to an Australian, whether on city street, goldfield, or station, they are a daily sight. Chinese market-gardeners and hawkers with pack and swinging baskets, swarthy Afghan and Hindoo peddlers, or diminutive Japanese meet him at every turn. Hardly less familiar to him is the sight of the snaky hair, pallid features, and almond eyes of the Chinese half-breed.

Speaking generally, the coloured aliens are inferior to the whites in physique and morals and low in the social scale. It is important to note that they are nearly all male adults, less than one per cent. of them being married to women of their own race. The inevitable result has occurred: the higher race has begun to deteriorate and in parts to disappear. This tendency to degeneration which always accompanies an intermingling of races widely separated in the social scale—'Reversion ever dragging Evolution in the mud'—has been most strongly marked in the northern portion of Queensland, where it is not uncommon to find in the State schools as many children of half-yellow or half-brown complexions as of white. But although a polyglot population is more numerous in Queensland than in any other State of the Commonwealth, the Asiatic canker-spot makes its appearance everywhere. Scourges such as small-pox, bubonic plague, and leprosy have been introduced, and Europeans have been familiarised with the debasing effects of opium-smoking and other vices peculiar to the East; while the lunatic asylums, gaols, and charitable institutions contain a large percentage of aliens, who become a charge on the public purse and contribute little or nothing to the national revenue.

The States of Australia entertain no shadow of doubt that the effect of the Asiatic influx is to impair seriously the purity of the dominant race, and it is this which aroused them, even before Federation, to adopt legislation of a stringently restrictive cast. Dispassionately viewed, what has been called the insularity of the Australians is thus the outcome of a patriotic desire to secure their race from contamination and to preserve the country for a stock substantially the same as that from which they sprang. Desirable immigrants are not subjected to any test, and the only people at whom restrictive enactments are aimed are those who are not fit

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to constitute the life-blood of the best nations. The Chinese and Japanese who arrive belong to the lower classes, and are the least educated and least informed of their own countrymen. It is not the highly cultured who come; the number of the latter could be counted on the fingers of both hands. The expressed aim of Australians is to preserve 'the crimson thread of kinship,' and build up a nation which will be a source of strength to the Empire of which they form a part; to see it become the home of a free people, not the abode of a people on whom the franchise could not be conferred; and to keep the blood-tie pure. 'Our aspiration,' exclaimed one of the Commonwealth representatives, 'is to be free for all time from the contamination and degrading influences of inferior races.' Australia, in effect, is engaged in a struggle for a higher and a fuller life, and has determined that she will not suffer any black or tinted race to come in and block the path of progress. Her ambition is to rear a strong and stalwart people, and to better the lot of the masses, who are at the base of every social structure, by making the conditions of life as good as possible. 'Better,' said a potent voice in her first national Parliament, 'better to leave our resources undeveloped than develop them by coloured labour, which is only cheap because of the lower conditions of life accepted by labourers who degrade the social tone of the whole community.' There is no selfishness in endeavouring to preserve Australia as a heritage for the white races—not exclusively, be it remembered, for the Anglo-Saxon race—unless it be the selfishness of patriotism, since it aims at nothing which has not a place in the creeds of the greatest of Englishmen. It is a policy dictated by common-sense and prudence, and based on the best interests of humanity. But, by reason of time and place, the mode of expression is different, and thus it is that many who have no knowledge of the Empire beyond the Southern Counties of England fail to understand why the Australians, like their forebears of the North, strive mightily for a

> pale and white-fac'd shore,
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
> And coops from other lands her islanders.

The Greater Britain that is to be may be the best security for the Mother Land in years to come, and her natural ally and friend. Australian statesmen claim that they are not only safeguarding British interests, but also legislating for posterity and looking forward to the time—perhaps a century hence—when the population of the Commonwealth may be one hundred millions or even more.

We are in a position [said Sir William McMillan, one of the Federal representatives of New South Wales] between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world, and we have a Western origin with an Eastern destiny. It is absolutely necessary for the freedom of England—for the upholding of the British flag in the Pacific, and for the future power of the English-speaking

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people—that we should keep this fortress in the Pacific true to the British race. Is not this country open to the surplus millions of Great Britain and Ireland? We do not desire to exclude any man of European origin. We are holding this continent for the possession of millions of English people in the future.

Another speaker—a Victorian—summed up Australian hopes and fears in these eloquent words:

We have not entered into this magnificent Commonwealth, received this unexampled Constitution, and gone to all the expense, trouble, and labour of erecting this splendid establishment, in order to allow inferior races to come in, and not only share our prosperity against our will, but ultimately, perhaps, to destroy it. . . . . It is not because these aliens are black, or because they are Japanese, that we exclude them; but because, being black or Japanese, they are by nature and environment so imbued with certain qualities and characteristics that their presence here would be incongruous with our civilisation and detrimental to our development.

At the present time the Australian race is in a plastic condition, and whether it will become, as Marcus Clarke predicted, 'a fierce and turbulent democracy, sweeping contemporary civilisation before it,' or, as seems more probable, a practical and enlightened people, troubles it little. Leaders and followers of every political cast, Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals, have now but one national ideal—Purity of Race. They recognise that hybrids cannot make a great nation; that an infusion of Chinese, Japanese, or Indo-Chinese blood must result in race deterioration; and that, if they are to live happily and prosperously, it must be with no strangers within their gates other than those of Caucasian descent who are able to conform to the conditions and customs of civilised communities. For all such Australia has ample room and verge enough, but she refuses to welcome races that are incapable of assimilation and alien in language and aspiration. The teachings of the past and the experience of other lands have not been lost upon her statesmen; they desire to avoid the racial hatred and troubles of the United States, where the presence of 13,000,000 of Afra-Americans constitutes a problem which baffles the acutest intellects of that great nation; and they are determined that their country shall neither be degraded to the level of some of the South American republics, where the cross-breeding of Spaniards and Indians has resulted so disastrously to the higher race, nor made the theatre of a conflict for supremacy between two or more nationalities. It is not simply a question of colour; it is a question of difference of civilisation; it is not so much the protection of wages that is sought—though the economic danger is undoubtedly a grave one—as the protection of blood and the preservation of society. As far back as 1888, the late Sir Henry Parkes, then Premier of New South Wales, in moving the second reading of the Chinese Restriction Act, declared that a young country could not maintain the fabric of its liberties unimpaired if it admitted into its population any class of person whatever 'whom

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we are not prepared to advance to all our franchises, to all our privileges of citizens, and all our social rights, including the rights of marriage'; and there can be no question that in using these last words he laid his finger on the principal seat of the disease. Western institutions, especially that of Parliamentary representation, are absolutely foreign to Asiatics, and marriage—in the true sense—is equally impossible. The issue of such unions are hybrids, and the Spanish-American republics and certain parts of Australia afford melancholy proof that hybrids reproduce the vices of both parents and the virtues of neither. Coloured aliens rarely bring their women with them, but consorting with white females beget the most undesirable class a country can have. From Thursday Island to Townsville, there is not a port in which cannot be found people in whose veins runs a mixture of Caucasian, Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Kanaka, and Malayan blood. Their immediate forefathers were men each of a different race; their mothers women of cloudy descent; themselves degenerates in intellect and morals, and their presence on Australian soil a source of constant irritation to the higher race. Nor is this all. Half-bred Chinese, the offspring of a Chinese father and a British mother, are to be met with throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and, though they are in general people of some intelligence, they are either contemptuously ignored by the white population, or treated with open contumely. From inclination or stress of circumstances, they almost invariably live apart from the Europeans in their own quarter, which, in the towns is usually called 'Chinatown' and on the goldfields 'the Chinese Camp.' In Sydney whole streets have had to be abandoned to the Chinese and the half-breeds, or 'half-castes' as the latter are usually styled by the populace, and the slums of Little Bourke Street and other parts of Melbourne have an evil reputation only rivalled by the Chinatown of San Francisco, where 50,000 yellow men seethe in a hotbed of vice and squalor. It was the knowledge of these facts, and that the efforts of the individual States to shut out undesirable immigrants had proved ineffective owing to lack of unity in action, that gave such a powerful impetus to Federation and caused a universal determination to preserve the purity and maintain the predominance of the white races in Australia.

In thus seeking to establish what may be called the Monroe doctrine of the Commonwealth, Australia is not, either in letter or spirit, exceeding her international rights or the scope of the Constitution recently conferred upon her by the Imperial Parliament. Like any other State, she has the inherent power, as a precautionary measure against social evils, of excluding convicts, paupers, and other undesirable immigrants; provided, of course, that such a power is not exercised beyond the requirements of vital necessity. The

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Constitution expressly gave the Federated States the right to legislate in regard to the people of any race—other than the aboriginal race in any State—for whom it might be deemed necessary to make special laws. In this respect, therefore, the new nation is free to work out her own salvation, largely in her own way. But, although left thus unfettered, Australia has been careful not to add to the already vast responsibilities of the unweary Titan. She is fully aware of the difficult and delicate nature of legislation which affects millions of dark-skinned races, some of whom are the subjects and others the allies of Great Britain, and fortunately she was aided by the advice of Mr. Chamberlain, than whom there never was a Minister in charge of the Colonial Office more keenly alive to the perplexities which surround colonial statesmen, or one more genuinely sympathetic with the aspirations of Greater Britain. Thanks partly to the guidance of that 'lidless watcher of the commonweal,' and partly to the saving common-sense which usually prevails in a British Legislature, the daughter-State was enabled to steer a middle course. After careful deliberation and animated debate the Federal Parliament, in accordance with Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion, passed the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which after being two years in operation has been found to work satisfactorily. Instead of absolutely excluding aliens on the ground of race or colour, an educational test—the cloak under which modern laws regulating the admission of aliens are commonly hidden[2]—was adopted as a means of disqualification. It may be observed in passing that a similar provision had previously existed in the immigration laws of Natal, New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, and other parts of the British dominions beyond the seas, and that Alien Restriction Acts of various kinds are to be found in the Imperial statute-book since the reign of Richard the Second down to comparatively modern times. By these means Australia attained the end she had in view without giving offence to other nations. So smoothly, indeed, has the Commonwealth legislation worked that on the 30th of October last, when the Prime Minister, the Hon. Alfred Deakin, reviewed the work of the session which had then just closed and outlined the future policy of the Federal Government, he was able to show that the alien population of the continent was being steadily reduced. During the first nine months of 1903 upwards of 31,000 persons entered Australia from oversea, and of these 28,000 were Europeans. Of the remainder, many coloured persons came in under engagement on pearling vessels, but under such conditions that, practically speaking, they never really entered the country. Out of 2571 others who endeavoured to enter Australia, only ten were found to possess the necessary educational qualification. In practice, however, the test is not very much applied, for the obvious reason

[2] Professor Harrison Moore, *The Commonwealth of Australia*, p. 144.

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that shipowners, knowing they would have to re-convey undesirable immigrants at their own cost, usually stop them at the port of intended shipment. 'By these means,' Mr. Deakin added, 'it is to be hoped that we shall soon be able to count on our fingers the coloured aliens in this country, if the test is properly applied.' The Prime Minister, moreover, emphatically declared that, notwithstanding all representations to the contrary, not a single European had been excluded from Australian soil through the instrumentality of the immigration laws. 'The fact remains—and cannot be denied, that although the contract labour clause is in existence, there is no human being on this planet who has been shut out of Australia in consequence.'

But although much has been accomplished, much abides. A humane statute has purged the general weal, and Australia for the time being reposes from the fear of a coloured invasion, but she has yet to set her house in order. The racial taint in her blood has to be eradicated, and there is at least one stain on the escutcheon of her fame for which she cannot be held wholly guiltless. The traffic in South Sea Island labour must be stopped. It matters not that the sugar industry is of the greatest importance, not only to Queensland but to the whole continent; that Government legislation, supervision, and regulation have reduced the evils incident to such a traffic almost to vanishing point; that the islanders are so well fed, housed, and paid that they frequently return to renew the term of their original contracts (three years), the moral and social effect of the institution is bad, and Australia has decided that it must and shall be ended. By the Pacific Island Labourers Act, 1901, it is provided that no fresh importation of black labour shall take place after the 31st of March, 1904, and that any islanders found in Australia after the 31st of December, 1906, shall be returned to their own homes. When that day arrives, Australia will have taken a second step towards the realisation of her great national ideal—purity of race and the preservation of Greater Britain for the Anglo-Saxon stock.

OSWALD P. LAW.
W. T. GILL.

Ballarat, Victoria:
November 1903.

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LAST MONTH

I

THE Cabinet, the marvellous Cabinet that has been constructed and reconstructed so many times, until at last it reminds the profane of the Irishman's new boot, has been very much in evidence during the month of December. November Cabinets are almost as marked a feature of that month of gloom as the Lord Mayor's Show, or the sittings of the Law Courts. It is then, according to the unwritten traditions of political life, that statesmen meet in solemn conclave in Downing Street to discuss the bill of fare for the approaching session. But when December comes it is supposed that all this work has been safely accomplished, and that Cabinet Ministers, like other people, are at liberty to enjoy the delights of country house life, or the seductive sunshine of the Riviera. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been gossip and to spare concerning the Cabinets which were held during the first half of last month. There is no subject on earth, or, at least, none connected with politics, about which men are so fond of indulging in gossip as Cabinet councils, more particularly those which are held unexpectedly and at unusual seasons. It is a mistake to suppose that the solemn secrets of Cabinets are never given up until they have become merely the secrets of the dead. Lord Beaconsfield makes one of the personages of his novels complain that Brooks's had fallen, in his day, upon evil times, because they no longer knew in that classic abode of Whiggery what had happened at a Cabinet council within twenty minutes of its having broken up. Nowadays we have to wait a little longer for the revelation of the truth, though it invariably comes at last. During the past autumn, indeed, it has come only too copiously, chiefly from the inspired lips of members and ex-members of the august body. But even when there are no tales to be told explaining why one right honourable gentleman has thrown up his office and a comfortable salary whilst another has failed to do so, the general public can always learn full particulars of what has taken place at any meeting in Downing Street by turning to the penny—or, if they wish for particularly detailed and precise information, to the halfpenny—newspapers.

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It need scarcely be said that the newspapers of a certain class gloried in the accounts they laid before their readers of the subjects which had engaged the attention of Ministers at the recent December Cabinets. They had a wide range of questions from which to choose. First of all there was that of the tariff, to which the gentlemen of the *Times*, with an insistence that has become a trifle monotonous, give the first place in their daily dissertations. That a Cabinet should meet in these times and not talk about tariffs, retaliation, and dumping is evidently inconceivable to the average journalist. But there are other questions which might well engage the attention of his Majesty's Ministers at this particular moment: army reform, for example; the amendment of the licensing laws, in order to remove the grievances of those long-suffering and greatly misunderstood individuals, the publicans; Irish problems, and the urgent demands of the Nationalist party; and, finally, the difficulties of our foreign policy, which are certainly as numerous to-day as they have ever been. It will be seen that a wide choice was offered to the newspapers which professed to raise the veil of Cabinet secrecy, and one cannot be surprised that they should have revelled in a banquet which contained so many different dishes.

But whatever may be the case as regards Brooks's Club, the newspapers are not to be regarded as trustworthy exponents of Cabinet deliberations. The truth is that the subjects which actually engage the councils of Downing Street are, except in times of acute crisis, almost invariably different from what the public supposes them to be. Mr. Bright was in the habit of laying down a simple rule for the benefit of those who sought to penetrate the mysteries of Ministerial deliberations. 'Whenever a Cabinet is called unexpectedly,' he was wont to say, 'you may be sure that it is to consider some question of foreign policy.' It is affirmed by some of those who are in a position to know, that even Cabinet Ministers themselves have been as much puzzled as to the reason for a sudden summons to Downing Street as the ordinary lounger at the clubs. There is, indeed, one true story about a memorable meeting of a former Cabinet which seems to prove that Ministers, although of the highest degree, do not always know, even after they have dispersed, why they have been called together. On almost the last occasion on which Mr. Gladstone invited his colleagues to meet him at the sacred board, he so far diversified the ordinary procedure as to ask them to dine with him beforehand. It was a novel departure from custom, so far as Mr. Gladstone was concerned, though it was only a revival of a practice which had been common in the days of Lord Palmerston. It happened that this particular meeting of the Cabinet was summoned at a critical moment. Everybody knew that the Prime Minister's resignation was impending. He had talked of it vaguely for months, but to none of his colleagues had he vouch-

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safed any intimation as to the precise moment at which he intended to retire. One and all assumed that this summons to a Cabinet dinner meant that the fateful announcement was about to be made, and they all went primed for the part each expected to have to play in a scene at once historic and pathetic. So convinced were they of what was to happen before they separated that, when the servants seemed to be lagging in the room after the cloth had been removed, one of the most eminent members of the Government asked Mr. Gladstone whether they ought not to be told to withdraw, in order that the traditional secrecy of the illustrious body might be duly maintained. 'Certainly,' was the prompt reply of the great man, 'if you wish it, and have anything that you desire to communicate to the Cabinet'; and during the whole evening Mr. Gladstone never came any closer to the one subject which was in the minds of all his colleagues, and about which the public was speculating wildly. 'We had a most interesting evening,' one of the Ministers reported to me next day, when I eagerly questioned him as to what had happened. 'Plenty of good talk, Mr. G. leading it as usual; but we never touched upon a subject of later date than 1830.'

In face of this authentic incident it is on the whole better that mere outsiders should not claim to know what particular subjects Ministers talked about during their prolonged and frequent consultations in Downing Street last month. Any one of the topics I have enumerated above would have furnished them with enough material to occupy all the time that they devoted to official deliberation. Upon one point, however, there is now no longer any reasonable ground for doubt. Parliament has been summoned to meet for the despatch of business on the 2nd of February, and it is therefore clear that, in spite of many rumours to the contrary, Ministers propose to embark upon another session. Tadpole and Taper, of course, insist that there was never any doubt upon this point, and that not one, but two, or even three sessions, await a Ministry which is picturesquely, if rudely, described by its opponents, including some who were but recently members of it, as a waterlogged derelict drifting to inevitable destruction. But Tadpole and Taper are neither the wisest nor the best-informed of men, and it is not, one may be sure, from the fervent asseverations of a Ministerial Whip, however blameless his character, that intelligent persons expect to learn the precise moment at which a dissolution is to take place. What is certain is that more than once during the past six months the Government has been dangerously near to dissolution, and that amongst its most faithful supporters there have been serious divisions of opinion as to the wisdom of attempting to 'carry on' for another session. Upon one aspect of this question there is undoubtedly a strong opinion, by no means confined to the Opposition: that is, that the interests of the State demand that an early

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opportunity should be taken for bringing to a close the present condition of affairs in the political world. It is difficult to see how reasonable men can oppose this proposition. Ever since last May the fiscal policy of the country has been in a state of suspense, and as a consequence the interests of our commerce have suffered substantial injury. The mere fact that a great political agitation is being carried on throughout the land, that men's minds are occupied by one subject almost to the exclusion of everything else, and that the editorial columns of our chief newspapers have become practically unreadable, does not in itself furnish a reason for demanding that the question at issue should be solved as quickly as possible. But the infinitely more important fact that we ourselves and the outside world are left in a state of grave doubt and uncertainty as to our future policy in those things which most closely affect our commercial and industrial interests does seem to demand that we should make some immediate attempt to settle our policy and our procedure, at any rate for a few years to come. I fancy that business men, whether they be Free-traders or Protectionists, are pretty well agreed upon this point.

As for the programme for next session, to which one may suppose that the Cabinet has devoted at least a portion of its attention, it can hardly be said that it excites any considerable degree of public interest. There is only one burning question before us, and that is the very question which everybody admits that this House of Commons cannot settle. There are, indeed, some who declare that it is a question that this House cannot even be allowed to discuss, though that is a point to be decided rather by outsiders, such as the leader of his Majesty's Opposition, than by Cabinet Ministers. Beyond this, there appear to be only two matters which seem to make any demand upon the time of the present Parliament. These are the questions of the licensing system and of Ireland. The first involves that thorniest of all problems, the compensation to be paid to licence-holders for the withdrawal of their licences through no personal fault of their own. The second will open up still larger and graver controversies: those attending the proposal to endow a Roman Catholic University, and an attempt to do for the Irish labourers what Parliament has already done for the tenantry. The bitterest enemy of the present Government could hardly wish to expose it to an ordeal more severe than that which it would have to face if it were to make any serious attempt to grapple with the great problems I have named. Beyond these suggested subjects for legislation, the difficulties of which it is unnecessary to discuss at this moment, there remains the question of Army reform, about which the House of Commons is certain to have much to say during the coming session. On this topic Ministers, it is true, may reasonably ask Parliament to allow the new Secretary for War time to bring into effect the policy of

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which he is believed to be the author before it pronounces judgment upon him. But no such plea can or ought to avail in preventing the full discussion of that momentous and damning document, the Report of the War Commission. On the whole, when one considers the prospects presented to us by the next session of Parliament, the man of the world will be inclined to a feeling of surprise that his Majesty's Ministers should have the courage to face them. That the Parliamentary year will be a lively one, and that some strange developments must take place in the relations of parties, seem to be among the certainties of the near future.

One change of importance in the political situation has taken place during the month. This is the definite separation of the Duke of Devonshire and the leading members, Mr. Chamberlain of course excepted, of the old Liberal Unionist party from the new Protectionists. The events of the last six months have shown how reluctant these gentlemen have been to part company with their old associates. Their disinclination to do so has been at once natural and honourable. They fought a great battle together, and everybody must now admit that they fought it with success. It cannot have been without a sharp pang of regret that the Duke of Devonshire took a step which has virtually destroyed the great political association of which he was himself the founder. Once more we have received proof of the fact that third parties can never hold a permanent place in the public life of this country. It is natural that men should turn back to the beginning of the Liberal Unionist party now that it has come to an end, and that attempts should be made to establish a resemblance between the situation in 1886 and that which now exists. Then, as now, a number of very influential men, supported by a certain number of the rank and file, left one of the great political parties because they could not support a policy which they regarded as revolutionary. But at that time the dissentient Liberals, as they were then called by Mr. Gladstone, were taken without delay into the Conservative fold. They kept their own identity, but they were hailed and treated as allies by the party opposed to Home Rule. The treatment they received, indeed, was such as to give rise to not a little discontent among the less intelligent Conservatives. Their seats were safeguarded by the whole force of the Conservative party, and where differences of opinion as to what were and what were not legitimately Liberal Unionist constituencies arose, they were settled by consultations among the leaders of both sections, and settled almost invariably in favour of the Liberal Unionists. The Conservative party had its reward for this wise and generous treatment of its new allies. If it had acted differently, the political history of the last seventeen years would have been very different from what it has been. But in the present crisis there has as yet been no indication that the new dissentients from the Ministerial

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policy, so far as that policy favours Mr. Chamberlain, are to be treated by the Liberal party in the way in which their predecessors of 1886 were treated by the Conservatives. No Liberal candidate for any constituency now represented by a Unionist Free-trader has, so far as I am aware, ceded his pretensions in favour of the latter, nor has there as yet been anything like a public demonstration of the unity of the two bodies of anti-Protectionists. The Duke of Devonshire's letter, supported as it is by the almost unanimous voice of the Unionist Free-traders, may, of course, alter the case, and there may be that concentration of Mr. Chamberlain's opponents which is essential if they are to secure the signal and conclusive victory they desire. It is for the leaders of the Liberal party to decide whether they will take steps to put an end to a state of things which is certainly unfavourable to the position of the defenders of free trade. The great obstacle in the way of such a union of forces as that which all Free-traders desire is, of course, the Education Act. Not the least important of the results of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign is the fact that it has relegated the education controversy to a secondary position in the politics of the day. It is notorious that down to last May a large body of Ministerialists regarded the policy of the Government on education with strong disfavour. But now, so far as the overwhelming majority of Conservatives are concerned, it is clear that they will stand as resolutely by the Education Act as by any other measure for which Ministers are responsible, and it is only on the part of staunch Liberals that the old hostility to that Act is maintained. The difficulties in the way of an arrangement between Liberals and Unionist Free-traders on the subject of education are undoubtedly very great, but, handled by statesmen, they ought not to be insuperable. There is at least one point upon which everybody, the Nonconformists included, must be agreed: that is, that if the Chamberlain campaign were to be successful, all hope of a substantial amendment of the Education Act would, for the present, be at an end. Liberals must, therefore, face fairly and squarely the question of whether they are to preserve an unbending attitude towards those Free-traders who do not agree with them about education, or to come to some arrangement by which differences upon this question shall not be allowed to interfere with their frank and full acceptance of Unionist co-operation in the free-trade fight. I do not presume to tender advice on the subject to my fellow-Liberals. I know, indeed, that even this unvarnished statement of the position will be resented by some; but it is to be hoped that, before coming to a decision on a point so difficult, those Liberals who justly maintain the importance of the education controversy, which now, thanks to the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of his episcopal colleagues, threatens to become more embittered than ever, will recall the

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story of the Liberal Unionists of 1886 and their fusion with the Conservative party. Most impartial observers will admit that, whilst that fusion was of enormous advantage to the party thus fortified, it did not exercise any detrimental influence, from the Conservative point of view, upon its general policy. It did not, for example, prevent it from carrying this very Education Act, with the consent of an overwhelming majority of its members, including the most prominent Liberal Unionists in its ranks. Here, at any rate, is an immediate problem which needs to be dealt with decisively and at once by the statesmen of the free-trade party. Upon the solution which is arrived at more depends than can be conveniently stated here.

One forward step in the tariff controversy was announced by Mr. Chamberlain at Leeds. This was the formation of a Committee —described by Mr. Chamberlain as a 'Commission'—for the purpose of inquiring minutely into the conditions of our trade and the changes that might be beneficially made in our tariffs. A great deal of indignation has been expended by Mr. Chamberlain's opponents upon this somewhat harmless proposal, and the *Standard*, in particular, has denounced his 'bogus' Commission in unmeasured terms. Even his friends must admit that his choice of a name for what is nothing more than a committee or sub-committee of the Tariff Reform League was an error of judgment. Commissions appointed to inquire into questions of urgent public importance are usually formed under royal authority. Some of Mr. Chamberlain's critics seem to think that he has been guilty of the offence of *lèse-majesté* in giving his committee the outward appearance and designation of one of these Royal Commissions. I agree, however, with his friends in thinking this objection absurd. This is a free country, and everybody, from the advertising tradesman upwards, is at liberty to call any undertaking in which he engages by any name he pleases. The real objection to the use of the word 'commission' in this instance is that it does not correctly express the nature of the body to which it is applied. The only commissions of inquiry known in this country are composed either of persons who are believed to be impartial with regard to the question into which they have to inquire, or of a nearly equal number of representatives of both sides of the question at issue. In the case of Mr. Chamberlain's Committee, we are authoritatively informed that it consists exclusively of those who are in sympathy with his policy. It is bound, consequently, to one side only of the great question with which it proposes to deal, and its conclusions cannot possibly have the weight that they would have possessed if arrived at by an impartial authority. But the indignation of the advocates of free trade over the appointment of this curious body seems to me to be excessive, if not misplaced. We are all anxious

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or at least we all profess to be, to see what would be the practical effect of Mr. Chamberlain's policy if it were to be adopted by the State. His committee, if it can boast of no other authority, can at least claim to represent his ideas, and its conclusions, whatever they may be, may be taken as his own. It will be a good thing, not merely for the country at large, but for the defenders of free trade in particular, to secure an explicit statement of the way in which it is proposed to carry out in practice the somewhat vague theories which Mr. Chamberlain has propounded with so much vigour. I, for one, therefore welcome the step which he has now taken in calling together a circle of his friends to advise him on this point. They can, of course, only speak for themselves, and they have no power to call for any evidence; but, granting these important limitations, their labours ought to be of public service. They will, no doubt, put their own side of the case with all the force that they can command. It is equally open to their opponents to create another committee for the purpose of gathering rebutting evidence and forming conclusions of a distinctly opposite character. Free Traders may perhaps feel that the Government Blue-book, which does represent the impartial views of our great administrative offices, is already in their possession as an armoury of facts upon which they can draw at their pleasure. For the present, apparently, there is to be a lull in the fierce controversies of the past four months. Mr. Chamberlain himself has brought what he calls his first campaign to an end, and, like other people, is now enjoying the Christmas recess. His opponents, on their part, can afford to agree to a truce; but before the New Year has advanced very far, it is certain that the struggle will be renewed.

Apart from the all-absorbing fiscal question, the month has witnessed only one other political discussion of importance. This has been the opening of a new stage in the education controversy. I have said that the interest in this question has been largely overshadowed by the battle against free trade. But there is no sign of any diminution of zeal on the part of the Nonconformists against a measure which they regard as one of flagrant injustice, and the policy of passive resistance is apparently gaining rather than losing adherents. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the direct support of the Bishops of London and Rochester, has now entered the field to wage war upon the opponents of the Education Act by making it a battle-cry in the coming County Council elections. No doubt he has been provoked to this step by the action of certain of the Welsh County Councils, which have not concealed their determination to do what they can to thwart the objects of the Act. But it is none the less to be deplored that the Archbishop and his colleagues should seek to extend the area of sectarian strife, and to make every election for a County Council depend upon the question of clerical influence in

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the Education Committees. The danger of such a state of things being created was pointed out when the Education Bill was before Parliament, but it was derided at the time as a purely fanciful hallucination. Now that we are actually brought face to face with it, it will not seem less deplorable to right-minded and level-headed persons. The cause of good local government is certain to suffer from this intrusion of the religious question into an arena from which it has hitherto been excluded, and for this unhappy innovation Ministers alone must be held to be responsible.

By far the most critical question in the domain of foreign affairs which now engages the attention of the world is that which has arisen in the Far East between Russia and Japan. Here, undoubtedly, we are confronted by a crisis of exceptional gravity. Japan has two serious and substantial grievances against Russia. The first has reference to Corea, in which the Japanese naturally take the deepest interest. They practically claim for themselves, for reasons with which Russian statesmen, at least, cannot pretend to be unfamiliar, special and exclusive interests in the future of Corea. They declare, with an emphasis not to be mistaken, that they will not tolerate any action that will give Russia the practical control of that country, and it is clear that they are prepared to assert their claim by force of arms, if necessary. Their other grievance against the Government of the Czar refers to Manchuria, and here they are in line with Great Britain and the United States, if not with the whole civilised world. The story of Russia's occupation of Manchuria, of her repeated promises as to the extent and purpose of that occupation, and of her constant evasion of the demand that she should fulfil those promises, is an old one, of which my readers must by this time be heartily sick. There is no need to say that British diplomacy has not shone in its attempts to bring Russia back to her bearings and her pledges, and it seems as though, despite appearances, and the plausibilities of Russian diplomatists, the Cabinet at Washington has hardly been more successful. Japan, which has entered so recently into the federation of great States, and which is possibly flushed by the knowledge of her formal alliance with this country, appears to be less tolerant of the methods of Russian diplomacy than the Western Powers. At all events she has proved herself to be both more insistent and more obstinate in her refusal to allow the unavowed programme of the Czar's administrators in Asia to be carried into effect. The great danger in the situation arises from the fact that the Japanese people are more determined and bellicose than their rulers. They regard the delays of Russian diplomacy as a direct insult to themselves, and with the war-like spirit of their race they clamour loudly for the arbitrament of the sword. When convoked at the beginning of the month, the Japanese Diet adopted an address to the throne which virtually censured the Government

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for the weakness shown in the continued negotiations with Russia. If the Diet had been equal in authority to our own Parliament, this address would have amounted to a declaration of war. The answer of the Government was to dissolve the Diet, and as the next elections do not take place until March, there is still a breathing-space for diplomatic action. But the fever runs as high as ever in the popular mind, and it is difficult to see how the catastrophe of war can be averted if Russia fails to make substantial concessions to Japanese feeling. On both sides naval and military preparations are being made on a large scale, and now matters have reached a point of tension which is dangerous in the extreme. No crisis so acute as this is can possibly last long, and it is probable that the next month will see it solved in one way or the other.

One great name appears in the death roll of last month. This is the name of Mr. Herbert Spencer, known throughout the world for the great work in which he sought to simplify and unify philosophy in all its branches. It was a work to which he devoted the whole of a long life, uncheered for years by public recognition, and unmarked to the last by any public honours. Great and precious as were his writings, Mr. Spencer perhaps conferred a still greater boon upon the world by this noble example of a life of unremitting labour and self-sacrifice, consecrated to a single and most unselfish end. Another name which deserves to be recorded here is that of Sir John Robinson, one of the oldest and most influential of our London journalists. Sir John's real work, as editor and manager of a London daily newspaper, was accomplished during the latter half of the last century, when he was able to do great service for the cause of liberty throughout the world, more particularly during the Civil War in the United States and the prolonged struggle for Italian unity. He was, throughout his life, a consistent upholder of the best traditions of the English Press. Speaking of that press, I think I may claim to express the sentiments of many besides myself in giving utterance to the pleasure with which I have seen the end of the extraordinary campaign of 'American' advertising which has accompanied the publication of an edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by the *Times* newspaper. However successful this enterprise may have been from the financial point of view, it has added neither to the great reputation of the *Times* nor to the comfort of newspaper readers generally. The end of this particular 'tearing and raging agitation,' which has forced itself into all our homes and obtruded itself upon us in all our news sheets, will be regretted by nobody.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

WRITING, as I do, on the eve of Christmastide, I feel a certain sense of incongruity in devoting by far the major portion of the scant space allotted to me by the exigencies of the season to the 'fiscal controversy,' a subject which, whatever its ultimate results may be, is not calculated for the moment to promote peace and good will. However, Christmas will have come and gone before these lines appear in print, and I see every reason to expect that the issue of protection against free trade, or, more accurately speaking, the issue of Chamberlain very much alive against Cobden deceased, will then be going as strong as ever.

But before I come to the one dominant subject of the year now approaching its end, there are certain incidents of its last month which require special notice.

The virtual annexation of the Isthmus of Panama by the United States, though fraught with potential results of the utmost gravity for Great Britain, and even more for the Greater Britain beyond the seas, has excited less interest than one would naturally have expected. I attribute this partly to the fact that, if the ship canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific is really to be constructed, we would sooner see its control placed in the hands of America than of any European Power, and partly to a conviction that, if England had occupied the same position towards Colombia as that held by the great republic of the West, she would have acted in much the same manner. Still there is something in the mode of the annexation not altogether satisfactory to our home ideas of good faith and honesty. The sudden insurrection of the province of Panama against the republics of Colombia, to say the least, took nobody by surprise at Washington; and the proclamation by which the Government of the United States forthwith recognised the so-called republic of Panama might have been copied almost word for word from the state papers in which President Jefferson Davis pleaded for the recognition by England of the Confederate States. However, in the New World as in the Old, under republics as well as monarchies, abstract principles have to be

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modified to suit accomplished facts; and thus even the principles on which the North defended the subjugation of the South have had to be consigned to temporary oblivion in order to justify American participation in the secession of Panama from the republic of Colombia.

The relations between Russia and Japan remain *in statu quo* up to the date at which I write. The one thing certain is that Russia has got Manchuria in her hands and intends to keep it. The issue of peace or war depends, therefore, in as far as I can foresee, upon whether Russia, in consideration of her virtual annexation of Manchuria, will allow Japan to place Corea under some sort of protectorate. Japan has not the wish, even if she has the power, to oust Russia from the possession of Manchuria, and would, I am informed, consent to any reasonable arrangement which recognised her claims to regard Corea as belonging, in diplomatic phrase, to her 'sphere of influence.' All observation of Russian statecraft has shown that it is never her policy to resort to war in order to obtain what she is sure to get by diplomatic intrigue. Whenever Russia has secured her supremacy at Pekin, she can easily find reasons for depriving Japan of any priority the latter may claim in Corea; and I shall be surprised if Japan should run the risk of a war with Russia so long as she can obtain concessions from Russia in respect of Corea sufficient to allay the fears and gratify the pride of her people. No government has had more practice or has displayed more skill than that of Russia in entering into engagements she has no intention of fulfilling; and I incline to believe the City is right in deeming there will be no war for the present in the Far East. I wish heartily the New Year might justify this belief, as the apprehension of a war in which England might conceivably be involved has done more than anything else to protract the financial depression from which we all are suffering.

Indirectly, the Russo-Japanese difficulty delays any satisfactory settlement of the labour question in the Transvaal. To anyone at all acquainted with South Africa, the mass of the articles and letters on this subject which appear daily in the press seem written by people utterly ignorant of the hard fact that the antipathy between white and black lies at the bottom of the whole labour question. I do not hesitate to say that no white man in South Africa, be he Boer or Briton, will consent to work alongside a Kaffir fellow-labourer, no matter what wages you might offer him. This state of feeling may be very unreasonable and very wicked, but the feeling exists, and must be taken into account in all South African administration. My own opinion is that the mining and agricultural industries in South Africa will, in the future as in the past, have to be conducted almost exclusively by Kaffir labour, conducted under white supervision.

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Among the issues which I do not expect to see further advanced at the commencement of the New Year than they were a year ago is that of Macedonia. The Macedonian question is, after all, only a minor branch of the great Eastern question, which, like the poor, we have always with us. I should be the last person to deny that the outrages committed in Macedonia are a disgrace to humanity, though I believe the outrages are committed pretty equally by Moslems and by Christians, and on both sides are grossly exaggerated. Unfortunately humanity has very broad shoulders, and apparently bears any amount of disgraces with absolute equanimity. Under these circumstances the attempt to create a second Bulgarian atrocities agitation in respect of Macedonia, and to employ this agitation for the benefit of the Liberal party, has resulted in a signal fiasco.

I felt convinced when I commenced writing this article that I should not keep the fiscal controversy long in the background. I see it has cropped up already in connection with a subject so apparently remote as the Macedonian insurrection. I may therefore as well make no further attempt to postpone dealing with the chief event of last month from a British point of view—namely, the progress made by Mr. Chamberlain in his self-imposed task of winning over the adhesion of the British public to his Tariff Reform views. I am not going to discuss the question whether these views are wise or unwise, sound or unsound. My duty as a chronicler of the events of the day is to indicate how these events tell upon the fortunes of the campaign which Mr. Chamberlain is carrying on almost single-handed against the coalition of Liberals, Little Englanders, Home Rulers, Nonconformists, Political Economists, and malcontent Unionists, who have enrolled themselves under the free-trade banner with the avowed aim and object not only of ousting the Unionist party from office, but of revising the policy both in home and foreign affairs to which the Unionist party stands committed. At the outset of the campaign the Opposition were confident that Mr. Chamberlain was foredoomed to failure. From the day when the late Colonial Minister had declared, with characteristic courage, that his policy, if accepted by the constituencies, must involve the imposition of a bread tax, the Liberals deemed that he had delivered himself into their hands. They had only, as they thought, to raise the cry that the poor man's food was to be taxed, and that the big loaf of the free-trade era was to be replaced by the small loaf of the days of protection; and the electorate in every working-class constituency might be relied upon to return candidates opposed to tariff reform of any sort or description. The Bury election confirmed this belief; but of late we have heard very little of loaves, either large or small. Wherever Mr. Chamberlain has gone he has been received with acclamation by the very

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classes who ought, according to Liberal anticipations, to have greeted him with groans and hisses.

When it was discovered that whether Mr. Chamberlain went north or south, east or west, he still commanded popular favour to an extent compared with which his opponents were out of the running, we were assured that popular meetings and public speeches had little or no political importance, and that, as soon as it came to voting, we should find the electorate were staunch in their devotion to free trade. The vacancies caused by the reconstruction of the Government gave rise to some half-dozen disputed elections, and they resulted, one and all, in the return of the Ministerial candidates. We were then assured by the organs of the Liberal party that the defeat of the Opposition candidates was simply due to the dislike of the constituencies to unnecessary contests, and that as soon as there was a fair open trial of strength the masses would rise in their numbers to secure the return of Liberal candidates. The truth of this statement was soon put to the test. In the early days of last month four seats became vacant by the death of Sir Blundell Maple, Mr. John Penn, Mr. Jasper More, and Mr. Seale Hayne. The seats represented by the two first-named gentlemen were suburban boroughs, which are supposed to be more susceptible to outside influences than provincial constituencies. If, therefore, there was in the air any marked popular reaction—in favour of Liberalism as opposed to Unionism—it was exactly in such constituencies as Lewisham and Dulwich that this reaction might reasonably be expected to make itself manifest. The late members were men who for various reasons were exceptionally popular with their electors. On the present occasion the Liberal candidates were local men, well and favourably known in their respective localities, while the Unionist candidates were absolute strangers to the constituencies and had no special political record calculated to recommend them to the favour of the electorate other than that of their coming forward as staunch supporters of the Unionist Government. The big drum was beaten; the electors of Lewisham and Dulwich were exhorted by any number of Liberal celebrities, supposed to command the confidence of the masses, to recant the errors of Imperialism; and their answer was to return unknown strangers, holding the same political views as their former representatives. To ordinary apprehension a miss is as good as a mile. But to the superior intelligence of the fanatics of free trade, a miss is a great deal better than a mile. When I look to the *Spectator*, which regards itself as the accredited organ of cultured Cobdenism, I find to my surprise that Mr. Chamberlain must have had all his hopes dashed to the ground by the Unionist successes at Dulwich and Lewisham. When I seek for an explanation as to why there ought, by rights, to be mourning instead of rejoicing at Highbury, I am informed that, by some

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elaborate electoral calculation, the outcome of these two suburban elections proves to mathematical demonstration that the Liberals in the next Parliament must win 133 votes. These calculations are things too high for my mental faculties. I can only console myself by the reflection that, supposing 'ifs and ans were pots and pans,' the state of mundane affairs would be very different from what it is. Personally, I prefer a brace of votes in the hand to sixty odd braces in the bush. But then I have no claim to be an expert in electoral forecasts, but am only a commonplace man, 'one of the many' who, judging by facts, not by theories, hold that Mr. Chamberlain is going to win the day.

There is a sort of pathos in the fact that the Duke of Devonshire should have chosen the eve of the bye-elections to slide off the fence on which he has sat so long, and apparently with such great discomfort. Ever since his Grace resigned office he has never been able, till the other day, to make his political position comprehensible to the public, or I suspect to himself. He could not decide whether to turn to the left or the right, to sacrifice free trade or to desert the cause of the Union. He has been looking in vain for some middle path by which he might remain staunch in his allegiance to the Union, and yet forswear the heresies of preferential duties and retaliatory tariffs. The logic of facts has at last forced the Duke not only to make up his mind, but, what was still more distasteful, to speak out his mind. It is matter of notoriety that up to the very date of the elections the Liberals were confident of success, and believed that the transfer of a few hundred Unionist votes might place their candidates at the head of the polls. An urgent appeal was made to the Duke as President of the Free Food League to express an opinion as to the duty of Liberal-Unionist voters who disapproved of Mr. Chamberlain's policy in the event of a contested election. It is only just to the leading member of the Unionist party in the House of Lords to say that he is devoid of the subtlety of intellect which would have enabled Mr. Gladstone to give such an answer to an inconvenient question as might be susceptible of any number of interpretations. If he spoke at all, he could only speak plainly. In consequence, being at last forced into a corner, his Grace replied that in his opinion Liberal-Unionist electors should decline to vote for any Unionist candidate who stood pledged to support the policy with which Mr. Chamberlain directly and Mr. Balfour indirectly have identified themselves. The ducal manifesto did not go to the length of advising Liberal-Unionist free traders to record their votes in favour of the Liberal candidates. But it followed logically that if a Liberal-Unionist elector of Lewisham or Dulwich felt it his duty to refrain from voting for the Unionist candidate, he was equally bound to vote for the Liberal.

The 'Encyclical,' to employ Mr. Chamberlain's phrase, seems

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to have had very little effect, either at Dulwich or at Lewisham. But its indirect results are likely to prove serious. There is no getting over the plain fact that the Duke, who till a few weeks ago was the most prominent member of the Unionist Government, with the exception of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, has formally advised the Liberal-Unionists to use their influence to secure the return of Liberals to Parliament, if by so doing they can hope to exclude Unionists who are supporters of Mr. Chamberlain. I confess, to me the Duke's attitude is absolutely incomprehensible. The great achievement of his long and honourable political career was his secession from the Liberal party in order to secure the defeat of Home Rule for Ireland. His secession was openly justified by the plea that the maintenance of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was a matter of life and death to this country, and therefore of higher importance than any party considerations. Yet now, he not only deserts the Unionist party, but he is doing his utmost to secure the return of the Liberals to power, knowing, as he must know, that they can only hope to obtain a parliamentary majority by receiving the support of the Irish Nationalists, and that the price of this support is, and must be, the concession of Home Rule to Ireland. In common with the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen, I have the utmost confidence in the good faith and honesty of purpose of the Duke of Devonshire, but I fail to understand how he reconciles his present attitude with his past professions.

One thing seems to be certain, and that is, that the ducal manifesto must bring about the disappearance of the Liberal-Unionists as an independent political organisation. At the time of the *Gran' Rifiuto*, when some threescore Liberals, under the leadership of the then Marquis of Hartington, Mr. (now Lord) Goschen, Mr. John Bright, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, joined with the Conservatives to throw out Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, a convention was concluded between the two sections of the Unionist party that no seat occupied by a member of one section should be contested by the other. The convention was only reasonable and fair at the time of the enactment, though, from a purely party point of view, it was of a very one-sided character. In view of the general Conservative reaction, which coincided with, if it was not occasioned by, the Liberal-Unionist secession, there were any number of seats held by Liberal-Unionists which the Conservatives might have contested with every chance of success. But there was scarcely a seat held by a Conservative which the Liberal-Unionists could have contested with the remotest prospect of success. The convention has, up to now, been carried out with the utmost loyalty by the Conservatives, but its practical inconveniences have long been felt by the party leaders. The recent death of Mr. Jasper More, the M.P. for the

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Ludlow division of Shropshire, furnishes an illustration of the inconveniences to which I allude. My old friend Jasper More, when I first knew him, much more than a quarter of a century ago, called himself, as most of us did in those days, a Liberal. I should, however, gravely doubt whether he had any definite ideas as to the tenets of his political creed. His Liberalism, such as it was, was that of a country gentleman of good family, who took much more interest in agricultural than in political affairs. When he joined the Liberal seceders he called himself a Liberal-Unionist, and was re-elected by his old constituents, who, on previous occasions, had returned him as a Liberal. His personal popularity with the Shropshire farmers was the real secret of his hold upon the constituency, and this popularity was not capable of being transferred to a stranger.

On Mr. More's death, the natural course, from an electioneering point of view, would have been to nominate a Conservative as candidate for the representation of the division. The seat, however, in accordance with the compact in question, was held to belong to the Liberal-Unionists, and serious unnecessary delay was caused by the extreme difficulty of finding a Liberal-Unionist candidate who was known by name to the Shropshire electors. Under very great disadvantages Mr. Hunt has carried the day by a decisive majority, but he did, not only without the help, but contrary to the recommendations of the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Liberal-Unionists. I fail to see how, after the Duke of Devonshire—with, I presume, the approval of Lord Goschen—has gone out of his way to recommend the Liberal-Unionists to decline to vote for Unionist candidates who will not renounce Mr. Chamberlain and all his works, the convention to which I have alluded can continue to be binding. The leaders of the Liberal-Unionists have now in fact, if not in name, attached themselves to the fortunes of the Liberal Home Rulers, and have thereby forfeited their title to the name of Unionists.

A record of the month can hardly be considered complete without some reference to the death of Mr. Herbert Spencer. I knew him only as a club acquaintance. His presence will certainly be missed in the billiard-room of the Athenæum, where till a few years ago he was a frequent visitor before dinner, and where he was looked up to as one of the oldest surviving notabilities of the Club. I may relate an incident or two which throw some light on his curious doggedness of purpose. My old friend the late Sir Edgar Boehm told me that on some occasion he went into the billiard-room and there caught sight of a member—I believe Mr. Maskelyne—who was a singularly handsome man with a classical Greek profile. Upon inquiring what the name of the member might be, he was told by a young waiter that it was Mr. Herbert Spencer. Thereupon Sir Edgar arranged with a common friend to ascertain if Mr. Spencer would like to have his features represented in marble, and, if so, to arrange for a meeting. When the meeting

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took place, and the sculptor caught sight of the real Herbert Spencer, his astonishment knew no bounds. If you could conceive a human form and face ill adapted as a model for a sculptor, it was that of Mr. Spencer. In the most delicate way Sir Edgar tried to intimate to the philosopher the insuperable difficulties of the task he had offered to perform. But all his arguments were useless. Mr. Spencer took his stand upon the ground that he had been requested to allow a bust of himself to be made, that he had agreed to the proposal, and that he intended to insist upon the execution of the promise. Again I have been told on good authority a story of how Mr. Spencer's complete works ever came to be published. A number of his personal friends who knew the extreme narrowness of his means, who admired his extraordinary energy under the most depressing circumstances, and who were anxious to relieve his embarrassments, agreed to publish a complete edition of his works and to pay him a salary for editing the volumes and seeing them through the press which would, with his simple tastes, keep him in comfort during his advancing years. After some few volumes had been published, the signatories of the agreement, who were all personal friends, found the cost of publication far exceeded the amount anticipated, and suggested to Mr. Spencer that the publication should be suspended, and that, notwithstanding this, their engagement with him should remain as heretofore. But to any suggestion of this kind Mr. Spencer absolutely refused to listen. He informed his friends that they had made a contract, and that he must insist on its rigid execution. Legally he was absolutely and entirely within his right; and I for one, though I doubt whether Mr. Spencer's *magnum opus* will command quite the amount of attention on the part of posterity that his admirers foretell, cannot but admit there is something really heroic about an author who believed so implicitly in the value of his own work, and was so prepared to subordinate all personal considerations to the perpetuation of its memory.

EDWARD DICEY.

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

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LORD WOLSELEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY[1]

The autobiography of my old and highly esteemed friend, Lord Wolseley, constitutes an honourable record of a well-spent life. Lord Wolseley may justifiably be proud of the services which he has rendered to his country. The British nation, and its principal executive officials in the past, may also be proud of having quickly discovered Lord Wolseley's talents and merits, and of having advanced him to high position.

Obviously, certain conclusions of public interest may be drawn from the career of this very distinguished soldier. Sir George Arthur, in the December number of the *Fortnightly Review*, has stated what are the special lessons which, in his opinion, are to be derived from a consideration of that career.

Those lessons are, indeed, sufficiently numerous. I propose, however, to deal with only two of them. They are those which, apparently, Lord Wolseley himself wishes to be inculcated. Both involve questions of principle of no little importance.

In the first place, Lord Wolseley, if I understand rightly, considers that the army has suffered greatly from civilian interference.

[1] *The Story of a Soldier's Life.* Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley. (Constable.)

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He appears to think that it should be more exclusively than heretofore under military control.

In the second place, he thinks that, in certain cases, the political and diplomatic negotiations, which generally follow on a war, should be conducted, not by a diplomatist or politician, but by the officer who has conducted the previous military operations.

As regards the first point, I am not now dealing with Lord Wolseley's remarks in connection with our general unpreparedness for war, nor with those on the various defects, past or present, of our military organisation. In a great deal that he has said on these subjects, Lord Wolseley carries me heartily with him. I confine myself strictly to the issue as I have defined it above.

Possibly, I have mistaken the significance of Lord Wolseley's words. If so, my error is shared by Sir George Arthur, who, in dealing with the War Office, dwells with emphasis on the occasions when 'this great war expert was thwarted in respect of his best considered plans by the civilian element in that citadel of inefficiency,'[2] and speaks with approval of Lord Wolseley's 'severe strictures on blundering civilian interference with the army,' as also of the 'censure reserved for the criminal negligence and miserable cowardice of successive Cabinets.'

It seems to me that Lord Wolseley is rather hard on civilians in general—those 'iconoclastic civilian officials who meddle and muddle in army matters' (ii. 376)[3]—on politicians in particular, who, I cannot but think, are not quite so black as he has painted them; and most of all on Secretaries of State, with the single exception of Lord Cardwell, to whom generous and very well deserved praise is accorded.

It is not quite clear, from a perusal of these volumes, what is the precise nature of the change which Lord Wolseley wishes to advocate, although in one passage (i. 224) a specific proposal is made. It is that 'a certificate should be annually laid before Parliament by the non-political Commander-in-Chief, that the whole of the military forces of the Empire can be completely and effectively equipped for war in a fortnight.' The general tendency of the reform which commends itself to Lord Wolseley may, however, readily be inferred. He complains (i. 224) that the soldiers, 'though in office, are never in power.' Nevertheless, as he explains with military frankness, 'the

[2] After carefully reading the book, I am in doubt as to the specific occasions to which allusion is here made.

[3] This expression is used with reference to a warning to civilians that they should 'keep their hands off the regiment.' I do not know if any recent instances have occurred when civilians have wished to touch the essential portions of what is known as the 'regimental system,' but I have a very distinct recollection of the fact that this accusation was very freely, and very unjustly, brought against the army reformers in Lord Cardwell's time. Of these, Lord Wolseley was certainly the most distinguished. I think he will bear me out in the assertion that it was only by civilian support that, in the special instances to which I allude, the opposition was overcome.

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cunning politician,' when anything goes wrong, is able 'to turn the wrath of a deceived people upon the military authorities, and those who are exclusively to blame are too often allowed to sneak off unhurt in the turmoil of execration they have raised against the soldiers.' I may remark incidentally that exception might perhaps reasonably be taken to the use of the word 'exclusively' in this passage; but the main point to which I wish to draw attention is that clearly, in Lord Wolseley's opinion, the soldiers, under the existing system, have not sufficient power, and that it would be advisable that they should, under a reformed system, be invested with more ample power. I dare say Lord Wolseley is quite right, at all events to this extent, that it is desirable that the power, as also the responsibility, of the highest military authorities should be as clearly defined as is possible under our peculiar system of government. But it is essential to ascertain more accurately in what manner Lord Wolseley, speaking with all the high authority which deservedly attaches itself to his name, thinks that effect should be given to the principle which he advocates. In order to obtain this information, I turn to vol. i. p. 92, where I find the following passage: 'A man who is not a soldier, and who is entirely ignorant of war, is selected solely for political reasons to be Secretary of State for War. I might with quite as great propriety be selected to be the chief surgeon in a hospital.'

I would here digress for a moment to deal with the argument advanced in the latter part of this sentence. It is very plausible, and, at first sight, appears convincing. It is also very commonly used. Over and over again, I have heard the presumed analogy between the surgeon and the soldier advanced as a proof of the absurdity of the English system. I believe that no such analogy exists. Surgery is an exact science. To perform even the most trifling surgical operation requires careful technical training and experience. It is far otherwise with the case of the soldier. I do not suppose that any civilian in his senses would presume, on a purely technical matter, to weigh his own opinion against that of a trained soldier, like Lord Wolseley, who is thoroughly versed in the theory of his profession, and who has been through the school of actual war. But a large number of the most important questions affecting military organisation and the conduct of military affairs, require for their solution little or no technical knowledge. Any man of ordinary common sense can form an opinion on them, and any man of good business habits may readily become a capable agent for giving effect to the opinions which he, or which others have formed.

I may here perhaps give a page from my own personal experience bearing on the point under discussion.

The Soudan campaign of 1896–98 was, in official circles, dubbed a 'Foreign Office war.' For a variety of reasons, to which it is unnecessary to allude in detail, the Sirdar was, from the commence-

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ment of the operations, placed exclusively under my orders in all matters. The War Office assumed no responsibility, and issued no orders.[4] A corresponding position was occupied by the Head-Quarters Staff of the Army of Occupation in Cairo. The result was that I found myself in the somewhat singular position of a civilian, who had had some little military training in his youth, but who had had no experience of war,[5] whose proper functions were diplomacy and administration, but who, under the stress of circumstances in the Land of Paradox, had to be ultimately responsible for the maintenance, and even, to some extent, for the movements of an army of some 25,000 men in the field.

That good results were obtained under this system cannot be doubted. It will not, therefore, be devoid of interest to explain how it worked in practice, and what were the main reasons which contributed towards success.

I have no wish to disparage the strategical and tactical ability which were displayed in the conduct of the campaign. It is, however, a fact that no occasion arose for the display of any great skill in these branches of military knowledge. When once the British and Egyptian troops were brought face to face with the enemy, there could—unless the conditions under which they fought were altogether extraordinary—be little doubt of the result. The speedy and successful issue of the campaign depended, in fact, almost entirely upon the methods adopted for overcoming the very exceptional difficulties connected with the supply and transport of the troops. The main quality required to meet these difficulties was a good head for business. By one of those fortunate accidents which have been frequent in the history of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, a man was found equal to the occasion. Lord Kitchener of Khartum won his well-deserved peerage because he was a good man of business; he looked carefully after all important detail, and he enforced economy.

My own merits, such as they were, were of a purely negative character. They may be summed up in a single phrase. I abstained from mischievous activity, and I acted as a check on the interference of others. I had full confidence in the abilities of the commander, whom I had practically myself chosen, and, except when he asked for

[4] Much the same proceeding appears to have been adopted in the Red River expedition, which was conducted with such eminent success by Lord Wolseley in 1870. But there was a difference. Lord Wolseley, in describing that expedition, says (ii. 221): 'The Cabinet and parliamentary element in the War Office, that has marred so many a good military scheme, had, I may say, little or nothing to do with it from first to last. When will civilian Secretaries of State for War cease from troubling in war affairs?' In the case of the Soudan campaigns, on the other hand, Lord Kitchener and I had to rely—and our reliance was not misplaced—on the Cabinet and parliamentary elements of the Government, to prevent excessive interference from the London offices.

[5] I was present for a few weeks, as a spectator, with Grant's army at the siege of Petersburg in 1864, but the experience was too short to be of much value.

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my assistance, I left him entirely alone. I encouraged him to pay no attention to those vexatious bureaucratic formalities with which, under the slang phrase of 'red tape,' our military system is overburdened. I exercised some little control over the demands for stores which were sent to the London War Office; and the mere fact that these demands passed through my hands, and that I declined to forward any request unless, besides being in accordance with existing regulations—a point to which I attached but slight importance—it had been authorised by the Sirdar, probably tended to check wastefulness in that quarter where it was most to be feared. Beyond this I did nothing, and I found—somewhat to my own astonishment—that, with my ordinary staff of four diplomatic secretaries, the general direction of a war of no inconsiderable dimensions added but little to my ordinary labours.

I do not say that this system would always work as successfully as was the case during the Khartum campaign. The facts, as I have already said, were peculiar. The commander, on whom everything practically depended, was a man of marked military and administrative ability. Nevertheless, I feel certain that Lord Kitchener would bear me out in saying that here was a case in which general civilian control, far from exercising any detrimental effect, was on the whole beneficial.

To return to the main thread of my argument. The passage (i. 92) which I have quoted from Lord Wolseley's book would certainly appear to point to the conclusion that, in his opinion, the Secretary of State for War should be a soldier unconnected with politics. Even although Lord Wolseley does not state this conclusion in so many words, it is notorious to any one who is familiar with the views current in army circles that the adoption of this plan is considered by many to be the best, if it be not the only, solution of all our military difficulties.

I am not concerned with the constitutional objections which may be urged against the change of system now under discussion. Neither need I dwell on the difficulty of making it harmonise with our system of party government, for which it is quite possible to entertain a certain feeling of respect and admiration without being in any degree a political partisan. I approach the question exclusively from the point of view of its effects on the army. From that point of view, I venture to think that the change is to be deprecated.

In dealing with Lord Cardwell's attitude in respect to army reform, Lord Wolseley says (ii. 273): 'Never was Minister in my time more generally hated by the army.' He points out how this hatred was extended to all who supported Lord Cardwell's views. His own conduct (ii. 248) was 'looked upon as a species of high treason.' I was at the time employed in a subordinate position at the War Office. I can testify that this language is by no means exaggerated. Nevertheless, after events showed clearly enough that, in resisting the

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abolition of purchase, the formation of a reserve, and the other admirable reforms with which Lord Cardwell's name, equally with that of Lord Wolseley, is now honourably associated, the bulk of army opinion was wholly in the wrong. I believe such army opinion as now objects to a civilian being Secretary of State for War to be equally in the wrong.

There would appear, indeed, to be some inconsistency between Lord Wolseley's unstinted praise of Lord Cardwell—that 'greatest' of War Ministers (ii. 271), who, 'though absolutely ignorant of our army and of war' (234), responded so 'readily to the demands made on him by his military advisers,' and 'gave new life to our old army' (240)—and his depreciation of the system which gave official birth to Lord Cardwell. There would be no contradiction in the two positions if the civilian Minister, in 1871, had been obliged to use his position in Parliament and his influence on public opinion to force on an unwilling nation reforms which were generally advocated by the army. But the very contrary of this was the case. What Lord Cardwell had principally to encounter was 'the fierce hatred' (ii. 231) of the old school of soldiers, and Lord Wolseley tells us clearly enough what would have happened to the small band of army reformers within the army, if they had been unable to rely on civilian support.

> Had it not been [he says (ii. 231)] for Mr. Cardwell's and Lord Northbrook's constant support and encouragement, those of us who were bold enough to advocate a thorough reorganisation of our military system, would have been 'provided for' in distant quarters of the British world, 'where no mention of us more should be heard.'

There can be no such thing as finality in army reform. There will be reformers in the future, as there have been in the past. There will, without doubt, be vested interests and conservative instincts to be overcome in the future, as there were at the time when Lord Wolseley so gallantly fought the battle of army reform. What guarantee can Lord Wolseley afford that a soldier at the head of the army will always be a reformer, and that he will not 'provide for' those of his subordinates who have the courage to raise their voices in favour of reform, even as Lord Wolseley thinks he would himself have been 'provided for' had it not been for the sturdy support he received from his civilian superiors? I greatly doubt the possibility of giving any such guarantee.

But I go further than this. It is now more than thirty years since I served under the War Office. I am, therefore, less intimately acquainted with the present than with the past. But, during those thirty years, I have been constantly brought in contact with the War Office, and I have seen no reason whatever to change the opinion I formed in Lord Cardwell's time, namely, that it will be an evil day for the army when it is laid down, as a system, that no civilian should be

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Secretary of State for War. My belief is that, if ever the history of our military administration of recent years comes to be impartially written, it will be found that most of the large reforms, which have beneficially affected the army, have been warmly supported, and sometimes initiated, by the superior civilian element in the War Office. Who, indeed, ever heard of a profession being reformed from within? One of the greatest law reformers of the last century was the author of *Bleak House*.

It may, indeed, be urged—perhaps Lord Wolseley would himself urge—that it is no defence of a bad system to say that under one man (Lord Cardwell), whom Lord Wolseley describes as 'a clear-headed, logical-minded lawyer' (ii. 234), it worked very well. To this I reply that I cannot believe that the race of clear-headed, logical-minded individuals of Cabinet rank, belonging to either great party of the State, is extinct.

I have been induced to make these remarks because, in past years, I was a good deal associated with army reform, and because, since then, I have continued to take an interest in the matter. Also because I am convinced that those officers in the army who, with the best intentions, advocate the particular change now under discussion, are making a mistake in army interests. They may depend upon it that the cause they have at heart will best be furthered by maintaining at the head of the army a civilian of intelligence and of good business habits, who, although, equally with a soldier, he may sometimes make mistakes, will give an impartial hearing to army reformers, and will probably be more alive than any one belonging to their own profession to all that is best in the outside and parliamentary pressure to which he is exposed.

I turn to the second point to which allusion was made at the commencement of this article.

Speaking of the Chinese war in 1860, Lord Wolseley says (ii. 62): 'In treating with barbarian nations during a war . . . the general to command the army and the ambassador to make peace should be one and the same man. To separate the two functions is, according to my experience, folly gone mad.' Lord Wolseley reverts to this subject in describing the Ashantee war of 1873–74 (ii. 269). I gather from his allusions to Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain, and to the fact that evil results ensued from allowing Dutch deputies to accompany Marlborough's army, that he is in favour of extending the principle which he advocates to wars other than those waged against 'barbarian nations.'

The objections to anything in the nature of a division of responsibility, at all events so long as military operations are in actual progress, are, indeed, obvious, and are now very generally recognised. Those who are familiar with the history of the revolutionary war will remember the baneful influence exercised by the Aulic Council over the

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actions of the Austrian commanders.[6] There can, in fact, be little doubt that circumstances may occur when the principle advocated by Lord Wolseley may most advantageously be adopted; but it is, I venture to think, one which has to be applied with much caution, especially when the question is not whether there should be a temporary cessation of hostilities—a point on which the view of the officer in command of the troops would naturally carry the greatest weight—but also involves the larger issue of the terms on which peace should finally be concluded. I am not at all sure that, in deciding on the issues which, under the latter contingency, must necessarily come under consideration, the employment of a soldier, in preference to a politician or diplomatist, is always a wise proceeding. Soldiers, equally with civilians, are liable to make erroneous forecasts of the future, and to mistake the general situation with which they have to deal. I can give a case in point.

When, in January 1885, Khartum fell, the question whether the British army should be withdrawn, or should advance and reconquer the Soudan, had to be decided. Gordon, whose influence on public opinion, great before, had been enhanced by his tragic death, had strongly recommended the policy of 'smashing the Mahdi.' Lord Wolseley adopted Gordon's opinion. 'No frontier force,' he said, 'can keep Mahdiism out of Egypt, and the Mahdi sooner or later must be smashed, or he will smash you.' These views were shared by Lord Kitchener, Sir Redvers Buller, Sir Charles Wilson, and by the military authorities generally.[7] Further, the alleged necessity of 'smashing the Mahdi,' on the ground that his success in the Soudan would be productive of serious results elsewhere, exercised a powerful influence on British public opinion at this period, although the best authorities on Eastern politics were at the time aware that the fears so generally entertained in this connection were either groundless or, at all events, greatly exaggerated.[8] Under these circumstances, it was decided to 'smash the Mahdi,' and accordingly a proclamation, giving effect to the declared policy of the British Government, was issued. Shortly afterwards, the Penjdeh incident occurred. Public opinion in England somewhat calmed down, having found its natural safety-valve in an acrimonious parliamentary debate, in which the Government narrowly escaped defeat. The voices of politicians and diplomatists, which had been to some degree hushed by the din of arms, began to be heard.

[6] *Art of War*, Jomini, p. 59.

[7] I think I am correct in saying that Sir Evelyn Wood was of a contrary opinion but I have been unable to verify this statement by reference to any contemporaneous document.

[8] On the 21st of March, 1884, Sir Alfred Lyall wrote to Mr. Henry Reeve: 'The Mahdi's fortunes do not interest India. The talk in some of the papers about the necessity of smashing him in order to avert the risk of some general Mohamedan uprising is futile and imaginative.'—*Memoirs of Henry Reeve*, vol. ii. p. 329.

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The proclamation was cancelled. The project of reconquering the Soudan was postponed to a more convenient period. It was, in fact, accomplished thirteen years later, under circumstances which differed very materially from those which prevailed in 1885. In June 1885 the Government of Lord Salisbury succeeded to that of Mr. Gladstone, and, though strongly urged to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan, confirmed the decision of its predecessors.

Sir George Arthur, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, strongly condemns this 'cynical disavowal' of Lord Wolseley's proclamation. I have nothing to say in favour of the issue of that proclamation. I am very clearly of opinion that, as it was issued, it was wise that it should be cancelled. For, in truth, subsequent events showed that the forecast made by Lord Wolseley and by Gordon was erroneous, in that it credited the Mahdi with a power of offence which he was far from possessing. No serious difficulty arose in defending the frontier of Egypt from Dervish attack. The overthrow of the Mahdi's power, though eminently desirable, was very far from constituting an imperious necessity such as was commonly supposed to exist in 1885. In this instance, therefore, it appears to me that the diplomatists and politicians gauged the true nature of the situation somewhat more accurately than the soldiers.

More than this. I conceive that, in all civilised countries, the theory of government is that a question of peace or war is one to be decided by politicians. The functions of the soldier are supposed to be confined, in the first place, to advising on the purely military aspects of the issue involved; and, in the second place, to giving effect to any decisions at which the Government may arrive. The practice in this matter not unfrequently differs somewhat from the theory. The soldier, who is generally prone to advocate vigorous action, is inclined to encroach on the sphere which should properly be reserved for the politician. The former is often masterful, and the latter may be dazzled by the glitter of arms, or too readily lured onwards by the persuasive voice of some strategist to acquire an almost endless succession of what, in technical language, are called 'keys' to some position, or—to employ a metaphor of which the late Lord Salisbury once made use in writing to me—'to try and annex the moon in order to prevent its being appropriated by the planet Mars.' When this happens, a risk is run that the soldier, who is himself unconsciously influenced by a very laudable desire to obtain personal distinction, may practically dictate the policy of the nation without taking a sufficiently comprehensive view of national interests. Considerations of this nature have more especially been, from time to time, advanced in connection with the numerous frontier wars which have occurred in India. That they contain a certain element of truth can scarcely be doubted.

For these reasons, it appears to me that the application of the

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principle advocated by Lord Wolseley requires much care and watchfulness. Probably, the wisest plan will be that each case should be decided on its own merits with reference to the special circumstances of the situation, which may sometimes demand the fusion, and sometimes the separation, of military and political functions.

I was talking a short time ago to a very intelligent, and also Anglophile, French friend of mine. He knew England well, but, until quite recently, had not visited the country for a few years. He told me that what struck him most was the profound change which had come over British opinion since the occasion of his last visit. We had been invaded, he said, by *le militarisme continental*. In common with the vast majority of my countrymen, I am earnestly desirous of seeing our military organisation and military establishments placed on a thoroughly sound footing, but I have no wish whatever to see any portion of our institutions overwhelmed by a wave of *militarisme continental*. It is because I think that the views advocated by Lord Wolseley tend—although, I do not doubt, unconsciously to their distinguished author—in the direction of a somewhat too pronounced *militarisme*, that I venture in some degree to differ from one for whom I have for many years entertained the highest admiration and the most cordial personal esteem.

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THE GERMANS AT WATERLOO AND ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

THE speech delivered at Hanover by the Kaiser on the 18th of last December, in which he told his hearers that the Germans had rescued the British army from destruction at Waterloo, attracted more attention in England and throughout the world than such an utterance seemed to merit. Political significance has been attributed to it. Many recalled the famous Kruger telegram sent, as we all know, on the high authority of the Chancellor of the German Empire, for the purpose of testing how far certain Continental Powers were prepared to act with Germany against England. It is also not forgotten that, for many years past, it has been the steady policy of the German Government to foster hostile feelings in Germany against the British nation. The action of the Foreign Office at Berlin in this respect is well known to every diplomatist and statesman on the Continent. From time to time it is true that efforts have been made in high quarters in Berlin to check the German Anglophobe movement; but these efforts have been directed with a view not seriously to impair its power, but to hinder it from becoming a political danger. If the Government at Berlin had been really anxious to paralyse this movement during the Boer war, they had only to publish the official account, as the American Government did, of their military agents in South Africa. This would have seriously counteracted the effect which the systematic calumnies on the British army made on the mind of many generous Germans. It has at last been given to the world, but the hour has gone by when its publication would have been of value and a friendly act.

The speech of the Kaiser at Hanover was certainly not calculated to allay the friction which exists between the English nation and the German people. It has had the effect of inducing Englishmen to recall many episodes in the former relations between Prussia and Great Britain, and especially some important ones connected with the time when England was locked in a life and death struggle with the power of Napoleon. It made them remember the fatuous and

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treacherous conduct of Prussia in 1805, and her doubtful behaviour during the Congress of Vienna.

It has been pointed out by one of the most brilliant of American writers that the real turning-point in Napoleon's career was the battle of Trafalgar. After Nelson's victory on the 21st of October, 1805, Napoleon had to choose between making peace with the Government of King George the Third on terms acceptable to the English people, and pursuing a policy in Europe having for its object the forcing of Continental countries to sever commercial relations with England, and involving acts of oppression which must arouse the nations against him, if England remained true to herself.

He chose the latter course, and the famous Decree of Berlin was his answer to Trafalgar.

The campaign of Napoleon in Russia in 1812, which was the inevitable consequence of endeavouring to enforce the Decree of Berlin, is considered by many to be the proximate cause of his fall. This view appears to me to require modification. The disaster his army suffered in Russia was well-nigh overwhelming. We have all read of the terrible scenes on the Beresina; and it was only in consequence of a series of gross mistakes on the part of the Russian commanders, and especially of Tschitschagow, that Napoleon escaped complete destruction on that occasion, as he had done a short time before through the timidity of Kutusow at Krasnoi. As it was, he saved only a remnant of his army; but in that remnant there was a large number of non-commissioned officers and subalterns, a circumstance which enabled him in a very short time to place new armies in the field in an efficient state. It must also be remembered that the Russian forces suffered very nearly as much as the French. When Kutusow reached the Polish frontier he also was almost without an army. Of the 200,000 men who had come under his command from the time he was appointed to supersede Barclay de Tolly on the eve of Borodino, and of the 100,000 men with which he started from Tarutino, not more than 40,000 reached Wilna. The military power of Russia was almost exhausted, and many of the leading men among the advisers of the Tzar, Kutusow and Rumänzow especially, urged that monarch to make peace with Napoleon on condition of obtaining for Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and all Prussian territories east of the Vistula. Napoleon, on the other hand, was still powerful. His genius was never brighter, his energy never greater. He had behind him the enthusiasm of France and the resources of the States of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin alone, among the Princes of this Confederation, was hostile to him. All the others remained true to his cause. Although the Würtemberg contingent was absolutely destroyed in the retreat from Moscow, and although Bavaria had

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lost 20,000 men in the Russian campaign, the rulers of these States took active steps to furnish Napoleon with large reinforcements. Nor must it be assumed that they were acting against the feelings of the people. Napoleon's power was not unpopular, either in Würtemberg or in Bavaria. The French were liked in South Germany. Döllinger, who was fourteen years old in February 1813, and remembered well the circumstances of that time, and had been presented by his father to Napoleon, often told me that, in South Germany, the sympathies of the people, and especially of the youth of the country, were French. This arose, no doubt, from the very different attitude which Napoleon assumed towards the South German States from that which he persistently took up as regards Prussia.

In the spring of 1813, King Frederick William the Third had been driven by semi-revolutionary forces in Prussia to go to war with Napoleon. The Emperor was completely victorious over the combined Prusso-Russian forces; and, if he had pressed home the advantages which he gained at Bautzen on the 20th of May, it is quite certain that the Russians would have abandoned Prussia to her fate, and made peace. They were on the point of doing so. Napoleon, however, agreed to an armistice at Poischwitz on the 4th of June, and thereby committed what he himself truly characterised as one of the great faults of his life. He gave his opponents in Germany breathing time when they were on the point of exhaustion; then news came from another part of the world which completely altered the situation.

On the 21st of June, 1813, Wellington won the battle of Vittoria. This victory in its brilliancy and completeness was compared with Austerlitz and Jena, and its consequences were most far reaching. All the political writings of the time show the deep impression which it made. It stiffened the resolution of the enemies of Napoleon, largely influenced the attitude assumed by Metternich, and secured the adhesion of Austria to the allied cause. One of the most accurate and well-informed of the historians of Napoleon, Dr. August Fournier, of the University of Prague, goes so far as to say that there is even some reason in the contention that its effect was to expel Napoleon from Germany. This was the opinion of Wellington. I happen to know from one who is still alive, and very nearly related to Metternich, that that statesman thought so too. Talleyrand and the shrewd clear-sighted Gentz also held a similar view.

On the 7th of October Wellington crossed the Bidassoa, and forced the French back on the Nivelle. The news spread like wildfire all over Europe that the English commander had invaded France. This move of Wellington raised to the highest pitch the hopes of Napoleon's enemies. On the 18th of October the battle of Leipsic was fought under the influence of this enthusiasm, and

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the defeat of the French was followed by their retirement from Germany.

On New Year's night, 1814, Blücher crossed the Rhine. The Russian and Austrian armies followed him into France. Wellington was firmly established in Languedoc, and on the 27th of February won a victory over Soult at Orthez, the news of which caused consternation in Paris, and drove the French funds down to fifty-one. The Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies moved on Paris, and, after a campaign glorious for Napoleon, they succeeded, notwithstanding the heroism of Marmont and Mortier, in forcing Paris to capitulate on the 30th of March. The Empire of Napoleon was at an end, and the French monarchy was restored. The Emperor Alexander of Russia was at this moment the most conspicuous figure in Paris. He used every artifice with considerable success to ingratiate himself with the French, and he assumed to be the arbiter of Europe. The position he took up in 1814 must never be forgotten by anyone who desires to study the attitude and conduct of the Duke of Wellington the year after, when he was in the Low Countries, while the battle of Waterloo was actually being fought, during his subsequent march to Paris, and during the negotiations which resulted in the second restoration of the House of Bourbon.

On the return of the Bourbons in 1814, it seemed as if the struggle with Napoleon was over, and the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe met together in the autumn at Vienna for the purpose of dividing amongst themselves the spoils taken from Napoleon. The Emperor Alexander went to Vienna for the purpose of realising plans of prime importance. He was determined to get possession of the Duchy of Warsaw; to prevent Austria from profiting by the advantages which her new position among the Powers had given her; to support Prussian schemes for aggrandisement in Germany, so as to make her a useful ally; and, lastly, to push forward the Russian frontier on the shores of the Black Sea, and thereby enable his country to carry out with greater ease the policy of Catherine the Second, and ultimately gain possession of Constantinople. On his arrival at Vienna, the Tzar was already on bad terms with Austria, England, and France. He was displeased with Metternich, and busied himself with designs for overthrowing that Minister, as badly conceived as they were injudiciously attempted. Alexander's relations with England—a Power which he always cordially detested—were still more strained. Lord Castlereagh was particularly disagreeable to him. If he had dared, he would have treated the English statesman as discourteously as he often did Prince Metternich. He was furious with Talleyrand, for no other reason, that I can discover, than because that statesman, with marvellous ability and tact, maintained the dignity of the King and country which he represented.

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The representatives of Prussia were consumed with a desire to extend her possessions without regard to justice or even decency. Conquest has, since the days of Frederick the Great, been the predominant passion of their country. So it was in 1815, and so it is at the present moment. The object of Prussia at Vienna was the acquisition of Saxony. That was the beginning of a series of political operations to efface the influence of Austria, and to become the sovereign Power in Germany. Lord Castlereagh was guided by the best intentions, but did not, owing to some radically false views, quite grasp the situation. He at one time supported the designs of Prussia on Saxony to their utmost extent; but fortunately, though he preserved on many questions a neutrality often astonishing, the influence of Talleyrand kept him fairly on right lines. The attitude of Russia and Prussia was so menacing and overbearing that England, France, and Austria entered into an alliance to resist their pretensions by force of arms. Towards the end of the year 1814 war appeared inevitable. Energetic preparations were being made; troops were concentrated everywhere. And although a little later the immediate danger was averted, and matters became more smooth after the arrival of the Duke of Wellington to replace Lord Castlereagh, who had to return to England for the meeting of Parliament in February 1815, there was still considerable friction between the Powers at the time when news came to Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba. Incredible as it may appear now, there was a general impression prevailing that Napoleon had taken this step with the connivance of England. Even before he left Elba there was a belief that England would favour his return to France. A caricature which appeared at Augsburg, of the Congress of Vienna, represented Lord Castlereagh as holding Napoleon, and saying to his colleagues: 'If you don't behave yourselves, I'll let him go!' This ludicrous notion illustrates the suspicion with which the Powers regarded each other. The common danger, however, welded them together. But Wellington, who left Vienna on the 26th of March to take the command of the allied army which was assembling in the Netherlands, was determined that, in the struggle which was coming, he would be the dominating factor, and that the Emperor Alexander should not acquire the position he had occupied the year before. Wellington was far the greatest man, from a military point of view, in the Congress of Vienna. His deeds in the Peninsula had struck the imaginations of men, and, after Vittoria, he was by common consent the first soldier of the Coalition. When he left Vienna, however, Alexander had it all his own way. England was imperfectly represented there by Lord Clancarty, Prussia by Knesebeck, who possessed no great military capacity, and Austria by Schwarzenburg, a man of mediocre intellect. Alexander in these circumstances found it easy to dominate the Councils of the Powers, all the more so because he had the good

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sense to call to his side two such distinguished commanders as Diebitsch and Toll. There were two different lines of thought in the allied Councils, one inspired by Wellington, the other by the Emperor Alexander and timid military advisers of the Austrian crown. Wellington held, as we know from a letter which he wrote to Lord Clancarty on the 10th of April, and from a memorandum which he composed two days afterwards, that, in order to prevent Napoleon maturing his plans, he should be attacked by the Anglo-Dutch army in the Netherlands, supported by the Prussian forces, at the end of April. He calculated rightly on the possibility of popular movements in France against Napoleon. He remembered the demonstrations of hostility to Napoleon which took place in various parts of the South of France the year before, and rendered his journey to Elba dangerous in the extreme. He was perfectly well aware of the feeling against Napoleon which also existed in some of the northern departments of France, and against which the Emperor was warned by a shrewd observer like Miot de Melito. But the great object of Wellington was to overthrow Napoleon before the Russians could join the allied forces, and to place his own country in the position among the nations to which she was entitled by her steady and heroic sacrifices. We know on the authority of Gagern, vol. ii. p. 145, that, before he left Vienna, he expressed himself strongly against Russian troops being marched to the Rhine, and maintained that there were quite enough soldiers without them at the disposal of the Allies to overthrow Napoleon. The idea which found favour with the Emperor Alexander was that the armies of Europe should remain on the defensive till the Russians had time to come up, so that all these forces should march into France in overwhelming numbers. The friction between England and Russia is a matter which must never be lost sight of by those who wish to follow the political and military events which led in 1815 to the final overthrow of Napoleon. Wellington was determined that the Emperor Alexander should not dominate the situation; the Tzar was anxious to weaken the influence of Wellington and England. A circumstance told by Bernhardi, in his *Life of Toll*, illustrates the feelings of the Tzar to the British commander. On the morning of Waterloo, the 18th of June, Toll, who had been attached to Blücher's army, left Wavre for Heidelberg, the headquarters of the Tzar. Toll apparently did not know of Blücher's intention to effect a junction with Wellington that day, and in consequence of being delayed in his journeys by the movements of troops on the roads, and by the breaking of an axletree, arrived at Heidelberg after the news of Waterloo had been received by Alexander. Toll had not heard of the battle; and, after changing his uniform, presented himself to the Tzar. He found his Sovereign walking up and down the room, extremely agitated and depressed. Toll thought that

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the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny on the 16th of June was the cause of Alexander's low spirits. He therefore hastened to tell the Tzar that he had left Blücher's army early on the 18th at Wavre, and that things might not be so bad as they appeared. 'What on earth are you talking about?' was the reply of Alexander. 'Don't you know that Wellington gained a great victory last Sunday some little distance from Brussels?' This he considered a fatal blow to Russian influence.

I do not propose to enter at any length into the campaign of 1815, or into the battle of the 18th of June. To explain, however, the influence of Germans on the issue of that engagement, I must give some little account of the leading incidents of Waterloo.

First of all it is necessary to remember the composition of the contending armies. Bonaparte had 71,947 men with 246 guns. Wellington had 67,661 men, and, according to Siborne and Sir James Shaw-Kennedy, 156 guns. M. Houssaye, in his recent volume on Waterloo, contends that Wellington had a somewhat larger number of guns. Be this as it may, Wellington was decidedly weaker than Napoleon in artillery. Wellington's army was made up as follows:

British	23,991
King's German Legion	5,824
Hanoverians	11,247
Brunswickers	5,935
Nassauers	2,880
Dutch-Belgians	17,784
Total	67,661

Sir James Shaw-Kennedy points out most justly that the numbers of the contending forces give no idea of the comparative strength of the two armies. Napoleon's army was homogeneous, and consisted of Frenchmen, trained soldiers enthusiastically devoted to his person and cause. Wellington's army was the exact opposite of this, and was composed of troops many of whom, from political or other causes, were unwilling to fight against the French. At the height of the action, Bylandt's Dutch-Belgian brigade, on the advance of the French attacking columns, abandoned its ground, retreated through the British line, placed itself on the reverse slope of the position, and, in spite of remonstrances and orders, stood at ease and took no further part in the battle. Some of the troops who came from Germany were imperfectly disciplined and unsteady; this applies especially to soldiers from Nassau. The King's German Legion was better; but a whole regiment of Hanoverian Hussars, with their Colonel at their head, suddenly fled the field and galloped helter-skelter into Brussels. Creevey describes how they rode in wild confusion through the Porte de Namur, along the Rue de Namur, and through the Place Royale, shouting that the French were upon

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them. They then spread reports of the total defeat of Wellington's army, which filled with dismay those English in Brussels who were listening to the roar of the cannon, and seeking eagerly for news as to the progress of the battle.

Sir James Shaw-Kennedy estimates that, from half-past eleven in the morning, when the action began, to six o'clock in the evening, Wellington had to fight Napoleon's army with a force considerably weaker. After six o'clock the preponderance against Napoleon became very great; but, notwithstanding that, for two hours Wellington's position was critical owing to the enthusiastic bravery of the French troops. The force despatched by Napoleon to resist Blücher acted with such splendid resolution that they held in check greatly superior numbers for a considerable time. It would be difficult to cite an instance of troops who behaved more nobly than the French at Waterloo. Their last attacks on Wellington, and their resistance to Blücher, are splendid records in the history of war.

There were five separate and distinct attacks on Wellington's army at Waterloo: three of them failed completely; the fourth was partially successful; the fifth was the only one in which the whole British line was attacked. That was also a failure. During these attacks the coolness, judgment, and energy shown by the Duke of Wellington have never been surpassed by any commander. He was ubiquitous, and his personal power was felt all along the line. In this respect he was a great contrast to Napoleon. The extraordinary want of energy, and even listlessness, which Napoleon showed at Waterloo have been ascribed to ill-health. Wellington excited the admiration of all who saw him. Count Pozzo di Borgo, who was present during the action as the representative of the Russian Government, in his official report, lauded Wellington to the skies, although he knew that his enthusiastic praise of the Duke would not be agreeable to Alexander. Marmont, who heard various accounts of the battle a day or so after from eye-witnesses, tells us in his Memoirs that the personal valour and intellectual resources of Wellington astounded men who were themselves remarkable for bravery and for the possession of the highest military qualities. Perhaps the most striking instance of Wellington's self-command was at the moment when the brigades of Ompteda and Kielmansegge were unable to hold their position in the centre of his line. This was the point Napoleon wished to seize. It was left for a moment unprotected; and if the Emperor had shown anything like the active personal energy in taking advantage of the overthrow of the German troops who held it, which Wellington did in repairing the disaster, the position of the British army would have been most critical. When it occurred, Wellington was towards the right of his line, near Maitland's Brigade of Guards. Sir James Shaw-

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Kennedy rode up and reported to him that a whole space in the very centre of his line, which should have been held by German troops, was open. Wellington received the information with a degree of coolness which astounded Kennedy, and gave orders at once for the repair of the disaster with a precision which showed how completely he had his army in hand. This was, perhaps, one of the most critical moments of his life. He brought up troops himself to secure the threatened position, and Napoleon was unable to follow up his temporary advantage.

In judging the determination of Wellington to accept battle on the field of Waterloo, it is essential always to bear in mind his arrangement with Blücher. On the 17th of June he sent word to that commander that he would make a stand next day at Waterloo if the Prussian field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. To this Blücher assented, and further said that he would support the Duke with his whole army. It was only on this distinct understanding that the Duke accepted battle at all. If that arrangement had not been made it would have been the utmost folly on the part of Wellington to accept battle with the motley army under his command, nearly one-half of which, as I have already said, could not for one reason or another be depended upon. How Blücher kept his word everybody knows, and no serious historian in England has ever wished to minimise the value of the support he rendered to the Duke of Wellington.

The difficulty which, owing to the state of the roads, the Prussian army experienced in their move towards Wellington was exceedingly great. The action of Blücher was daring in the extreme; and, if Wellington had not stood his ground at Waterloo, the consequences would have been fatal to the Prussian army. If it is untrue to say the Prussians saved the English army from destruction, it is nothing but the most sober truth to affirm that the steadfastness of the British infantry in resisting the attacks of Napoleon saved the Prussian army from annihilation. If the English soldiers had failed to hold their position, the Prussian army would have been left a prey to Napoleon's victorious battalions, which would have attacked it in front, while Grouchy operated in its rear. The leaders of the Prussian forces, especially Gneisenau and Grolman, knowing well this danger, were naturally anxious to know how the fight was going. About half-past three in the afternoon Blücher sent forward two officers to observe and report on the situation of the British army. One of these was Blücher's adjutant, Count Nostitz, and the other was Colonel v. Pfuel, of the General Staff. They found a plantation called the Wood of Paris unoccupied by the French. They went cautiously through the wood, which was situated south-east of Planchenoit, and, from a position in front of it, they could see the whole battle perfectly. Colonel v. Pfuel remained

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where he was, and took a sketch of the battle as it then stood. Count Nostitz rode back to report. Gneisenau asked him what he thought the French would do. Nostitz gave it as his opinion that Napoleon would endeavour to keep the English in check, and turn his forces upon the Prussians with a view of securing his retreat. Evidently Count Nostitz did not think that the English army was on the brink of destruction. This conversation, as I gathered from Bernhardi, must have taken place a few minutes before four o'clock, when the heads of Bülow's columns began to occupy the Wood of Paris.

The day was drawing to its close, and Napoleon determined to strike his great blow for victory. At half-past seven he ordered several battalions of the Imperial Guard and the divisions commanded by Marcognet, Alix, Donzelot, and Bachelu to advance against Wellington's line, while the divisions of General Foy renewed the attack upon Hougomont. This last grand attack was supported by powerful artillery, and what remained of Napoleon's cavalry. It was the only one of five great attacks on Wellington's army which was general. There has been some controversy as to the order in which the Imperial Guard advanced. For practical purposes it may perhaps be best understood by saying that it advanced in two columns: a right column, consisting of battalions of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Middle Guard; and a somewhat stronger column to the left. The battalions on the right advanced in a slightly north-western direction towards the right centre of the British line. The left advanced nearer to the Hougomont enclosure towards the right of the British line. These columns did not attack simultaneously. The right column marched up the hill, and came upon that part of the British position occupied by Maitland's Brigade of Guards. The English Guards were lying down. Suddenly, at the order of Wellington, they arose, poured a destructive fire upon the French Imperial Guard; then charged, drove it down the hill at the point of the bayonet, and then returned to their former position. The head of the left column of the French Imperial Guard, in its advance, had its whole left flank exposed to the attack of the brigade led by Adam on Wellington's right. Colonel Colborne, who afterwards became Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, commanded the 52nd Regiment on the left of this brigade. On his own responsibility he placed the 52nd parallel to the flank of the advancing French column, opened fire, and stopped its advance. The French column wheeled to meet the attack, but the fire of the 52nd was followed by a charge which routed the battalions of the French Guard. The 52nd was the pride and glory of Wellington's army. It continued to advance four deep in a diagonal line right across the battle-field till it actually touched the great road from Brussels to Charleroi, which, as we know, ran right through the centre of the scene of action. When the 52nd reached the road

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Colborne saw some battalions of Napoleon's Guard which were formed still on the west side of the highway. These battalions of the Imperial Guard were probably part of the battalions already repulsed by Maitland's Guards. They stood in three separate divisions, their right resting on the Charleroi road. Wellington, having already given the signal for his whole line to advance, and having sent word to Reiche, the Chief of the Staff of Ziethen, to request that a Prussian battery, which had been placed on the left of the British line, should cease firing across the battle-field, rode forward to the 52nd. He ordered it at once to charge the French Guards in its front. These battalions of the French Guard were routed in the same splendid fashion with which the 52nd had overthrown the former battalions. It was when watching the attack of the 52nd on his Guards that Napoleon, seeing the day was lost, turned to Count Flahault and said, 'It is the old story since Crecy.' My authority for this statement is the late Lord Acton, who heard it from Count Flahault himself. There are persons still alive, members of the Athenæum Club, who must remember, as I do, that Count Flahault told the same story to Mr. Abraham Hayward. The 52nd, after the overthrow of the French Guards, crossed the Charleroi road, and leaving La Belle Alliance and Trimontion on the right, and after overcoming some further show of resistance on the part of French soldiers, continued its march on the left of the Charleroi road to beyond Rosomme, where it again crossed the highway to its right, and then the regiment stood and bivouacked for the night. They reached this position about a quarter-past nine. The great feat of arms of the 52nd is sufficient to dispose of the assertions of Bernhardi and others, who have stated that no British regiment passed beyond La Belle Alliance on the evening of Waterloo. Wellington went with the 52nd to Rosomme, and, according to Sir James Shaw-Kennedy, it was returning from thence that he accidentally came upon Blücher on the Charleroi road, a little to the south or the French side of La Belle Alliance. M. Houssaye, in his very admirable book on Waterloo, is therefore mistaken when he says that Wellington met Blücher near La Belle Alliance as the Duke was riding in the direction of Charleroi from his main position.

Lamartine has summed up in a single sentence the real truth about Waterloo. 'The victory,' he says, 'was won by Wellington; the complete rout which followed was the work of Blücher.'

The causes of the victory were in the main the want of energy on the part of Napoleon, the extraordinary activity and resolution of the Duke of Wellington, and, above all, the conduct of the British infantry. Every student of history knows the view entertained of the British soldiers of the past by men like Foy, who had fought against them in Spain, by Marshal Bugeaud, who knew them well, by Reille, who, on the morning of Waterloo, expressed himself to

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D'Erlon and to others who would listen to him, as doubting whether it would be possible to dislodge from its position by a front attack English infantry commanded by Wellington. I will merely quote, however, the words of the Prussian Field-Marshal Müffling, who was on the Duke of Wellington's staff at Waterloo. Speaking of the British soldiers of that day, he says: 'For a battle there is not perhaps in Europe an army equal to the British; that is to say, none whose tuition, discipline, and whole military tendency is so purely and exclusively calculated for giving battle. The British soldier is vigorous, well fed, by nature brave and intrepid, trained to the most rigorous discipline, and admirably well armed. The infantry resist the attacks of cavalry with great confidence, and, when taken in the flank or rear, British troops are less disconcerted than any other European army. These circumstances in their favour will explain how this army, since the Duke of Wellington has led it, had never yet been defeated in the open field.'

The action of the Germans in determining the result of Waterloo is not a matter of opinion, but of history. Why, however, the Kaiser should have made statements concerning it historically inaccurate and calculated to give offence is a subject worthy of consideration. It is probable that his remarks would not have attracted so much attention as they did were it not for the position of international affairs. It has been the invariable practice of the guides of public opinion in Germany to excite contempt as well as hatred for the nation they propose to attack. For some considerable time before the raid on Austria in 1866, a number of German writers and politicians, known as the Gotha school, were untiring in their efforts to excite contempt for Austria, and they employed all their ingenuity to make their countrymen believe that Austria had been of little or no assistance in the overthrow of Napoleon, and that the Monarchy of the House of Hapsburg was a hindrance to the spread of German civilisation. Previous to the war with France in 1870, those who formed German opinion persistently minimised or ignored the great services France has rendered to the cause of culture, and insisted so strongly that France was a decaying State, that their countrymen entered into the great struggle with their western neighbour full of confidence as well as of enthusiasm. Since the formation of the German Empire, mainly through the writings of Treitschke, who, I venture to think, has had a greater and more abiding influence on the German mind than Bismarck himself, it has been instilled into Germany that the real enemy of Germany is England, and that the English power is a mockery and a delusion. The German people have to be taught that the English nation has a position in the world which it acquired owing to civil dissensions in Germany, and to which it is in no way entitled. All the sins of England, great and venial, from the perfidy of Lord Bute during the

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Seven Years' War to the questionable conduct of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1870, in selling, during the war, weapons which passed into the hands of the French out of English arsenals, are all remembered and carefully taught to every schoolboy in the country.

The attempt of the Kaiser to misrepresent the story of Waterloo is a part of this system.

The rapid decline in the international position of England since the death of Lord Palmerston is the dominating factor in the history of the nineteenth century. One of the causes of this decline is, as it appears to me, the system by which a seat in Parliament is a practical necessity for a Minister of the Crown. This system, under former political conditions, worked fairly well. When nomination boroughs existed, it was possible at any moment to secure the entrance into Parliament of men suited for the highest offices of State who, for want of fortune or pliability of character, or because of strength of conviction or other reasons, were unable to acquire or to maintain the confidence of large constituencies. The Reform Bills of the nineteenth century abolished nomination boroughs. The effect of this legislation was clearly enough perceived by men so widely different as Hegel, the philosopher, and Talleyrand, the shrewdest of statesmen. The maintenance in a Reformed Parliament of the old system, under which a seat in Parliament was necessary to enable a Minister to defend his policy before the representatives of the nation, is out of date and mischievous. It hampers the choice of the Prime Minister in the selection of his colleagues, and deprives the Crown of the services of some of the prime intellects of the nation. The great want of England is the adjustment of her political system, so as to secure for her the service of the best of her highly gifted sons.

At the present moment we have reached a critical period of history. A conflict of interests has arisen between two Powers in the Far East, which not only involves the future of Russia and Japan, but also, to a considerable extent, that of the British Empire. It may be necessary for this nation to take up arms on the side of Japan. The international situation is, however, complicated in the extreme. The cardinal principle of the foreign policy of Germany is to obtain at almost any cost the support of Russia for schemes of aggrandisement. The lengths to which she will go to gratify her eastern neighbour may be seen in the debate in the Reichstag of the 19th of January, in which the action of the German Government in practically handing over Russian subjects who have fled to Germany to the Russian police without any form of trial in Germany was defended by Baron v. Richthofen. Possibly she has some understanding with Russia already, and the fact that Russia has left the Baltic without any of her ships of war points to the conclusion that she counts on German help as regards that sea. Germany,

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we may be sure, will follow in a general way the same policy which Prussia followed during the Polish insurrection in 1863. We all know how General Alvensleben was sent to St. Petersburg from Berlin to arrange the well-known Prusso-Russian Convention regarding the suppression of that insurrection. The consequence of Bismarck's policy on that occasion was to acquire from Russia a free hand for his schemes for the spoliation of Denmark, the destruction of the Germanic Confederation, the expulsion of Austria from reconstructed Germany, and finally the conquest of Alsace. Germany is sure to follow this precedent for the furtherance of schemes of aggrandisement. Of these, the most pressing is the scheme for the disruption of the Swiss Confederation, and for the ultimate absorption of Holland into the German Empire.

As regards France, whatever engagements she has entered into with Russia will, we may be sure, be fully met. During her long and glorious history, France has always shown herself conspicuously honourable and even chivalrous as an ally. At the same time, in so far as she is free, we may judge her probable action by considering her real interests. The object of French foreign policy at this moment is the peaceful acquisition of Morocco. To accomplish this, the assistance of Great Britain is of prime importance. Moreover, the interests of the French Colonial Empire touch British interests at many points. France can only benefit by reducing the friction such a situation involves. There is reason to believe that some of the most important questions between the two countries, especially those which affect France in the Mediterranean, are in a fair way of settlement. It would be a sore disappointment, especially to those Frenchmen who look with hope to the acquisition by their country of a great Colonial Empire, if these negotiations with England were not brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I am satisfied, moreover, that war with England would now be exceedingly unpopular with a very large number—perhaps even the majority—of the French middle classes. France has begun at last to realise that the differences between her and England in recent years have owed their bitterness, if not their existence, to the ingenuity of a third Power, which has used them to the detriment both of England and France.

As regards Germany, she cannot enter into a conflict with England for the present. Such an event would result in a dislocation of trade, and consequent increase of discontent among the already discontented masses of her people, and the disaffection now spreading even in the army might develop to such an extent as might bring about that German Revolution which Heine used to prophesy.

The plain course for our statesmen to pursue in the present crisis is to give Germany visible proof that England is determined, and

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has the power, to shape her own policy in accordance with her own interests. They will make no impression on the German mind by uttering feeble platitudes about the terrible consequences of war. These are treated in Germany with the derision they deserve. In that country more than anywhere else in Europe men realise that antagonism is a universal law in nature, and that there are certain international problems which can only be solved by blood and iron.

There are many faint signs visible that England is at last waking up to this truth, and to the necessity of a consistent and comprehensive foreign policy, which, if upheld without infirmity of purpose, would at once alter radically the relations between Great Britain and all the Great Powers. Contempt for England would give way to respect, and we should hear no more speeches from the Kaiser or his Ministers of the kind to which we have been recently accustomed.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

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A COLONIAL COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE WAR COMMISSION

In no part of the Empire has the Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, together with the evidence on which the Report is founded, been read with deeper interest than in the country which was the actual theatre of the war. It must be confessed, however, that surprise and disappointment are felt at the fact that no colonial officer was examined by the Commission; and, what is perhaps of more importance, South Africa was not represented by any member of the Commission. Lord Strathcona watched over the interests of the Canadian contingent, and Sir Frederick Darley represented the Australian troops; and both these gentlemen took good care (and very properly so) that the services rendered by their fellow-countrymen were fully recognised, and that their actions were not misrepresented in any way. Remembering that South Africa put into the field from first to last 60,000 men, or double the force of all the other colonies collectively, it might have been well to appoint a member on the Commission holding the same relative position to South Africa as that held by Lord Strathcona to Canada. The omission to call any colonial officer as a witness is much to be deplored. It is obvious that the colonial officers who held high commands during the war had exceptional opportunities of forming opinions on many points of the greatest importance in connection with the subjects to inquire into and report upon which was the duty of the Commission. And it is clear that the evidence given by colonial officers would have been unbiassed by any hope of future promotion or fear of offending those in high places. As a result of the omission above referred to, evidence given by Imperial officers, which would certainly not have been allowed to pass unchallenged, was accepted as final and conclusive. I refer more particularly to the answers given in regard to the organisation and officering of the Colonial irregular corps. The statement was more than once made that colonial irregulars *preferred* being commanded by Imperial officers of the regular army. Even so great an authority as Lord Roberts himself said, in answer to Question 10234, that such was his belief. Now I think that every colonial officer of ex-

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perience—even those who have themselves served in the Imperial army before becoming settlers in South Africa or the other colonies—would question this opinion. Their experience would probably be that it is a very difficult thing at first to reconcile colonials to being commanded by Imperial officers. It is perfectly true that they fully appreciate the advantage of having a due proportion of trained officers in the corps to which they belong. What they really object to is the somewhat overbearing manner of a certain proportion of the Imperial officers. The modern British officer is too apt to use strong language in finding fault with any little lack of smartness or trifling mistake. This is deeply resented by colonial soldiers, who are often men of good position in private life, and in any case do not in ordinary times recognise distinctions of rank; they only submit to military discipline as a necessity when under arms. There are Imperial officers, however, and a large proportion of them, who soon acquire the knack, for such it is, of commanding colonial irregulars and of making themselves respected and popular with their men. But it is only natural that colonists should, other things being equal, prefer to be commanded by men who know them and understand their peculiarities and prejudices. The Canadian officers who had passed into the Service through the Kingston Military College were at once on excellent terms with the irregular troops. The efficiency of these officers has been testified to by the Commander-in-Chief in his answers to Questions 10270 and following. He specially mentions Sir P. Girouard and Captain Joly de Lotbinière, both Royal Engineers, and adds that there were officers in regiments of the line from the same college who were also highly efficient. This would seem to point to the fact that it would be most desirable to found similar institutions in the other great colonies, South Africa and Australia. The Kingston College differs in some respects from Woolwich and Sandhurst, where the curriculum is exclusively military. At Kingston a large number, indeed the majority, of the cadets who succeed in passing the final examinations enter civil life as surveyors, civil engineers, mine-managers, &c., as it is a recognised fact that the course of instruction specially fits them for these professions, and is the best procurable in the country. To a considerable extent the same remarks apply to West Point, the great American military college. That such institutions are of the greatest value to the countries to which they belong is clear from the evidence given by many high authorities as to the difficulty experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of trained officers for the various emergency forces raised during the war; and it would certainly solve the difficulty of finding colonial officers for colonial troops. Men who had passed through military colleges conducted on the same principles as Kingston or West Point would, even if they had spent some years in civil life, be invaluable under circumstances similar to those of the late war; all the more so if they had been attached to some volunteer

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or militia corps in the intervening time. They would be habituated to discipline, have a thorough theoretical knowledge of an officer's duties, and at the same time be in sympathetic touch with the men of the colony to which they belonged. They would, in fact, form a reserve of officers. Whether some arrangement could be made by which the services of such qualified men could be available when required is a point well worthy of consideration. But enough has been said to show how desirable it is that every effort should be made to found military colleges of the most approved type in each of the great British colonies, as being of advantage not only to the individual colony but to the Empire at large.

The next point which strikes a South African colonist in reading the evidence laid before the Commission is contained in that portion of it which relates to the siege of Kimberley.

There are probably few Englishmen who did not at the time read with the deepest interest the accounts published of the many romantic incidents of the siege, from the time when the late Mr. C. J. Rhodes succeeded in getting into Kimberley by the last train which made its way through the rapidly closing lines of the Boers, to the relief by the famous ride of Sir John French and the Cavalry Division; and even to those who were not behind the scenes or were not upon the spot, the ungenerous terms in which Mr. Rhodes's share in the historic defence is mentioned must come as a shock. But those who know the true history of the siege, who have been on the spot, have studied the defence carefully, and are thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances, can only express their deep regret that British officers could have allowed professional and personal jealousy to carry them so far away from a just appreciation of the services rendered by others. The evidence given by the officer who commanded the garrison of Kimberley is not so remarkable for the implied charges against Mr. Rhodes as for the omission of any mention of services rendered by him or by any of the defenders of the town, other than the Imperial regular forces. For instance, in his answer to Question 21881, relative to the raising of the Kimberley Light Horse, he says, 'Yes, I think that there were only twenty-one or twenty-two mounted infantry sent up to Kimberley, and, of course, that number, with a perimeter of nearly twelve miles, was positively dangerous and ludicrous. And in the town itself *I had to raise* a mounted corps for which the Governor (Lord Milner) gave me authority.' He entirely forgot to mention that this corps was practically raised, equipped, and mounted at the expense of Mr. Rhodes and by the aid of his great influence in Kimberley.

Take, again, General Kekewich's answer to Question 21917: 'And your own shells were 2,141 in number?' 'Yes, they were 7-pounders, and quite outranged by the Boer guns of course.' Question: 'You had nothing bigger?' Answer: 'Nothing bigger.' Yet perhaps

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the most interesting episode in the siege of Kimberley was the construction by Mr. Labram, an *employé* of the De Beers Company, of the gun known as 'Long Cecil,' which did excellent and most effective service during the siege, as we know not only from the observation of our own garrison, but from the testimony of the Boers themselves. This gun, carrying a shell of from fifty to sixty pounds, was manufactured from a block of steel in the workshops of De Beers, the time employed in its manufacture being about three weeks. The ammunition, it is needless to say, was also made on the spot. It is doubtful if any piece of ordnance of anything approaching to the size and efficiency of 'Long Cecil' has ever been constructed under similar circumstances or in so short a time. The gun itself is carefully preserved at Kimberley as a memento of the siege, and will be placed at the foot of the handsome memorial (now being built) to those who fell. Although some 300 rounds were fired from the gun, the rifling—to the eye of a non-expert—still appears perfect. The designer of 'Long Cecil' (Mr. Labram) was unfortunately killed by a shell from the Boer 94-pounder. Ordinary people may be forgiven for thinking that the existence of a gun with such a history as this ('Long Cecil') could not well have been forgotten when the questions above referred to were asked.

General Kekewich makes some criticisms on the conduct of the Cape Police which, to colonial officers who know the circumstances, do not seem entirely justified by the facts. He states, in reply to Question 21870: 'For a long time the Cape Government had been working the Cape Dutch element into it, and no doubt the bad way in which the Cape Police behaved, in the early part of the war, was owing a great deal to that; they crumpled up entirely everywhere. I do not mean to say they fought badly when they got into Kimberley; when we got them together they fought very well. But all the posts I had arranged for north of Kimberley (four distinct posts with from 100 to 150 men at each place) practically came into Kimberley without firing a shot.' Did it never occur to General Kekewich that if a lengthened defence of these posts had been attempted, the Cape Police would never have got into Kimberley at all? The officers in command of these detachments thoroughly understood the enemy they had to deal with, and the folly of trying to hold isolated posts, with no proper supplies, against the overwhelming forces of the Transvaal. If they had not exercised a wise discretion, Kimberley would have been deprived of over 600 of its garrison—none too strong as it was; and the Boers, with little loss to themselves, would have obtained the arms and ammunition in the possession of these detachments. Nor should it be forgotten (although it frequently is, in the evidence given by Imperial officers) that there is a wide distinction between the Cape Police and the Cape Mounted Riflemen. The former are policemen first and soldiers afterwards; the latter are a regiment of regularly

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trained soldiers, to whose grand fighting qualities the Imperial cavalry officers who served with them will, I know, bear willing testimony. This will explain the fact that at the beginning of the war the Cape Police would undoubtedly have been the better for a little more organisation; but this was soon remedied. General Kekewich himself states that they fought well when in Kimberley, nor should it be forgotten that a detachment of these very men, forty-four in number, under the command of Major Berrangé, C.M.G. (himself a member, by the way, of an old Dutch family), fought as the advance guard of Lord Methuen's column (when that officer was wounded and captured), and stood until every man was killed or wounded, except the officer commanding, who had a marvellous escape, having seven bullets through his clothing. It may be added that, had Major Berrangé's warning and advice been acted upon, the disaster itself would in all probability have been averted. From the first, the officers of the Cape Police were excellent, and were, as a matter of fact, too wise to expose their men to be sacrificed for no sufficient object. General Kekewich had no special knowledge of the country at the time, and may have been ignorant of the excellent reasons which the Cape Police officers had for acting as they did.

Very serious allegations were made against Mr. Rhodes and the leading citizens of Kimberley after the siege; and these charges came from officers so high in command that they naturally attracted more attention than would otherwise have been the case. The statements made were to the effect that Mr. Rhodes and the people of Kimberley had threatened to surrender if speedy efforts were not made for the relief of the town. In justice to General Kekewich it must be allowed that his evidence on this point is absolutely fair and practically disproves the charge. He says in answering Question 22031: 'You do not suggest for a moment that Mr. Rhodes ever wished to surrender?' 'No, I do not, not to surrender.' He (General Kekewich) had previously stated that he had never used the word 'surrender' in any kind of way. His complaint against Mr. Rhodes appeared to be that he (Mr. Rhodes) 'had given a great deal of trouble.'

In answer to this I cannot do better than quote the words of the present chairman of De Beers, when speaking at the general meeting of the Company. He says: 'Military gentlemen said that the late Mr. Rhodes gave them trouble. Well, gentlemen, there is only one remark I will make upon that. Where men were—I will not say incompetent, but—not up to the mark, Mr. Rhodes generally did give them trouble. But he did not give trouble where people were striving to do their duty, and doing it not only with zeal but with the necessary intelligence. I speak feelingly because I am thinking of my own son-in-law Major Scott Turner of the Black Watch, who never had any trouble with Mr. Rhodes.' This explains the situation in very moderate terms. To those who knew Mr. Rhodes, and who knew what the capture of Kimberley by the Boers meant to him, the idea of his sug-

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gesting surrender is too absurd for consideration. It must be remembered that the actual defence of the town was not the only problem which had to be dealt with. The feeding and, as far as possible, the protection from the effects of bombardment of a large population, including a vast number of women and children, had to be thought of, and it was especially in this direction that Mr. Rhodes's great business capacity was of the utmost value. Soup kitchens were organised, the chief ingredient of the soup supplied being horseflesh, the only meat procurable during the latter days of the siege; and during the bombardment arrangements were made by which the women and children were taken down the mines, out of harm's way, whilst the large native population was kept employed, either in the mines or on works of public utility. Roads were constructed and avenues of trees planted, and by this means the natives, who might easily have become a serious source of trouble, were kept quiet, and usefully employed. This side of the history of the siege is little known to the general public.

If the whole of the many subjects of interest dealt with by the Commission were to be discussed, not one but many articles might be written. It is only proposed to deal here with those questions on which the opinions of Imperial and colonial officers are not fully agreed. It is apparently admitted that serious strategic errors were made at the beginning of the war; but it is somewhat strange that the mistake which, in the opinion of most of those on the spot, had the greatest effect in prolonging the war is scarcely noticed. I allude to the abandonment of Stormberg Junction, a post which in October and the early part of November, 1899, was held by two companies of the Berkshire Regiment and a naval detachment of about 300 men from Simonstown. If the map of the Cape Colony is consulted, it will be seen that the position is one of the greatest importance from a military point of view. It commands two railway lines—the junction line between the Midland and Eastern systems, and the Eastern system running south at a point where it was peculiarly open to attack. It was understood that the officer in command of the Berkshires had reported that he could not hold it with the force at his command. But the officer in question was well known as holding most absurdly pessimistic views, and his unsupported opinion ought not to have prevailed, in a matter of such vital importance. To anyone with a fair knowledge of the country and the enemy, there seemed no difficulty whatever in holding the position, naturally a strong one, and strengthened by entrenchments, which could have been still further improved, for the two or three weeks which might have been necessary to bring up reinforcements from the south. A strong irregular force was in process of formation at Queenstown; a volunteer battalion—the Kaffrarian Rifles—was being equipped at East London; and General Gatacre, with part of the Third Division, was under orders for

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Queenstown; so that if the place had been attacked (which to anyone who understood Boer limitations was very doubtful) relief would not have been long in coming. Immediately on the Stormberg being vacated, the evil effects of the step became apparent. Both railways were at once cut, and the rebels, much encouraged, made Stormberg their headquarters, with a Free State Commandant (Ollivier) in command. The position of the invading Boers at Colesberg was immensely strengthened, as Stormberg was the natural base for a movement to outflank them by an advance to the banks of the Orange River, when our strength should admit of such an expedition. The mistake that had been made was at last, and when too late, fully understood, and it was apparent that the position must be retaken. This led to the sad disaster of the 10th of December, when General Gatacre, with the Third Division, was repulsed with heavy loss. Of the immediate causes of this repulse it is not necessary to speak here; but, apart from the fact that it ought never to have occurred, its results were to lengthen the war by at least six months.

Among the subjects on which colonial officers could have given valuable information was the transport department. In this a great economy could have been effected by the purchase outright of all the plant required. The contract system was preferred, because it was the system to which the heads of the department were accustomed. Like most military departments, they are very conservative, and are opposed to innovations of any kind; but it can easily be shown that a saving of one million, at a very moderate estimate, would have been the result of adopting the plan suggested. It is only fair to say that the contracts were well carried out, and no one can reasonably blame the contractors for allowing a large margin for profit, under the circumstances and considering the risk run; but there was really no reason why the expense of the war should have been added to in this quite unnecessary way.

The remount question has been very fully discussed both in the Press and before the Commission. All that need be said about it here is that the practically unanimous opinion of all the authorities examined points to the superiority of the Cape-bred horse over all others for rough work in the field. This being the case, it would seem an excellent plan to establish large Government stud-farms in South Africa for breeding troop horses for future needs. There are large districts, more particularly in Cape Colony, which are admirably adapted from climate and the nature of the soil (containing a good proportion of lime) to the raising of horses possessing exceptional bone and substance. The Imperial Government have already acquired a tract of land in one of the best of these districts (Middelburg), and other equally good estates could be purchased, where horse-breeding could be economically and profitably carried on. Cape horses are not only well fitted for use in South Africa, but stand hard work and exposure better than any other type of horse in India or elsewhere. The Reports

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of the general officers who commanded flying columns in India during the latter part of the Mutiny of 1857–8 confirm this fact. The reason why it was found impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of horses from the Cape for India was simply that when sheep-farming was introduced into the horse-breeding districts of the Colony, the returns from sheep were found to be quicker and consequently more remunerative than from horses, and horse-breeding consequently declined.

Great attention was very properly devoted by the Commission to the health of the troops employed in South Africa and to endeavouring to obtain some satisfactory explanation of the high rate of mortality from enteric fever in the camps. This is a subject on which very valuable information could have been given by the P.M.O. of the Colonial Division, Colonel Hartley, V.C. This division, during the eight months of active service it went through before being broken up, lost only eight men from accidents or disease of all kinds, its strength varying from 2,500 to 3,000 men, many of them very young. The number of enteric cases was very small, and the proportion of fatal cases very low. The explanation of this comparative immunity from disease was stated by Colonel Hartley in an official report to be, that the men of the division were throughout well fed and well supplied with blankets (three each) during the intensely cold weather which prevailed in the winter of 1900 in the eastern part of the Orange River Colony. Tents were carried and used whenever it was at all possible to do so; and although doubtless this added largely to the amount of transport which had to be provided, still the saving of life and the maintenance of efficiency justified the expenditure, the more so as most of the waggons and oxen employed by the Colonial Division were captured from the enemy, and cost the Government nothing. To this must be added, as tending to maintain health, the frequent changes of the camps and the care taken to keep them in a sanitary state. Probably the good feeding and the extra blankets had more to do with the matter, in enabling the men to resist disease, than anything else. An Imperial regiment, attached for a short time to the Colonial Division at Senekal, had been for some time on half, and even quarter, rations. The men had only one blanket each—in some cases, indeed, had only one blanket between two men—and this, at a season when on more than one occasion nineteen degrees of frost were noted in the camp in the early morning. It can hardly be wondered at that men under these circumstances should have succumbed to enteric or to any other of the many diseases which are liable to attack men reduced below their normal strength. The excellence of the climate in the Orange River Colony was undoubtedly the saving clause which prevented far greater losses from disease than actually occurred. There were defects in some of the field hospitals, chiefly due to the want of a sufficient number of trained hospital orderlies, and the total absence of any lady nurses, and not to any lack of interest or slackness on the

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part of the medical staff, who did their best under the difficulties with which they had to deal. The strong feeling which prevailed at the beginning of the war against taking lady nurses into the area of active operations was much modified before its close, and in future it is probable that their services will be more largely utilised. The impossibility of improvising nurses from the ranks caused a great deal of what should be unnecessary suffering. The touch of humour, seldom absent from the gravest discussions, is furnished in this case by Sir Ian Hamilton, whose evidence it may be said is on the whole admirable, and such as would be endorsed by any officer, colonial or Imperial, who had a thorough grasp of the subject dealt with. But in his answer to Question 10920 he asserts his ability to resist feminine influence in a positive way that few men who had reached mature years would venture to imitate. If all officers holding equally high positions have the same strength of mind, much must remain unaccounted for.

There is one matter on which all will agree, and that is the clearly established fact that Great Britain has in her colonies a grand reserve of military strength. The keenness and military spirit displayed by the over-sea colonials—the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders—was, indeed, surprising, remembering that Australia has never had any fighting forced upon her within her own territory; that New Zealanders of the present generation have only the legends of Maori wars to incite them to imitate the deeds of the past generation; and that the same may be said of Canada, her recent wars having been on too small a scale to affect the bulk of the population. In South Africa it is different. Native wars have been so constant, that a very large proportion of the colonists have had a most valuable military training. The volunteer regiments of Cape Colony and Natal have records of services performed, not inferior to those of many Imperial regiments; the result being that in these corps discipline is excellent, their prestige giving them a great advantage. Handled by officers who understand them, they are indeed capable of great things. The material, then, being present, the problem to be solved is how it can be organised so as to be available for the defence of the Empire as a whole, or for any portion of it which may be exposed to attack. The desirability of founding military colleges, on the same plan as the highly successful Canadian institution, for the purpose of training sufficient officers to supply the cadres of the troops belonging to, or to be raised in, each colony, has already been mentioned. Whether it would be possible to devise any system of fixed contingents by which each colony would supply a force in proportion to its population, or whether the Imperial spirit which proved itself all-sufficient during the late war should be trusted to in the future, are matters for consideration. But it is clearly not only the duty but the interest of every colony under the British flag to be ready to assist any other portion of the Empire, as she hopes to be assisted, should the necessity unfortunately arise.

EDWARD YEWD BRABANT.

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JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH KOREA

When a great and powerful nation is determined to take possession of the territory of another which is insignificant and weak; when it conscientiously believes that, in order to secure its safety and future material development, the incorporation of the weak within its dominions is essential; when, on the other hand, a third nation, also great and powerful, is decided that this incorporation will constitute a menace to its own safety, and is determined that the weak must either remain independent or be appropriated by none but itself; when the first is flushed with the unbroken success of a long career of territorial expansion, achieved sometimes by diplomacy, but as frequently by force of arms, and has, in public at least, unbounded confidence in its military strength; when the third has equal confidence in its strength, is actuated by the most fervid patriotism, is high-spirited, of unquestioned valour, of absolute unanimity, and throughout two thousand years of history has never known defeat—then an *impasse* is created from which the only outlet is war. Russia has decided that the coast line of Korea is essential to the completion of her own Asiatic littoral. On the eastern coast of Siberia her harbours are closed by ice and useless to her throughout the winter. The coast of Manchuria is ill provided with harbours; even that of Port Arthur is of insufficient depth and dimensions to afford adequate shelter to a fleet or even to single battle ships of the present-day tonnage. That of Korea, on the other hand, has several harbours which fulfil every naval requirement. Pre-eminent among them is Masampho (called Douglas Inlet on the English charts), in the extreme south of the peninsula, almost directly facing the Straits of Shimonoseki, and less than sixty miles distant from the Japanese island of Tsushima. It is capacious, deep, sheltered, and capable of being rendered impregnable to attack from the sea at little cost either of money or engineering skill. It is free from ice all the year round. It is less than 900 miles distant from Liaoyang, a station on the Trans-Asian railway, and for 300 miles of this distance a railway, constructed by Japanese, is already far advanced on the road to completion, so that it could speedily be brought within the effective sphere of Russia's military land system. Its possession would give any strong naval

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Power holding it almost complete command of the Chinese seas, providing a secure basis from which effective blows might at any time be struck at either Japan, China, or our own Far Eastern Colonies. To Japan it would, in the hands of an aggressive Power of unbounded covetousness, be a perpetual danger. It is no wonder, therefore, that, considering this port the key of Korea, and Korea again the key of Asia, Japan has determined that neither must fall into any hands but her own—that this condition must for ever be the very foremost plank of her foreign policy—and that that policy must be maintained at all costs and all risks so long as a single Japanese fighting ship or man remains. It seems impossible that either Power can now withdraw from the position it has publicly assumed. For Russia to do so at the dictation of a Power hitherto believed by all Chinese to be infinitely weaker than herself would be to inflict a blow upon her Asiatic prestige for which she would have to pay dearly in the enhanced difficulty of guarding her Siberian frontier, coterminous with that of China for 3,000 miles, against predatory Chinese bands. For Japan to do so would be merely postponing an evil day, when she would either have to fight on far less favourable terms than she can now do or undergo a complete effacement as an influential Power in the Far East. There seems to be no escape from war between the two Powers, and in all human probability the first blow will have been struck before these lines see the light of publicity.

Should this anticipation, so far as the fact of the outbreak of war, apart from the time at which it takes place, prove correct, it will be the fourth foreign war in which Japan has engaged, and of every one Korea has been the subject. In the mythological days of her history Japan is said to have successfully invaded Korea and to have received the submission of its king, who declared that until the rivers flowed backwards he and his kingdom would for ever remain tributary to Japan. In this fact the Japanese hold implicit faith, though its date was long prior to the commencement of authentic history, and the miraculous incidents that are gravely alleged to have accompanied the invasion are sufficient to throw doubt on the whole story. Fourteen hundred years later Korea was a second time invaded, and in regard to this invasion we are treading on firm historical ground. Japan was then ruled by Hideyoshi, a great and successful general, whose ability had raised him from low degree to the position of Regent of the Empire. Absolute in Japan, he resolved to crown a long and unbrokenly successful military career with a second conquest of Korea, which was invaded by his troops in 1592. During the following six years the whole country was overrun and devastated from end to end. The Koreans, utterly inexperienced in war, armed only with primitive weapons, even then accustomed to rely for protection on China, could offer but a feeble resistance to the Japanese veterans, fighting with firearms and led by skilful and experienced generals.

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Assistance was sent to them from China; but the Japanese, though meeting with some slight reverses, were finally victorious everywhere, and the whole of Korea was prostrate before them. In 1598 Hideyoshi died, and the Japanese withdrew, but they left behind them a ruin from which Korea has never recovered. That, prior to that invasion, her people must have possessed a high degree of industrial and artistic skill is shown by the spoils brought back by Hideyoshi's soldiers, some of which are now among the principal ornaments of the beautiful temples at Nikko. Not only were the productions brought back, but the artists themselves, and Korea, having lost all her experts, has since then attained no higher level of industry than the manufacture of very fine matting, paper, and rather coarse brass work, and Korean art is a non-existing quantity. So deeply did the iron sink into the soul that the bitter memory of all the long-continued horrors of that invasion still lasts among the Korean peasants, who to this day speak of the Japanese as 'the accursed nation.'

From the beginning of the seventeenth century Korea regularly sent embassies with tribute to Japan. But at the same time she always acknowledged the suzerainty of China and looked to China for protection from foreign foes, even for help in domestic troubles. Her religion, law, custom, and thought were always in sympathy with those of China. In 1871 Japan started on her career of Western civilisation, ostensibly, never in actual reality, flinging entirely aside at one *coup* every principle that had heretofore guided her. News of her action reached Korea, who not only refused to send further tribute but openly and insultingly taunted Japan with her desertion of Chinese civilisation and her adoption of the manners and customs of the despised Western barbarians. When this became publicly known an outburst of indignation caused the entire Samurai class of the people—none other was then of any political count—to clamour for a third invasion of Korea. But every interest of Japan was in favour of peace. Her resources were exhausted by her own revolutionary war; a new and inexperienced Government, ignorant of even the elementary details of international politics, and hated by a substantial section of its own people, was in office; the death knell of her old military system was already being rung, and as yet there was no new one to replace it; and facilities both of land and marine transport were entirely wanting. Wise counsels prevailed. War was not declared and Korea was left alone. The nation was, however, deeply indignant, and so far did discontent proceed that a rebellion broke out in one of the southern provinces. Continental diplomatists in Japan had at that time little knowledge of the country; scarcely a single member of the staffs of their legations had any of the language. One worthy member of the corps, reporting on the condition of affairs to his Government, stated that so great was the outburst of patriotic feeling that he scarcely ever passed through a street of the

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capital without meeting a Japanese who was crying at the top of his voice, 'Koree! Koree!' which means, he wrote, 'To Korea! To Korea!' and who was always surrounded by many sympathisers. 'Koree,' more properly 'Kori,' is the Japanese word for ice, the taste for which in summer had just then sprung into existence, and the bellicose patriots of the worthy diplomatist, who himself gravely told what he had written at a dinner party at the British Legation, were ordinary hawkers calling out their wares. The diplomatist's accuracy and perspicuity were on a par with those of many subsequent critics of Japan, English not excepted.

Korea was left alone in her hermit-like seclusion. Nothing was known in Tokio as to what was occurring there except to the Japanese themselves, who always maintained a small settlement at Fusan, the most southern port, and they would not tell. Even then, thirty years ago, rumours of Russian activity began to gain currency, and reports were circulated that the Russians had established a basis in Korea. In 1861 they had attempted to do so on the Japanese island of Tsushima—had in fact landed, planted a flag, and erected buildings—when they were politely requested to 'move on' by an English man-of-war. It was now said they were repeating this course at Korean ports, and another English man-of-war was sent to investigate the actual condition of affairs. It was the lot of the present writer, who was then on the staff of the British Legation, to be sent with her, and the outlying islands and southern ports were examined. No Russians were found anywhere. The Japanese settlement at Fusan was visited, and its condition recalled in some degree that of the old Dutch settlement at Desima, in Nagasaki, where for 200 years a few members of the Netherlands Trading Company were suffered by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa dynasty to reside and trade under very humiliating conditions. The few Japanese who were at Fusan were virtually close prisoners. The resident stated that he had not been outside the limits of the settlement for over six months. Trade was represented by an occasional junk from Tsushima, and all traffic with the natives was carried on on the outskirts of the settlement, the neighbouring Korean town being forbidden ground. In the man-of-war, which remained in the harbour for a few days, there was naturally a desire to visit this town, but strict instructions had been given to the commander to carefully avoid everything that might entail the risk of a conflict with the natives. The Koreans are, perhaps, the most expert stone-throwers in the world, and their skill in that respect would put even a Belfast Orangeman to shame. When we were told that huge piles of stones were collected on the road to the town, with which to welcome us if we endeavoured to approach it, our curiosity had to remain ungratified. Later on in the same year (1875) an incident occurred which became the *proxima causa* of the opening of Korea to the world. A gunboat, while surveying the coasts, was fired on by a

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small fort. The fire was promptly returned, and a landing party destroyed the fort, and brought away with it spoils of war in the shape of guns, banners, drums, &c., all of which were exhibited in the military museum at Tokio. The insult to the flag had been most amply revenged, but once more the pride of the Japanese people was keenly roused and punitive measures called for. Japan was now in a very different position to that of 1871, and felt herself able at all points to impress her will upon such a Power as Korea. A great expedition was prepared, though it was much stronger in appearance than reality; two of the ablest members of the Government, a great soldier and a still greater diplomatist, accompanied it; but when it reached Korean shores diplomacy took the place of force, and a treaty was concluded by the terms of which two ports were opened to the trade and residence of Japanese subjects. Other nations soon followed Japan's example, and Korea was at last open to the world.

Throughout all the negotiations she had been treated both by Japan and the other nations as an independent kingdom, with which diplomacy was to be conducted on a footing of perfect international equality. But, while assuming or consenting to this equality *vis-à-vis* Japan and European Powers, Korea still clung to China's suzerainty, and China retained a controlling influence in her affairs, both foreign and domestic, an influence which was invariably exerted to keep the Koreans within their old limits of narrow-minded conservatism and prejudice. Japan was not fortunate in many respects. Rowdies of the worst class—and a very offensive and truculent class it is, *pace* the politeness and suavity that are so eminently characteristic of the Japanese people in general—were to be found in numbers at the open ports, and their treatment of the docile, broken-spirited natives was not such as to soften the traditional hatred of the latter. In 1882 the legation at the capital was attacked and burned by a mob, and the Minister and his staff, which included a few policemen, trained to bear arms, did not escape without loss of life. Their cool courage, however, kept them together, and the majority succeeded in reaching the coast, twenty miles distant, where they were rescued by an English man-of-war that fortunately happened to be surveying in the neighbourhood. The legation was soon rebuilt and occupied, but for its protection from that time Japan claimed and exercised the right of maintaining a force of troops in the capital, just as in the early days of her own foreign intercourse England and France had both stationed troops in Yokohama to secure to their countrymen resident there the protection which could not be relied on from the tottering Government of the Shogun. This right was recognised by China, and by a convention arranged between the two countries in 1885 it was agreed that both should have the privilege of stationing troops in Korea, but that due notice should be given by each to the other of any intention to exercise it whenever it became necessary.

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The history of the succeeding nine years is one of constant bickerings between the two countries. Japan was neither well nor judiciously served by her representatives at the capital of Korea. China was, on the other hand, always represented by an able, determined, and astute agent, who maintained a controlling voice in all matters of internal Korean policy. Throughout this period the Korean Government showed no improvement on what it had been when the country was opened to foreign residence. It continued hopelessly corrupt and at the same time weak and vacillating, its sole guiding principles being the selfish ones of personal or family aggrandisement. All important offices were exclusively held by members of the Queen's family, who were devoted to the interests of and ready to obey any orders that emanated from China. The Japanese, already recognising how deeply the welfare of Korea affected their own national security, were earnestly anxious to promote salutary measures of reform in the administration, but found every effort thwarted by Chinese interference. The wretched people, ill governed, taxed beyond all limits of endurance, and ruthlessly plundered by extortionate and unscrupulous farmers of the revenue, were on several occasions driven into open insurrection, but in every instance the outbreak was suppressed either by the Government itself or by the aid of Chinese troops. At last, in 1894, a more serious outbreak than usual occurred, and a fresh force of the best Chinese troops, a portion of the army efficiently drilled and well equipped at Tientsin by Li Hung Chang, was promptly sent to crush it, notice of its despatch being at the same time communicated to the Government of Japan, as required by the terms of the Convention of 1885. Japan's patience was now exhausted. She, in her turn, also sent troops, who occupied the capital, insisted that the suppression of the rebellion should be accompanied by a thorough reform of the administration, in order to assure future peace, order, and good government, and definitely refused once and for all to recognise China's continued suzerainty. The China and Japan war followed. Everywhere, both on sea and land, Japanese arms were victorious, and when peace was made one of its conditions was the acknowledgment by China of the absolute independence of Korea. Her active interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom was at an end along with her suzerainty, and Japan, raised to the position of a great Power by her victories and the evidence she had given of military strength, deficient in no detail of skill, organisation, and valour, at last seemed to have within her grasp a free field for promoting in Korea those reforms which had proved so much to the advantage of her own progress. Ill-fortune, however, continued to pursue her, and new difficulties arose in place of those which had been caused by China.

After the conclusion of the war the King of Korea turned to and placed his reliance on Japan. The hatred of the powerful family

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of the Queen, the members of which found themselves threatened with the loss of their offices and all the cherished opportunities of illegal enrichment which those offices gave, on the other hand, continued in an intensified form, and the influence of the family was still strong enough to constitute a serious obstacle in the paths of effective reform. Japan was once more most unfortunately represented at the capital by a soldier who showed himself entirely destitute of tact, foresight, or even the most ordinary discretion. What share he had, how far he was directly responsible for what occurred, is not publicly known, but that he had some was evidently recognised by the Japanese Government itself, as he was removed from office and has since never been employed again in any official capacity. Be that as it may an outbreak occurred in the Korean capital in 1895. A party of Korean malcontents, accompanied and aided, if not actually led, by Japanese soldiers, broke into the palace and murdered the Queen and a great number of her relatives. All the gruesome details of this unhappy incident, as great an outrage on humanity, as ruthlessly and cruelly perpetrated, as the recent murder of the Queen of Servia, are told in full in Mrs. Bishop's admirable book on Korea. Its direct consequences were that the King, terrified both by the Japanese in his capital and by a section of his own subjects, fled for refuge to the Russian Legation, and from that moment Japanese ascendency was at an end, and Russia, as a dominant factor in all the details of Korean politics, stepped into the place that was formerly occupied by China. The Minister who had served his country so ill was replaced by Baron Komura, at the present moment Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose diplomatic ability was as conspicuous as the lack of it in his predecessor. But it was too late.

The possibility of Russian aggression in Korea has always been contemplated by Japan, ever since she began to direct her attention to foreign politics. When the collapse of China as a military Power was followed by the Russian occupation of Manchuria, and at the same time the Trans-Asian railway was completed, what originally appeared to be only a contingency of the remote future became a present and immediate danger. Japanese statesmen have never allowed any mistake to become current as to their views on Korea, which have had the hearty and unanimous support of the people and their parliamentary representatives and of the press. Whatever differences may prevail as to internal affairs there has never been a shade of discord as to this element in their foreign policy. Failing her continued independence, Korea must come under the protection or into the possession of Japan, and of Japan alone. Russia was now within easy striking distance of Korea, and the actions of her agents have showed that they are ready to take every advantage of all opportunities offered to them to extend their country's dominions by foul or fair means. History repeats itself, and there is a curious similarity

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between the events antecedent to the China-Japan war of 1894 and those which have gradually led up to the present crisis. Just as before the war the Chinese agent was all-powerful and able, by his own strength of character, backed by what was believed by all the world to be a great military Power, to impose his will upon the timorous, ignorant, and dishonest Government, so in recent years the most influential figures in the capital have been the Russian representatives, always able, determined, and unscrupulous, steadfastly pursuing one well-defined object, backed not only by a great military Power but by the personal gratitude of the Korean King (now Emperor) for protection in the past and relied upon by him for a continuation of that protection in the future. Japan has not again fallen into the errors of entrusting her interests to incapable agents. She has sent her best men to Korea; but it would require not one but many decades to wipe out the memory of the unhappy event of 1895, and her representative has always been in the cold, while that of Russia is freely admitted to the innermost confidence of the King and his ministers. But as she had done with China so Japan, struggling against all difficulties, has earnestly endeavoured to come to terms with Russia by diplomacy, and to secure Korea's safety by peaceful measures.

With those objects in view she has concluded two formal conventions with the Russian Government, the first arranged in May 1896 between the representatives of the two empires at the Korean capital, one of whom was Baron Komura. It provided that, pending the establishment of order, each Government might maintain in Korea a maximum force of 800 troops for the protection of its legation and existing settlements at the capital and at the principal open ports, and that the Japanese might, in addition to this, maintain a further force of 200 gendarmes, to be stationed in small detachments at various points along the telegraph line from Fusan to the capital, these 200 gendarmes being thus spread over a distance of nearly 300 miles. This telegraph was originally erected for military purposes during the China and Japan war, and its continued maintenance on the conclusion of the war was sanctioned in proper official form by the Korean Government. Russia has heretofore had no settlements and few subjects in Korea, and not even a pretence of commercial interests. She has, therefore, never had any occasion to avail herself of the terms of the Convention. Japan has, on the other hand, important settlements at every port open to foreigners. The aggregate number of resident Japanese, engaged solely in commercial or industrial pursuits, exceeds 23,000. They have large vested interests in real property, three-fourths of all the foreign trade and shipping are in their hands, and if the purely commercial interests of Japan in Korea are far subsidiary to her political they are by no means of an insignificant nature.

By the second convention, concluded at Tokio in 1898 between

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Baron Nishi, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Baron Rosen, the Russian Minister, both Governments 'definitely recognised the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually pledged themselves to abstain from every direct interference in its internal affairs;' and that of Russia further pledged itself 'not to obstruct the development of industrial and commercial relations between Japan and Korea.' All these undertakings of both conventions were faithfully observed by Russia, as long as it suited her to do so, and that period lasted only until her military resources in the Far East reached a stage of development which she thought would enable her to meet Japan on equal terms.

When the Korean king was, under the circumstances already described, a refugee in the Russian Legation in his own capital in 1896, it appears that a concession was granted by him to a Russian subject for cutting timber in the valley of the river Yalu, on the north-western frontier. This concession, obtained under circumstances sufficient to vest it with very grave suspicion, has never been made public; its exact terms are unknown, and nothing was heard of it till the summer of last year, when Tokio was startled by the news that large numbers of Chinese labourers had been drafted from Manchuria across the Korean frontier, and that timber-felling on an extensive scale under Russian direction was begun. Further news soon came that the labourers were being followed by soldiers, both of the regular infantry and Cossacks, who, it was alleged, were necessary to protect them from the mounted Chinese bandits that infested the wild districts in Manchuria immediately to the north of the Yalu. Land was required to provide quarters for the soldiers and Russian settlers, and though the sale of land to foreigners outside the limits of the recognised settlements is forbidden by Korean law a large tract of many hundred acres in extent was purchased, it was said, from the Korean owners. This land is situated at Yong Ampho, a riverside port on the Yalu, about fifteen miles from its mouth. Substantial dwellings, sawmills, and other buildings were promptly erected on it, the river frontage embanked, and every intention displayed of creating a large settlement. A little further up the river, on the Manchurian side, is the port of Antung, which has been opened to foreign trade and residence by the treaty signed by China and the United States on the 8th of October last, the ratifications of which have just been exchanged. A small island lies in the river midway between the two ports, so that the crossing is easy, and it was at this place that the Japanese invading army first entered Manchuria from Korea in the war. Yong Ampho is capable of being made into an excellent harbour at little cost; it is, in fact, said to be one of the ten best harbours in Korea. If its possession is combined with that of Antung, on the opposite bank of the river, and now, like the rest of Manchuria, in Russian occupation, the estuary and entire length of the Yalu can be

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closed to all approach from the sea. A fort was soon erected on the highest part of the acquired land, guns were mounted, and a garrison established in it. A second fort was commenced on the Manchurian side, on a cliff commanding the river, a few miles further up. The timber-cutting was at the same time extended far beyond the limits contemplated in the original concession. The Korean Government in vain protested strongly against these proceedings. The local governor of Wiju, the most important frontier town and the capital of the prefecture, who was ordered to stop the illegal sale of real estate, reported that the Russian methods rendered him powerless—that the Russians simply took possession of the land in the first instance, with or without the consent of the native owners, and went through the form of buying it afterwards. The Russian representative, in answer to the Korean protests, declared that the 'valley of the Yalu' included not only the line of the river itself throughout its entire length, but all its tributaries and all the adjoining districts, and that a concession to cut timber implied the privilege of exercising every operation incidental to it, in no matter how remote a degree. He claimed, therefore, the right to construct railways or roads, erect telegraphs, acquire land for building purposes without any specific license from the Korean Government to do so, and to take whatever military measures appeared to be prudent for the protection of the Russian settlers engaged in all or any of these works.

Japan had before her eyes the object lesson of Manchuria. Russia had, commencing with the leasing of a small portion of the Liao Tung peninsula, gradually extended her military occupation over the whole of Manchuria. It was true that she had promised to evacuate it on specified dates, but when the time came for the fulfilment of the promises, made with every formality that can bind a nation, they had been disregarded with cynical effrontery. Garrisons, instead of being withdrawn, were strengthened; forts and barracks were built in the best strategic positions—hastened on by working day and night—and every indication was given of an intention to make the occupation permanent. Might not the same happen in the case of Korea? From the small tract of land leased at Yong Ampho—illegally leased, it may be, but securely occupied under the lease—would not Russia gradually, as she felt herself strong enough, extend herself southwards throughout the entire Korean peninsula?

As Japan had done with China nearly twenty years previously, so now again she appealed to diplomacy. The Japanese Minister urged the Korean Government to declare both Yong Ampho and the town of Wiju, further up the river, open to foreign trade and residence. The interests which all foreign nations would then acquire in the district would be an insuperable bar to its becoming an exclusive sphere of Russian influence. He was strongly supported both by the British and United States representatives, but the Russian Minister

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promptly interfered and peremptorily forbade it. The Government, absolutely under his influence, though at first very ready to act upon the advice which had been given to it, lost courage and yielded, and the district was not opened. Both the conventions that have been quoted were thus violated by Russia in their most essential items. She had stationed troops in Korean dominions without a figment of pretence that they were necessary for the protection of existing settlements, and she had acquired land in places not open to the residence of foreigners in defiance of the provisions of Korean law. In both respects she had outraged the sovereignty of Korea as an independent kingdom, which she had solemnly bound herself to recognise. She had then impeded the development of Japanese trade and industry by arbitrarily preventing the opening of new ports and undisguisedly exposing her intention to reserve an entire district for the exclusive occupation of her own subjects and to close them for ever to Japanese enterprise. All these facts were duly chronicled in the Tokio press, and the spirit of the Japanese was deeply moved, but at the same time the entire nation exhibited a degree of patience and self-restraint which testifies to the existence in their character of a phase heretofore unsuspected even by those who know them best. Their national pride was already outraged by what had occurred in regard to Manchuria. A small portion of it had been ceded to Japan in 1895 as part of the spoils which she had fairly won in war. From that she had been forced to withdraw by Russia and the two European Powers that acted in conjunction, on the grounds that her occupation of the Manchurian littoral was prejudicial to the continued peace of the East. Japan had then no choice but to submit. She was exhausted by the war she had just concluded, her military magazines depleted of stores, and her ships, after six months' continuous buffeting in the winter seas of North China, in no state fit to face fresh enemies. But the humiliation then sank into the hearts of the nation, and when, a few years later, Russia not only took possession of the very district from which Japan had been ejected, but plainly evidenced her intention of absorbing the whole province of Manchuria, a bitter sense of injustice was added to the humiliation.

Japan has great commercial interests in Manchuria, both actual and potential. It is a country eminently suitable for the residence of her subjects, whose yearly increasing numbers demand fresh outlets for their industry. But these interests are shared by all the Western nations—England, the United States, and Germany—who are the chief competitors in the trade of the Far East, and Japan is now ready to forget the past and to ask nothing more for her own people than the full enjoyment of the commercial rights and privileges that are granted by treaty to her and other nations. If the safety and independence of Korea can be adequately secured she has no mission to act as the general champion of the world in regard to Manchuria, and she is willing on these two conditions to recognise the special interests which

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Russia has already acquired, which involve among them the efficient military protection of the railway to Port Arthur. But the safety and independence of Korea are of vital moment to her own national existence. Every menace to them is a direct menace also to her material and political interests, far beyond what it can be to those of any other Power, and she can assent to nothing which will either directly imperil them now or threaten to do so in the future.

There were, of course, exceptions to the general calm with which Russian proceedings were received. In June certain professors of the Imperial University of Tokio, all well known and distinguished men, issued a violent manifesto in which they urged the adoption of force for the immediate expulsion of Russia from Manchuria, if that expulsion could be obtained in no other way. If the Russians acquired possession of Manchuria, they said, how could the independence of Korea be secured? and if Russia ever became mistress of Korea would Japan not be the next object of attack? The Diet, on its meeting, gave signs of restiveness, and the press has had its loud-voiced Jingoes. But the professors received no support from the nation; their bellicose suggestions were unreservedly condemned in the leading journals; the Diet was promptly silenced, and the majority of the press—all the leading and most representative journals—have counselled negotiation with Russia as long as negotiation gave the slightest hopes of success. There is, however, a limit to all things, including the patience of the most long-suffering nation. While the negotiations have been protracted by Russia to the very extreme limit of ordinary diplomatic courtesy Japan has, at the same time, seen her steadily strengthening her military position, adding to her already large and powerful fleet in Eastern waters, pouring reinforcements into Manchuria as fast as they could be transported across the continent, concentrating her troops in strong strategic positions, and in every sense more firmly closing her grasp on the whole of the district which she had solemnly promised to evacuate, and everything that she did was believed in Japan to be preparatory to an ultimate march on Korea. The wonder is that Japan, in the face of the continued provocation she has received, has not struck before. Now she may perhaps be driven into striking the first blow; but even if that be so the war will on her part be as purely defensive as any that has ever been waged in history, and will be entered upon by her with the utmost reluctance, actuated by no selfish motives of aggression, only as the very last resource for the preservation of what she considers essential to her national safety. No nation can be more anxious for peace, but if guarantees for the future immunity of Korea from Russian aggression, more substantial than covenants and treaties, cannot be obtained without war, then war must be undertaken, no matter what its cost, no matter how uncertain its outcome or the terrible wide-world issues it may ultimately involve.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

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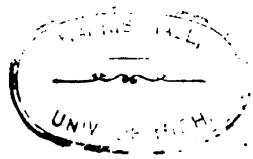

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

In some respects the current of political affairs has been moving rapidly in Australia, and for that reason it is interesting to see how far the religious difficulty in primary education has been solved by the Governments at the other side of the world.

It is very generally understood in England that the primary education of the Australian States is in the direct charge of the various State Governments, that it is supported not from rates but from taxes, and that it is administered not by local bodies but by Government departments. It is not so generally understood that the religious difficulty has been admirably met in some States, while in others religious privileges have been reduced to the vanishing point. The various Acts dealing with primary education were passed during the decade commencing 1870, and in all, with the exception of that of New South Wales, it was provided that only secular instruction shall be given during school hours and by school teachers in any State school building, while it was further provided that religious teaching may be given by clergymen of various denominations, or their representatives, in the State school buildings, but *not during school hours*. The Queensland State Education Act of 1875 can fairly be taken as representative of others in this respect. Clause 5 provides:

> In State schools and provisional schools secular instruction only shall be given, and no teacher shall give any other than secular instruction in any State school building. Provided that such restriction shall not apply except during school hours to any teacher in any school receiving aid under the twelfth clause of this Act.
>
> But nothing herein contained shall prevent State school buildings from being used for the purpose of giving religious instruction or any other purpose permitted by the regulations at such times (other than those set apart for giving secular instruction therein), and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the regulations.

The result of these Acts from a religious point of view will not surprise many. In the first flush of victory the exponents of secularism logically excluded everything that might be considered to entrench upon the peculiar work of the Churches. They were guilty even of the vandalism of excising from the late Mr. Longfellow's *Wreck of the Hesperus* the verse commencing 'And the maiden raised

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her hands in prayer,' although it is only fair to add that in the Victorian edition of the school readers the verse is said to have been replaced, while in Queensland, where the poem still remains in a mutilated condition, many passages of a more distinctly religious character are read in school. It was, of course, assumed in these Acts that religious and secular education could be separated, and that the State and the Churches would be fully able to undertake their respective share in the work naturally apportioned to them by this division. The State, on the whole, has succeeded admirably in the narrow lines indicated for itself, but the Churches not unnaturally have failed to fulfil an impossible task. The so-called opportunities for giving religious teaching outside school hours have been found to be useless for two reasons. In the first place, they add to the school day, which is sufficiently long already, and secondly, they place religious teaching in competition with tops and marbles, which is not calculated to impress the average boy with the dignity of religion or with a love for religious ministrations. As a matter of fact, numbers of devoted clergymen endeavour to take advantage of the provisions of the Acts either in the State school buildings or by holding daily instruction classes in their respective churches. A few are successful in gathering together interested bands of children, and the amount of good they do in the desert of secular teaching is incalculable. But even these successful ones, with scarcely an exception, allow that the number of children that pass through their hands is infinitesimally small compared with those whose inclination leads them to outdoor games, and whose parents do not exercise any compulsion upon them. In the vast majority of schools the provisions are inoperative either through the remoteness of the school or because the number of pupils is so great that a dozen men would form too small a band to effectively undertake the task during the very restricted time allowed by the Act.

The religious bodies have also tried to cope with the task by Sunday schools, and here, again, the work done has been almost incalculably beneficial to individual children. But it must be remembered that while Sunday school teaching may be an excellent addition to religious education, it can never take the place of the regular daily instruction in the schools. The Sunday school teachers, for the most part, are untrained in the art of teaching, while the time for teaching is absurdly inadequate. Again, the Sunday schools only reach in Australia, as in England, a portion of the whole number of children. Some years ago the writer had occasion to compare the various Church statistics of the number of children attending the Sunday schools of Queensland with the Government statistician's estimate of the number of children in the State. Unfortunately the exact results of those inquiries are not available in England, but it was found that almost half the children of the State in question did not attend any Sunday school,

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while only a small percentage attended regularly. A public statement upon the 'failure of Sunday schools' to realise the anticipations of the first framers of the State Education Act called forth much angry comment at the time, but the net result of the controversy was that the Church of England children were allowed to be more neglected than those of other religious bodies, this being largely due to the fact that in Queensland the Church of England is the largest body numerically, and includes among its adherents the most isolated people in the State. As a further result of the controversy a certain head teacher of one of the largest Brisbane State schools conducted a private religious examination of his pupils. He discovered an abysmal ignorance of the simplest Biblical knowledge among children who did not belong to any submerged residuum of the population, and who all had the opportunity of attending Sunday school. The discovery was not surprising, for it is the rule, and not the exception, for teachers to find children ignorant of the simplest facts of the Gospel, and the writer has found more than one ignorant of the name of the Saviour.

The ultimate effect of this divorce of secular and religious teaching will probably not be fully recognised for some time to come. Conduct is still largely dependent upon subconscious motives, but the signs of the times are already evident. It is in itself suggestive that the Queensland Education Department is issuing printed cards containing moral precepts and rules of conduct for use in the State schools. Concerning the rules themselves there is little to say but good. It is when the reason for their validity is sought that their inadequacy becomes apparent. Let it be said, for instance, that there is a rule inculcating obedience to parents. Filial obedience is admirable, and is probably essential to the progress of national life. The idea is a useful one to instil into the juvenile mind; but suppose some budding Socrates asks why he should obey his parents. A well-known Sydney University professor tells the story of a distressed father who asked a Melbourne State school teacher to remonstrate with his habitually disobedient son. The State school teacher argued earnestly from a purely secular standpoint. The father clothed and fed him, and the boy should bear these benefits well in mind. The offender looked down at his clothes and disallowed the reasonableness of this sanction for conduct in something like the following words: 'My clothes don't cost father much, and I don't reckon that beef and rice pudding is any sort of tucker. I don't think I shall do any different, sir.' It may be argued that the father was not worthy of the boy's respect. Probably he was not, but the boy had none the less found out the weakness of the particular sanction for conduct. If the State school teacher had gone a step farther in his argument, he would probably have received an answer not unknown in England, that the boy had not asked to be brought into the world. It is here only possible to vouch for the veracity of the relater of this anecdote, but all intelligent

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teachers have long recognised the fact that the better kind of the Australian youth demands an intelligible sanction for his moral conduct. Some years ago the writer was speaking to a confirmation class of youths drawn mostly from the local grammar school upon the eighth commandment, enforcing the precept of honesty upon the basis of true self-interest. The boys were both intelligent and receptive, but a few days later one of them remarked: 'I have been thinking over what you said, and it certainly must be a great advantage for a man to have a good character and reputation. I have, however, no money, and will find it difficult to get a start in life. If I could get that start by winning a prize in Tattersall's sweeps, or even by a bit of the sharp business which the majority of men would not think wrong, I think, on the whole, I should do better than by following your advice.' The boy was as frank as any English public-school boy, but he had been brought up in another atmosphere than that which regards Christian sanctions as an integral part of education. To his teacher his words demonstrated the weakness of utilitarian reasons for conduct, and the necessity for prefacing all Christian rules for moral duties in the stern language of Holy Scripture—'God spake these words.'

In New South Wales, however, a far more liberal and reasonable system of education has prevailed. The Public Instruction Act of that State was passed in 1880, when the secular wave which swept over the continent had probably lost much of its strength. It provided the following sections:

(7) In all schools under this Act the teaching shall be strictly non-sectarian, but the words 'secular instruction' shall be held to include general religious teaching, as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology.

(17) In every public school four hours during each school day shall be devoted to secular instruction exclusively, and a portion of each day, not more than one hour, shall be set apart when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teacher of such persuasion, but in all cases the pupils receiving such religious instruction shall be separated from the other pupils of the school. And the hour during which such religious instruction may be given shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the Public School Board in consultation with the teacher of such school and the clergyman of the district, or such other person as may be duly authorised to act in his stead, and any class room of any public school may be used for such religious instruction by like agreement. Provided that if two or more clergymen of different persuasions desire to give religious instruction at any school, the children of each such different persuasion shall be so instructed on different days. Provided also that the religious instruction to be so given shall in every case be the religious instruction authorised by the Church to which the clergyman or other religious teacher may belong. Provided, further, that in case of the non-attendance of any clergyman or religious teacher during any portion of the period agreed to be set apart for religious instruction, such period shall be devoted to the ordinary secular instruction in such school.

(18) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the last preceding section, no pupil in a public school shall be required to receive any general or special

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religious instruction if the parents or guardians of such pupil object to such religious instruction being given.

The definition of the word 'secular' is, to say the least, notable. It may be in perfect harmony with the meaning of the Latin term to which it owes its origin. It is certainly in accordance with that Christian idea of education which refuses to separate the moral from the intellectual. But it is illogical from the purely legal point of view. Illogical however as it may be, the religious provisions of the Public Instruction Act of New South Wales have worked well for twenty-three years, and form perhaps the most successful and fair attempt made in any part of the world to deal with this problem of education. The text-books used by the public-school teachers of New South Wales are the Irish National series, which were framed to meet the requirements of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland; and are nothing more or less than paraphrases of the Authorised and Douay versions of the Scriptures. They may need revising, but they are good text-books because they are faithful to the entirety of the Scriptures. In 1899 opportunity was afforded the writer of witnessing instruction given under Clause 7 in the Fort Street School, which is one of the largest city schools in Sydney. The teachers seemed to be drawn from every religious section of the community, and in all cases the lessons were admirably given. The headmaster gave a lesson to a large senior class of boys upon the 'Sermon on the Mount,' and it was deeply impressive to see the forest of arms lifted up by those young striplings when the teacher asked successive questions from the great exposition of Christian conduct. It may be interesting to state that about twenty Jews left the room, before the class opened, to receive special secular instruction. If the Bible lesson had been taken from the Old Testament they would probably have remained.

Clause 17 is largely used throughout the State, and especially in the Sydney diocese, where an admirable system of diocesan inspection and examination prevails.[1] The Church of England is said to take much greater advantage of the privilege than any other religious body, but the sum-total of the special instruction given has been lately stated in Sydney by the Minister for Public Instruction to be inadequate. It is seldom that any class received more than one hour's special instruction during any one week, and to give this in almost any school requires the constant work of at least one man

[1] The *New Zealand Guardian* for December 1903 states that in the Sydney diocese there are 431 schools, and in 220 of these special religious instruction is given in accordance with Clause 17 of the Act. During the last twelve months for which statistics were available, 7768 visits were made by the parochial clergy and 3140 visits by salaried teachers paid from the diocesan funds, making a total of 10,908 visits. The total number of lessons given during the year was at least 14,048. The average number of lessons given in each school during the same period was at least 32·6.

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from 9.30 A.M. to 4 P.M. on a given day. The day and hour for each class are settled by the head teacher and the local clergymen at the commencement of the half-year.

The Department of Public Instruction for the State of New South Wales is justly proud of the working of the Act, as may be seen from the following official report:

Section 7 of the Public Instruction Act provides that general religious teaching shall form part of the course of secular instruction. This religious teaching is placed on exactly the same footing as geography, grammar, or any other subject. At the annual inspection of schools the failure of any class to reach the standard in Scripture would tell against the teacher, just as satisfactory work would tell in his favour. In the junior classes, when children are unable to read, all lessons are given orally, in the form of lectures, and generally cover a complete course of Old and New Testament history. In classes above the second, the Irish National Board's Scripture lesson-books are regularly read. There are two volumes of Old and two of New Testament which have to be gone through. The standards, pages 34 to 43, under the heading Scripture, show how the lessons are distributed. All teachers, irrespective of creed, are required to teach these Scripture lessons, and in no case has any refusal to do so taken place, nor has any complaint ever been made to the department that the lessons have been ridiculed or made light of. Section 18 of the Act and 118 of the Regulations allow a parent to withdraw his children from all religious instruction by notifying his wish in writing to the teacher. As a matter of fact, such notifications are so few that for statistical purposes they may be said not to exist. The general outcome of the instruction is that all pupils receive a substantial knowledge of Scripture history, and are made acquainted with the moral teaching contained in the Bible.

With the view of obtaining a wide expression of opinion upon the question as to whether the Irish National Board Scripture lessons are advantageous in promoting the moral and intellectual education of the pupils in public schools, a circular was addressed to all inspectors of schools under this department, requesting them to state their views upon the matter. It was found that the large majority of these officers expressed a decided opinion that the Scripture lessons are calculated to exercise a beneficial effect upon the pupils both morally and intellectually. The following extract from the report of one of our most experienced inspectors may be taken as representing the true value of the lessons: 'In cases where teachers deal with the books as they would with ordinary class-books, giving an intelligent exposition of the subject-matter of the lessons, testing by examination to what extent the pupils comprehend its scope and meaning, and dwelling with judicious force and impressiveness upon such points of religion and morals as these lessons inculcate, there can be no doubt whatever of the benefits accruing. I believe that, in about 50 per cent. of our schools, these lessons have been so treated.'

Outside this 'general' religious instruction, Section 17 of the Act provides for what is called 'special' religious instruction. Any recognised clergyman, or other teacher, authorised by his Church, has the right to give to the children of his own denomination one hour's religious instruction daily. Unlike the general instruction, this may consist of worship and purely sectarian teaching. It is given during the ordinary school hours, and where two or more clergymen of different denominations visit, the teacher, the clergymen, and the School Board find no difficulty in making arrangements to suit all concerned. As a rule, no teacher of special religious instruction visits more than once a week.

There are no sectarian difficulties in working the clauses providing for general or special religious instruction, because the system has always formed a

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part of the school routine of the Colony, and probably only a small percentage of parents would like a change made, unless it were in the direction of giving more, and not less, religious teaching.

The above report is a highly impressive document, and has special bearing upon many difficulties which are forcing themselves upon the attention of thoughtful people in England. It shows that some of the dangers which many suppose will accompany the entrance of various religious ministers into primary schools are practically non-existent. The right of entrance is highly valued by the Church authorities, and even where it is not exercised by the parochial clergy children receive in the public schools of New South Wales (which answer to the State schools of Victoria and Queensland) instruction which forms a sound and valuable basis, in the case of Anglicans, for more distinctive Church teaching, while the best antidote for any incipient 'undenominationalism' is found in the clergy taking advantage of Clause 17.

It is also interesting to note that in Australia the present stream of educational opinion seems to be setting back from the direction in which it is apparently flowing in England. Western Australia has frankly adopted into its own enactment both Clauses 7 and 17 of the New South Wales Act. Tasmania has only gone so far as to allow the clergy to teach their own children during school hours. Victoria for some time has been agitating for provisions not very dissimilar to those of the London School Board. While in South Australia and Queensland the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Lutherans, the Baptists, and the Methodists have united in demanding the introduction into the Education Acts of their respective States of privileges similar to those enjoyed in New South Wales. Two years ago, at the late Premier's suggestion, the writer, acting in connection with the Bible in State Schools League, organised a referendum to the parents of children attending the State schools of Queensland. In round figures 23,000 parents expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of the New South Wales religious clauses, only 1400 expressed themselves unfavourably, and about 3000 declined to express any opinion. The referendum was naturally imperfect from the fact that the Education Department only supplied somewhat ancient school lists; but the result represented such a weight of opinion that Mr. R. Philp promised to conduct at the coming general election a State referendum, which he had previously declined to do, and then to abide by the result of that appeal. Since that promise was made there has been a change of government in Queensland, and whether the new Premier, the Hon. A. Morgan, will have the wisdom to test the country's desire for educational reform remains to be seen.

The whole development of primary education in Australia is also instructive as bearing upon the course of affairs in England.

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In early days [writes Mr. T. A. Coghlan, the eminent statistician of New South Wales] the religious bodies were naturally the first to build schools and provide teachers, but there was always a large proportion of persons who objected to denominationalism, principally those who belonged to denominations which were not subsidised by the State; hence there arose a national or non-sectarian system which has in course of time almost monopolised the educational field.

Mr. Coghlan further sums up the development in New South Wales, which may be taken as a fair type of that in other States, as follows:

In New South Wales, for many years, a dual system of education was in existence. The four State-aided denominations—the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan bodies—had schools supported by annual votes from Parliament, administered under the control of the head of each denomination for the time being. There were also National schools, likewise supported by the State, but under the control of a Board appointed by the Government. This plan was found to be costly and wasteful in the extreme, for in many country towns there were in existence several small and inefficient competing schools where the total number of children was not more than sufficient for one well-conducted establishment. So strongly was this evil felt that changes in the law were made from time to time, until at length the denominational system was abolished altogether, and one general and comprehensive plan of public instruction adopted in its place. This reform was not accomplished without much agitation, extending over a considerable period. A league was formed with the object of securing the establishment of secular, compulsory, and free education, and in 1880, under the auspices of Sir Henry Parkes, the measure establishing the present system became law. Education in the public schools is now non-sectarian, though facilities are afforded to clergymen to give religious instruction within specified school hours to children whose parents belong to their denomination and desire that this instruction shall be given.

The buildings belonging to the State-aided schools remained after the aid was withdrawn the property of the respective Churches, and in the majority of cases were gradually closed as the stress of competition with the State schools was felt. There are, however, still existing in the Commonwealth some primary schools, belonging principally to the Roman Catholics and Church of England, which received no grant from the respective Governments of the various States. Exact statistics for these schools are not procurable, but the enrolment of State school pupils for the year 1901 numbered 593,824, or a percentage of 15·61 of the whole population, while the enrolment of all the private schools (which include secondary schools) amounted in the same year to 150,105; that is, a percentage of 3·95 of the population. Private schools are said to have increased largely in New South Wales since 1891.

Any reader of this article will notice that, granting much dissimilarity in detail, the state of affairs in New South Wales in the seventies was not altogether dissimilar in point of fact to what it is in England to-day, and some will feel strongly that the ultimate end

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of the present educational disputes must be found, as it was in Australia, in the Government taking over all primary education to which it extends support from either rates or taxes. That this will be highly unacceptable to many of the most earnest and devoted Churchpeople in the country who can doubt? It was very disagreeable to Churchmen in Australia, and the echoes of a storm of a quarter of a century ago can still be heard, testifying to its strength when it raged throughout the six States of the Commonwealth. The whole system of State-conducted education which emerged from the storm has, however, 'proved in the highest degree creditable to these young communities.' This can be affirmed without reserve of New South Wales and Western Australia. It must be modified with regard to the other States where religious and secular education are divorced, and where the system is helping to make a religious desert for the sake of maintaining denominational peace.

The Durham Concordat, which has rightly attracted so much attention in England, will strike Australians as being a definite step towards the position which they have reached. It will also strike them as an honest attempt to arrive at a *modus vivendi* between Voluntary and Provided schools until the natural end of the controversy. From a Churchman's point of view it safeguards the Church's right to the school buildings by the County Council's payment of a legal rent. It provides for some instruction in Biblical knowledge, and it allows the principle that the clergy have the solemn right of teaching Church children those tenets which they believe are generally necessary for salvation. The chief flaws in the Concordat seem to the writer to be that there is no assurance that the Biblical primers will be so full as to be acceptable to Churchmen. Little could probably be said in reason against the Irish National Readers, or the London School Board books, but much could justly and strongly be urged against the Biblical lessons of certain Municipal School Boards. Probably no thoroughly satisfactory assurance can be given until the next Education Bill has been framed and passed. Again, the Concordat appears to fail through the County Council's timidity with regard to the entrance of the clergy, or their representatives, into the schools. Why should the clergy be restricted in their entrance to one day, and for their lesson to any particular hour, provided that steps are taken to ensure that none attend their classes except those whose parents desire it, and that the school curriculum, when once arranged, shall not be disturbed during any one half-year? There are others beside Church of England clergymen who think that all religious instruction should be given by distinctly religious agents, and their right should be safeguarded, provided that this liberty does not interfere with the liberty of those who think otherwise. An ingenious person can doubtless revel in imaginary complications which may arise. The verdict of experience in Australia shows that complications do not arise. Few clergymen can go on more than

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one day in the week to any school, although many devote the whole of that one day to the greatest of all works, going from class to class, according to definite school routine, and working in perfectly good relations with the teachers. Indeed, the answers to many questions put to both clergy and teachers in New South Wales are almost invariably alike. The clergy say, 'We receive nothing but kindness and consideration from the teachers.' The teachers say, 'We find that the children are the better for special instruction, and we wish the clergy would come more frequently.' Apropos of this it is not plain that the Durham County Council contemplate allowing the clergy the right of entrance into the Provided schools with the same restrictions as in the Voluntary schools. To an Australian this seems natural and fair, while in return he would think that it is only right that the representatives of other religious bodies should be admitted to teach their own children who may attend any Voluntary school.

The airy assertions of certain doctrinaires that the clergy can teach just as effectively before or after school hours as in them fail when touched by the verdict of experience. The writer has had exceptional opportunities for inquiring into this matter in many parts of Australia, and he has no hesitation in saying that such provisions are practically useless and visionary. Those who offer them are only offering the veriest shadow of religious education to the children. And, on the other hand, to those who know by sad experience what are the effects of purely secular education it sounds little less than wicked and indescribably foolish for clergymen to say that they will have nothing else if they cannot get all they want. For a large number of children a secular system means spiritual starvation. The individuals will suffer earliest from the folly of those who should be the first to supply their spiritual needs. The nation will suffer the most when the grandchildren of those who have never learned to know God have multiplied and possessed the land.

George H. Frodsham
(*Bishop of North Queensland*).

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THE NEBULÆ

In its strictest meaning the name 'nebula' belongs to such hazy, or cloud-like, objects in the sky as the spectroscope has definitely proved to be of a gaseous constitution. It may, however, also be applied to a far larger number as to whose nature great uncertainty still exists, no telescope having yet resolved them into stars, while at the same time their light does not give a gaseous spectrum. On the other hand, those objects which the defining power of a very large telescope proves to be composed of myriads of stars, although they present a nebulous appearance in smaller instruments, owing to the overlapping of the stellar images, are properly termed star-clusters.

In this article 'nebula' will have the wider of the two above-named meanings; and embrace the much larger class as to whose material composition we have no definite knowledge, as well as those which are known to be vast masses of gas.

Such nebulæ are very numerous. About ten thousand have been catalogued by telescopic observation. But the number recently revealed by prolonged photographic exposures is so great that it would seem that they may no longer be counted merely by tens, but more probably by hundreds, of thousands.

It can never be forgotten that Sir Wm. Huggins was the first, in August 1864, to prove with his spectroscope that any nebula was really gaseous—a great achievement, the importance of which, apart from its own intrinsic merit, was all the more vividly appreciated because of its opportuneness. It came at a time when Lord Rosse's great reflector, six feet in diameter, had resolved into stars several hitherto so-called nebulæ, which had obstinately remained cloud-like in all other telescopes. A widespread opinion had consequently obtained credence, not only among the general public but also among many professional astronomers, that greater telescopic power would resolve into constituent stars *all* the nebulæ. If so, their still unresolved nebulous appearance could only be due to the enormity of their distance. They were spoken of as, in all probability, '*universes*,' similar to our own universe of stars, but isolated from it at distances almost inconceivably great, and far beyond its utmost boundaries.

The spectroscope, however, at once overthrew this hypothesis in the case of all which it proved to be gaseous. It showed that they

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would still present a nebulous appearance, owing to their actual constitution, whether their distances from the earth might be greater or less. And it therefore also followed that they need not necessarily be beyond the confines of our own stellar system in order to present that appearance. This supposition, as we shall presently see, has been confirmed, until it approaches certainty, by various lines of subsequent investigation.

It is true that the hypothesis of universe beyond universe, occupying the furthest depths of space, until so distant that each would appear as a mere faintly-shining spot of light, was so fascinating that it was very hard to kill. It seemed to many to give a glory and a grandeur to the heavens around them which they could not bring themselves to resign.

It is, however, very grievous to find how little more of at all equal importance has been discovered with regard to nebulæ during the forty years that have since elapsed. In common with most of the other branches of the great science of astronomy it seems, at the present time, that nebular astronomy is teaching its students many a lesson of humility and patience. As the result of all the observations continuously amassed and discussed difficulties arise to puzzle and bewilder far more rapidly than they are solved. We climb on to the next rung of the ladder, but our higher standpoint only affords a wider view of the unknown, whose unsolved problems are thereby multiplied in a ratio far exceeding the amount of fresh knowledge gained.

It is not possible at present, for instance, to say with any certainty what is the distance from the earth of any single nebula; or what the precise constitution of the matter in it, even when it is chiefly gaseous; or what its temperature, or the effective cause of its light; or from what vapours the most characteristic lines of the spectra of the gaseous nebulæ arise.

In spite, however, of such a confession of ignorance, I will now endeavour to bring together a few of the most important suggestions of recent date as to the puzzling characteristics of these very remarkable bodies.

To do so at the present time may also be the more appropriate, since recent investigations into the nature and action of ions and electrons, of Röntgen and Becquerel and Blondlot rays, and above all, of the varied and well-nigh marvellously energetic emanations of radium cannot but suggest that, before long, some unexpected explanation may be found of the cause and maintenance of that luminosity in the nebulæ which is one of their greatest mysteries; in addition to which the later photographs of the recent new star in Perseus have further increased the interest of this subject, by showing that there may very probably be many additional nebulæ, unseen because unilluminated, scattered in the midst of the star-strewn heavens, besides all those whose light it is so difficult to explain.

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I have said that we are unable to speak definitely as to the actual distance of any nebula from the earth. With a few of the stars it is otherwise. In their case the shift of the earth's position, in the course of six consecutive months as it circles round the sun, produces a very minute, but nevertheless measurable, change in the directions in which they are seen, from which change of direction, technically termed parallax, their distances can be calculated. It results that the very nearest of the stars is at a distance of at least twenty-five millions of millions of miles from the earth; while all, except about forty, must be more than ten times as far away. The faintest visible to the naked eye (although some may be in themselves much brighter, or larger, than others) are probably, upon an average, a hundred times as distant as the nearest star. And beyond these, myriads upon myriads are at distances which, although finite, defy all accurate calculation.

No such measurable parallax, from which its distance might be deduced, has, however, yet been found for any nebula; one reason being that it is impossible, in such hazy, ill-defined bodies, to select sufficiently definite points from which to make the very delicate and accurate measurements needed. Nor can we judge of the comparative distances of various nebulæ in another way, which is useful in the case of stars. The stars, in general, possess certain small movements (determinable by telescopic observation) along the surface of the celestial sphere, which are termed proper motions. Although these movements are very small, some are much larger than others, and it is reasonably concluded that, upon an average, those stars which in this way appear to move the more rapidly are nearer to the earth than those whose corresponding movements appear to be slower. But no movements of this kind have been detected in the nebulæ; it may be because suitable observations have not yet been sufficiently long-continued; but chiefly, no doubt, for the reason already mentioned—viz. the lack of clearly defined points within their confines from which to make precise measurements.[1]

In neither way, therefore, has it been possible, up to the present time, either definitely to calculate the distance of any nebula, or even (except perhaps very slightly from the spectroscopic observations referred to in the footnote) to judge whether any given nebula may be nearer, or further away, than some of its compeers. It may, however, be hoped that, in the course of time, some definite solution of the problem of nebular distance may be attained, in a few cases, by the measurement, through a long series of years, of photographs specially taken for that purpose, in which some particularly well-defined

[1] The nebulæ, nevertheless, doubtless possess such proper motions, although they are as yet undetermined; for it has been found, by the aid of the spectroscope, in a few instances, that they have, in the perpendicular direction (*i.e.* towards or from the earth), velocities comparable in magnitude with those of the stars. Such observations are, however, so difficult and so few in number that they have afforded very little help towards any judgment as to the relative distances of the nebulæ in general.

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part may exhibit a permanency of form and brightness sufficient for accurate and repeated measurements of its place.

Nevertheless it is meanwhile very interesting to notice, as I will now proceed to explain, that various lines of argument, founded upon altogether independent classes of observations, combine, in a most remarkable manner, to show that stellar and nebular distances are of similar magnitude, and that both classes of bodies, as already stated, are consequently mingled together.

For instance, the well-known group of the Pleiades seems to be much infolded in nebulosity, more and more of which is apparent as the length of exposure and the sensitiveness of the plates used for its photography are increased. Of this nebulosity portions are seen to be clearly attached to certain of the principal stars, either surrounding them, or radiating from them in sprays and spirals; while, in some parts, it runs along almost like a rope, or ribbon, from star to star. It cannot but be, therefore, that the stars of the group and much of this nebulosity must be mixed together, and practically at the same distance from the earth.

On two occasions temporary stars have shone forth almost exactly in the middle of a nebula.[2] This coincidence of so central a position makes it almost certain that the stars were situated *in*, and not merely seen projected upon, these nebulæ.

Again, as was first noticed by Sir Wm. Herschel, a certain number of individual stars are surrounded with nebulosity, its amount varying, in all gradations, from a barely visible, hazy halo to an appearance which is almost entirely nebulous with only the faintest glimmer of a stellar point in its centre. Nebulosity, thus attendant upon any star, must of course be at the same distance as the star.

Once more, Sir Wm. Huggins, by comparing the bright lines in the spectra of certain stars in the central part of the great Orion nebula with those in the spectrum of the light of the nebula itself, found indications that these stars are physically bound up with it; while Professor Keeler, as well as Professor Campbell, although upon somewhat different grounds—viz. by observations of the absorption-lines of stars apparently seen upon it—have also pronounced in favour of a definite connection between some of those stars and the nebulosity.

Further, there are two remarkable objects in the southern heavens which look almost as if matter had been sent along some channel out of the Milky Way to form them. They are called the Nubecula Major and Minor, or sometimes the two Magellanic clouds, a name given to them in honour of the great navigator, Magellan, of the sixteenth century. When Sir John Herschel was at the Cape of Good Hope he carefully observed them. He found that the larger covered a space

[2] In a nebula in Scorpio in 1860, and in the Andromeda nebula in 1885.

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of about forty-two square degrees in the sky—*i.e.* about two hundred times the apparent disc of the full moon—and the smaller about ten square degrees. They are roughly circular, or slightly oval, in appearance, and are therefore doubtless approximately of a spherical form, as it is otherwise most improbable that both would present a similar shape simply as the result of any perspective foreshortening. Within them the telescope displays hundreds of stars (from the seventh magnitude downwards), hundreds of nebulæ, and numerous globular and other clusters of all degrees of resolvability. Whatever the actual distances and sizes of these nubeculæ may be, it can be shown, by an easy method of calculation, that their diameters, and consequently the difference between the distances of their nearest and furthest parts, must bear quite a moderate proportion to the whole distance of either from us. It may be concluded, therefore, as Sir J. Herschel pointed out, that, within their comparatively limited boundaries, and consequently at the same order of distance from us, nebulæ, stars, and star-clusters are all intermingled together.

Moreover, the best recent observations and researches connected with the spectra of stars increasingly support the belief that stars are formed out of nebulæ. In various parts of many nebulæ it is clearly seen that matter is condensed, or drawn together, either as a brighter surrounding of certain stars,[3] or in the form of knots, or ill-defined aggregations, which are probably stars in process of formation. And in some of those exceedingly close double stars recently discovered, which are termed spectroscopic binaries,[4] it is found that the periods and conditions of their mutual revolutions prove that they are of such very light density that they cannot differ much from a nebula in their constitution. Other considerations also make it very probable that they have been produced by the comparatively recent fracture, or disruption, of a nebula into two separate portions. But any stars thus formed from nebulæ must necessarily be at the same distances as the nebulæ from which they are formed.

It is also very remarkable that lines, or streams, of stars may often be noticed approximately running along the edge of some dark rift, or channel, in a great nebula. This certainly looks as if the matter, apparently wanting in such a channel, may have been, so to say, used up in the making of these stars. Once more, although somewhat more hypothetically, the belief that stellar and nebular distances from the earth are of similar magnitude is confirmed.

It would be easy to quote the opinion of one great astronomer after another in favour of this statement. But a single sentence may suffice, written by one of the most distinguished, Professor Young, in

[3] For instance, of a nebula near the first-magnitude star Antares, in Scorpio, Professor Barnard has said: 'It strongly condenses about certain bright stars, and thus unmistakably shows its connection with them.' See *Knowledge*, vol. xix. p. 205.

[4] See *The Nineteenth Century*, August 1900, pp. 293 *et seq.*

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his recently published *Lessons in Astronomy*: 'Like the star clusters, the nebulæ are within the stellar universe and not beyond its boundaries' (p. 281).

While, therefore, the actual distance of any nebula cannot at present be determined, it is, I think, of the highest interest to notice how all these various lines of argument mutually assure us that the nebulæ and the stars are intermingled in our universe, although most probably the nebulæ, as a rule, are located among the more distant rather than among the nearer stars.

From this another very interesting result immediately follows. The real size of a nebula, which appears to us to be of a certain apparent size, must of course depend upon its distance. If it be twice as far away, its linear dimensions must be twice as great, in order to make it appear of the given size; and so on. As we know not the actual distance of any nebula it must, therefore, be allowed that we cannot say what its actual length, or breadth, may measure. They may be ten times, or a hundred times, as great, if it should presently prove that we must assign a tenfold, or a hundredfold, greater distance to it. But it is most interesting to find, even if we take the very lowest possible estimate that can reasonably be suggested of what such a distance may be, that we are nevertheless certain that many of the nebulæ must be of startlingly huge proportions.

For instance, let us consider merely the very densest central part of the nebula in Orion—a portion the length, and breadth, of which may each be taken as rather more than one-half of a degree of angular measurement, which is nearly the apparent diameter of the disc of the moon. Then, if we suppose the nebula to be only about seventy-five times as distant as the very nearest star, and therefore much nearer than the great majority of the stars, the real surface-area of that small part of the whole nebula would be not much less than three hundred *quadrillions* of square miles,[5] or more than eleven million times that of the vast orbit of the planet Neptune, as it sweeps round the sun at a distance of about 2,800 millions of miles. The larger nebulæ, and not only they, but probably thousands of others of comparatively smaller dimensions, are, therefore, indeed of giant size.

But this being so, we at once learn something as to their constitution; and in the midst of much doubt and ignorance any such knowledge is very valuable. This enormous size in such nebulæ requires that their density must be almost inconceivably small. Some years ago this was excellently worked out by Mr. Ranyard, who showed that the mean density of such a nebula as that in Orion must, in all probability, be less (or, it might perhaps better be said, very likely far less) than one ten-thousand-millionth part of the

[5] The calculation is made for a parallax of 0″·01, which puts the nebula at a distance seventy-five times greater than that of the star α Centauri. A quadrillion, according to English notation, is 1 followed by 24 zeros.

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density of the earth's atmosphere at sea-level;[6] for otherwise the attraction of the mass of matter in the nebula would generate in neighbouring stars, as they circulated about it, velocities, or proper motions, which would be very apparent, whereas no such notable stellar movements are observed. The same conclusion, as to the extreme tenuity of such nebulosity, is confirmed in other similar cases—*e.g.* by the small proper motions of the stars in the neighbourhood of that great mass of nebula which, as already mentioned, embraces in its wide-spreading folds the stars in the group of the Pleiades.

It is, however, impossible to say of what constitution matter of such tenuity may be; but under the conditions of temperature probably existing in it, it would, at any rate, be reasonable to suppose that it would be very transparent. In certain instances this is undoubtedly so. There is practically no doubt that we often see the light of stars through many thousands of millions of miles of nebula. But if the very smallest appreciable amount of non-transparency existed in such cases this could not be, since the hindrance to their light would increase, not simply as the distance through which a star's rays might have to pass, but as the square of that distance. The obscuration produced would, therefore, be so rapidly intensified that the stellar light would very quickly be entirely extinguished. In this connection Professor Newcomb has recently definitely stated that 'Not only the spectroscopic evidence of bright lines, but the aspect of the objects themselves, shows that they are transparent through and through. This is remarkable when taken in connection with their inconceivable size.'[7] This clear transparency thus met with in nebula after nebula gives, I think, great confirmation to the supposition of their exceedingly light density.

Nevertheless, as in much else relating to these puzzling bodies, other facts are met with which tend in the contrary direction. In the case of the great Dumb-Bell Nebula, in the constellation of the Fox, Dr. Isaac Roberts finds indications of the existence of 'a broad ring of nebulosity which surrounds a globular mass. This ring, not being sufficiently dense,' as he says, 'to obscure the light of the central region of the globular mass, is dense enough to obscure those parts of it which are hidden by the increasing thickness of the nebulosity, thus producing the "dumb-bell" appearance.'[8] That is, as I opine, the obscuration occurs where our line of sight, as we look towards the central mass, passes by the effect of perspective through a greater thickness of the matter in the ring. Again, Professor E. C. Pickering has shown that the number of faint stars seen in the region of the Pleiades is decidedly smaller than in the adjacent regions of the sky. The widespread nebulosity of that group would, therefore, certainly seem to possess some absorbent

[6] *Knowledge*, vol. xv. p. 192. [7] *The Stars*, by Newcomb, p. 189.
[8] *Celestial Photographs*, by Dr. Isaac Roberts, F.R.S., vol. i. p. 114.

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property, which hinders the passage of light from very faint stars behind it.

Further, Miss Agnes Clerke has remarked that 'the spectra of stars with nebular appurtenances are mainly impressed with dark lines of helium, hydrogen, and oxygen.' But, she adds, 'it might have been anticipated that nebulous stars would be found to shine predominantly by emission—*i.e.* that bright' (instead of dark) 'lines would be conspicuous in their spectra. Facts, however, do not bear out this forecast.'[9] In other words, we find that the vibrations of the light from these stars, as it travels through the surrounding nebulosity, does not pass unhindered, but suffers an absorptive effect.

While, therefore, the vast masses of these wondrous bodies seem, in general, to be in a condition of almost perfect transparency, there are nevertheless indications that, under certain conditions, they may become in some degree opaque. Once more then, baffled and puzzled by the nebulæ, we must await further discoveries for the explanation of such apparently contradictory features. It is, however, as we have seen, happily possible to speak with much certainty as to their immense size, their intensely small density, and their general intermixture with the stars as a constituent part of our universe.

Next, however, a further confession of ignorance must be made as to various other points relating to the matter of which they may be constituted, its chief or most important components, and the cause and nature of its luminosity.

When Sir Wm. Huggins first examined the spectrum of a gaseous nebula, in the year 1864, he found in it three bright lines. Of these one belonged to hydrogen gas; the other two (in that part of the spectrum which is of a greenish tint) could not be identified as due to any known substance. Since that date these two latter have always been found in the light of every gaseous nebula, except when that light has been so faint that only the brighter of the two has been seen. That one is, therefore, the special characteristic line of such nebulæ, and doubtless arises from the vapour of the most important substance present in them. It is true that in the spectra of the brightest gaseous nebulæ many more bright lines appear (those whose places have been determined with a fair amount of acccuracy amounting to about fifty) of which a considerable number are due to hydrogen and some to helium. But it is only possible to assign the imaginary name of *nebulium* to the substance whose vapour, as above stated, produces the most important and persistent line of all.

We know not what that substance is, or in what peculiar or primordial condition it may be. We cannot find it upon the earth, or in the vapours of the sun. Yet, as the name of helium was assigned to certain bright lines seen in the sun, some twenty-five years before Sir

[9] *Knowledge*, vol. xxv. pp. 225-6.

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William Ramsay, in 1895, first discovered it upon the earth, so it may be hoped that presently the mystery of nebulium may in like manner be solved. One, and only one, indication of its properties has yet glimmered forth. It is that the vapour of nebulium may be denser than that of hydrogen.

We have thus seen how little we know in regard to the *gaseous* nebulæ, which include among their various types those of very large, irregular form, such as that in Orion; the planetary or disc-like; and the annular or ring-shaped; all of which in the telescope appear of a greenish hue. But we know still less as to nebulæ whose light is whitish, which are also far more numerous, the reason being that their light, when examined with a spectroscope, gives a continuous spectrum, *i.e.* a coloured band of light without any lines across it either dark or bright. This spectrum is that which the light of any shining incandescent solid mass, such as a piece of white-hot iron or a limelight, affords. It is one in which no details are visible to help to reveal the particular substance, or substances, from which it arises. Nor does such a spectrum even definitely indicate its origin to be necessarily from solid matter. If it did, nebulæ emitting it might to a considerable extent consist of a mass of stars whose images the telescope failed to define;[10]—stars, therefore, either much further away than would otherwise have seemed probable, or else individually of much smaller size than ordinary stars. The spectrum, however, does not even indicate so much as this, because such a spectrum may also arise from gas under high pressure, or possibly be due, in some cases, to the emanation of light from an immense depth of hot transparent gas. Indeed, it is not unlikely that a very faint indication of such a continuous spectrum, also seen in conjunction with the bright lines of some of the more brilliant gaseous nebulæ, may be thus produced by gas.

While then, as previously stated, it must be allowed with regard to the gaseous nebulæ that, apart from the presence of hydrogen and helium, we know not what their gases are, we are still more ignorant as to the origin of the light of all the other nebulæ. We cannot say whether it may be derived from myriads of little stars, or so-called sunlets; or from some kind of (what may be termed) star-dust; or from some form of gaseous matter, emitting light from great depths, or existing under special conditions of temperature and pressure. And here I wish to mention a very valuable suggestion made by Mr. Maunder a few years ago, which I believe may be briefly expressed as follows:—That both classes of nebulæ may perhaps be composed of stars in an early stage of development, with very small condensed photospheres (corresponding to the light-giving surface of our sun), but with very largely developed chromospheres and coronas, corresponding

[10] It should, however, be noticed that in that case we might expect to find absorption-lines in the spectrum produced by their vapours.

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to the two solar appendages which lie in succession above the photosphere. The chromosphere of the sun is mainly gaseous; the corona mainly composed of solid dust-like matter. If, therefore, in the stars in some nebulæ, the gaseous chromospheres were much more prominent than the coronas, the corresponding nebular spectrum would be a gaseous one. If the contrary were the case, and the coronas predominated, the spectrum would be a continuous one, as in the nebulæ of whitish hue.[11] But there are many difficulties, connected with spectral details, involved in this hypothesis, as in every other yet put forward for the explanation of the spectra of the nebulæ.

In many other respects their phenomena are also very mysterious. Whether, for instance, as has been suggested, we see in parts of them vast quantities of outrushing highly heated matter, opaque, until it becomes more luminous and transparent as it cools; or whether the additional light seen in some regions may be produced by matter that is condensing and consequently increasing in heat; or why the great nebulæ which the spectroscope shows to be gaseous should so often exhibit sharply defined boundaries, instead of their gas diffusing itself vaguely in all directions; or whether the convoluted curves of the very numerous spirally formed nebulæ are due to the indraught of matter towards a centre, or to its ejection from a centre; or why those dark channels or lanes which I have already mentioned should be of such remarkable distinctness, and run like thoroughfares through many of the nebulæ. Can they be due, it may be asked, to the interposition of opaque matter which, in those parts, obstructs the passage of light; or are they real vacuities, the matter once in their place having been used up in the making of stars, which in many cases seem most remarkably to lie along their edges and to follow their course; or are they simply portions of gas which for the time being are emitting no light?

It is impossible to say. It is all an unsolved problem. Like Pelion and Ossa upon Olympus, mystery is heaped upon mystery until so high an authority as Miss Clerke can only speak of 'a glimmering of reason beginning to hover over what has long appeared a scene of hopeless bewilderment;'[12] or of its being 'impossible to divine what sort of communication' straight lines of nebulæ running, as in the Pleiades, from star to star 'establish between the stars they connect,'[13] or of the true nature and origin of the nebulous halos round certain stars being 'a subject for inquiries likely to be long and arduous.'[14] Even the plan, or law, of the distribution of the nebulæ in the sky is a mystery; the great gaseous ones being found almost entirely in the Milky Way, where globular star-clusters and stars in general abound;

[11] *Knowledge*, vol. xix. p. 38.
[12] *The System of the Stars*, p. 251.
[13] *Problems in Astrophysics*, p. 418.
[14] *Ibid.* p. 468.

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while the whiter nebulæ are far more abundant in the parts of the heavens most distant from it.

But of all their mysteries none is, perhaps, greater than that which meets us in the question: Why, or how, do they shine? What is the process—what is the nature of the energy which makes them luminous? Their light is certainly, in general, faint; often very faint. This is not, however, due to their distance, because their apparent size diminishes with their distance in just the same ratio as that by which their distance affects the brightness of their light. At any distance any given nebula would, therefore, appear of unaltered brightness. But as regards the generating process of that faint light we may well ask:—Is it due to molecular or meteoritic collisions; or to intra-molecular vibrations; or to such electrical action as takes place in a vacuum tube? Is it due to their matter being in such an elementary condition that it may even be said to be composed of electricity? For such a constitution of matter (first, I believe, suggested by W. K. Clifford) may now be considered possible, since it has been shown that a moving charge of electricity possesses an apparent mass, or inertia, which is taken to be the fundamental attribute of matter. Or shall the nebular light be assigned to some known, or unknown, form of phosphorescence? None can yet say. Just as little is at present known as to the nature of nebular luminosity as, until the other day, was known of radium and of the various classes of rays emitted by it. Yet as Sir W. and Lady Huggins have recently proved that the energy of those emanations can cause the nitrogen of the atmosphere to give forth its spectrum, so it may be surmised that radium may play an important part in the nebulæ.

It has recently been suggested as by no means improbable that the heat of the sun may have been sustained, during past ages of far longer continuance than the heat generated simply through its own contraction could have permitted, by means of a comparatively small and hitherto altogether unsuspected amount of radium. May we not, therefore, think it to be by no means unlikely that the light and temperature of the nebulæ may owe much to the action of this same substance, the existence of which, as a constituent in them, may be the more probable, since recent investigations have given indications of a certain subtle relationship between radium and helium, which latter element undoubtedly reveals its presence in the spectra of the gaseous nebulæ?

But the more, we may say, the more after all, is the feeling intensified: How little do we know as yet of these wondrous objects! We are still feebly, dimly, longing and searching after the truths hidden within them. We may well believe that all the shining orbs around us have sprung from nebulæ—single stars from single nebulæ; and double stars (which, as time goes on, are found to be increasingly abundant) from double nebulæ; and in all probability star-clusters

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from nebulæ of especial size, and in many cases of a spiral form, since star-clusters themselves often exhibit signs of spiral convolutions.[15] As Tennyson has termed them,[16] all these

> Regions of lucid matter taking forms,
> Brushes of fire, hazy gleams,
> Clusters and beds of worlds, and bee-like swarms
> Of suns, and starry streams

may have had this common origin. And yet, while we may trace, with but little doubt, the after evolutionary processes that have thus found their scope in many a nebula, we cannot say of any single nebula among the thousands and hundreds of thousands of whose existence we are aware what it is made of, or why it shines.

The nebulæ, visible in the telescope, or photographed with the camera, are therefore most baffling to the study of astronomers and physicists alike. But just as dark stars, invisible to the eye or telescope, certainly abound in the heavens, to the number probably of many millions,[17] so there are indications that dark (or exceedingly faintly illuminated) nebulosity may also be abundant. In this Review, in February 1902, I drew attention to the photographs of what appeared to be bright nebulosity around the recent new star in Perseus. Successive photographs showed that this luminous nebulosity seemed steadily to increase in distance from the star, spreading outwards as if in expanding circular, or spherical, surfaces around it. I favoured the hypothesis that this appearance was not caused by any outrush of matter from the star, but that it was due to the outward passage of light, which had emanated from the star during the short time when its first brilliancy continued to be of very great intensity. It seemed probable that nebulosity existed in an immense extent of space around the star, but unilluminated, and therefore invisible; and that the locality of the phenomenon was so immensely distant that the vast velocity of light was, apparently, so reduced by the effect of that distance that the luminous outburst, which had started from the star, could be watched in its onward progress as it temporarily lighted up successive portions of the nebula, and rendered them visible while it was passing through them.

Since then, the discovery in a photograph of an earlier date of traces of the same effect, at a distance from the star corresponding to that which the light would then have reached, and also some feeble indications of a certain amount of similarity between the light subsequently received from the nebulosity and that of the star at the time of its outburst, have given considerable confirmation to

[15] See *Celestial Photographs*, by Dr. I. Roberts, F.R.S., vols. i. and ii.

[16] *Tennyson, A Memoir*, by Hallam Lord Tennyson, vol. i. p. 120.

[17] See 'Some Unseen Stars,' in the *Nineteenth Century*, August 1900, pp. 285 *et seq.*

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this hypothesis. It is also one which is consistent with the cause to which I was, and still am, disposed to attribute the original violent outbreak of light—viz. to the friction and other effects of the star's passage through a nebula. At any rate, in this case, there are strong reasons in favour of the existence of a dark, or nearly dark, nebulosity, of wide extent; a supposition confirmed by the high authority of Professor Turner, who, in his recent work on *Modern Astronomy*,[18] when speaking of the additional amount of exceedingly faint (or, as I think it may well be termed, almost dark) nebulosity proved to exist by a certain method of photography, has said: 'We begin to wonder whether there is not an invisible veil of nebula over the whole sky, which would betray itself with a long enough exposure. Here again,' he adds (in agreement with various statements made in this article), 'we are getting information which we have only had time as yet to marvel at, not to interpret.'

All this leads us on further still. When we bear in mind, as already stated, the reasonableness of the belief that all existing stars have been developed from nebulæ, surely this probable abundance of dark nebulosity, superadded to the immense extent of that which is luminous, may well suggest the thought (even though it be but little more than a fancied dream): May we not imagine a far vaster nebular hypothesis than that which Laplace proposed for the solar system? May it not be that all our universe, of stars, comets, star-clusters and nebulæ, has come from one most vast primæval nebula, of which the existing nebulæ, fainter or more luminous, in all their varieties of form and feature, are but the remains not yet condensed into shining orbs?

From nebulæ we believe that stars are *still* being formed—stars which shall shine, and wax and wane in light till they, in turn, like many now around them, shall be dull or dark, dead and cold; until at last the whole universe shall attain one uniform temperature and its light and activity be no more? But then, what next? We cannot say. It is useless to look forward so far. But it is tempting to look back; and in that reverse process I cannot but think that we seem to reach an epoch in the far-distant past when all was nebula. If so, once more we may ask: What then? What came before that vastly widespread nebula? Who can draw the boundary line between creation and evolution in the ages of 'the beginning'?

In connection with all such queries as these, the following quotation may be of special interest at the present time. Herbert Spencer, in concluding his remarkably impressive discussion of the nebular hypothesis, written some five-and-forty years ago, stated that even if development from nebula should so far render 'the genesis of the solar system, and of countless other systems like it, compre-

[18] *Modern Astronomy*, p. 237.

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hensible, the ultimate mystery continues as great as ever.' And he added:

> The problem of existence is not solved, it is simply removed further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter; and diffused matter as much requires accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by evolution. A man can put together a machine, but he cannot make a machine develop itself.... That our harmonious universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organised state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending 'the mechanical God of Paley,' as this does the fetish of the savage.[19]

E. LEDGER.

[19] The *Westminster Review*, July 1858.

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THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

THE letter from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Lyttelton on classical education, which Mr. Morley has printed in the appendix of his second volume, expresses an opinion that 'modern European civilisation, from the Middle Age downwards, is the compound of two great factors, the Christian religion for the spirit of man, and the Greek, and in a secondary degree the Roman, discipline for his mind and intellect.' Yet no one knew better than Mr. Gladstone that Greek religion had exercised a profound influence upon human thought. He indulged himself in copious speculations on the subject, and went astray because he had not the clue. Miss Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, published by the University Press at Cambridge, is the modest title of an original work founded on elaborate research, and full of interest not only for antiquaries and comparative mythologists, but for every student of the language and literature without which the world would be quite different from what we know it. With the materials and methods of Miss Harrison's labours I am quite incompetent to deal, though I think I can appreciate the soundness of her learning and the acuteness with which she argues her points. The fellowship at Newnham, that has enabled her, she tells us, to produce this book, is a singularly fruitful example of intellectual endowment. Her *Prolegomena* are more than an Introduction, which is all that that imposing word can be made to signify. They contain the fullest account that can yet be given of Greek ritual before Homer. Miss Harrison begins with snake-worship, and ends with the Orphic mysteries. The rites and ceremonies, the fancies and superstitions with which she deals, were almost obsolete in Homer's time, or in the time of the Homeric poems. The mythology of Homer is 'sceptical and moribund already in its very perfection.' To those who associate the Father of Poetry with the undying freshness of wind from the sea, or light from the stars, with a simplicity older than self-conscious art, and with a closeness to nature such as no one except our own Chaucer has approached, Miss Harrison's epithets may perhaps seem strange. But she is applying them, of course, to Homer as a mythologist, not to Homer as a poet. She is contrasting his dim underworld of ghosts and shades with the eternal punishment

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of the Orphic eschatology, and his physical purification of unclean dwellings with the moral atonement which it originally symbolised. She is thinking of the time when Zeus Meilichios, the gracious father of gods and men, was worshipped as a snake. So it appears from two reliefs found at the Peiræus, and now in the museum at Berlin. This was the older Chthonian worship upon which the Olympian theology was imposed.

These investigations have their scientific purpose and object in the development of philosophical ideas. But they also serve to illustrate Greek literature, and therefore all literature from their day till our own. Under Miss Harrison's treatment the oldest writers are not always the most ancient. There may be more antiquarianism in Æschylus than in Homer, in Plutarch than in Aristophanes, in Lucian even than in Thucydides. Theocritus certainly did not worship Zeus as a snake, even if he worshipped him at all. He was a poet of the Court, as well as of the country, and yet his second Idyll, perhaps the most passionate utterance ever put by a poet into the mouth of a woman, is the great authority for ancient magic. The turning of a wheel, the melting of a wax image, an invocation of the moon, are the methods, familiar enough, by which Simætha avenges herself on Delphis, her recreant lover, 'the slave of Aphrodite and of love.'

> *Turn, magic wheel, turn homeward him I love.*
> Even as I melt, not uninspired, the wax,
> May Mindian Delphis melt this morn with love.
> And, swiftly as this brazen wheel whirls round,
> May Aphrodite whirl him to my door.

These lines are from Calverley's translation, which Miss Harrison does not use. It is, I think, one of the most brilliant ever made in English from a classical author, though perhaps this is not one of its most brilliant passages.

> *Turn, magic wheel, turn homeward him I love.*
> Next burn the husks. Hell's adamantine floor
> And aught else that stands firm can Artemis move.
> Thestylis, the hounds bay up and down the town:
> The goddess stands i' the crossways: sound the gongs.

'A θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι is Diana of the Crossways, whom our great novelist has made a household word. But why are the gongs to be sounded? Artemis has been invoked, and the brass is 'apotropaic,' to avert some evil thing. It is not difficult to imagine that when 'fate and metaphysical aid' have been summoned their approach may still be dreaded. Don Giovanni invited the statue of the Commendatore to supper, not believing that the invitation would be accepted. When it was accepted, and the Commendatore came, Don Giovanni was alarmed, as well as surprised. Nobody comes in this Idyll. The gong counteracted the invocation, and the poem ends with an address to the moon, hardly surpassed even by Theocritus,

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the greatest of all pastoral poets. From Theocritus Miss Harrison passes to Aristophanes, because his play of the *Thesmophoriazusæ* is called after the Thesmophoria, a festival whereat curses were uttered which Miss Harrison compares with the Commination service for Ash Wednesday. 'From the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes we learn almost nothing of the ritual of the Thesmophoria save the fact that the feast was celebrated on the Pnyx.' But, at the same time, if he had not written the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, we should not greatly care to know what the Thesmophoria was, so that literature may be the handmaid of those higher studies which are justly superseding it in learned societies like Cambridge.

In the *Thesmophoriazusæ* the women revenge themselves upon Euripides for maltreating them in his plays, which were too moral and not religious enough for the great comedian. In that astonishingly clever book, *Euripides the Rationalist*, so clever that scarcely anyone can help believing it while he reads it, Dr. Verrall says that almost the only charge of immorality Aristophanes could bring against Euripides was founded on the famous line in the *Hippolytus*—'My tongue has sworn, but my mind is not bound by the oath.' But if every dramatic author were made responsible for all the sentiments uttered by all his characters, Æschylus and Sophocles would have been liable to the same censure as Euripides. Aristophanes dealt with the general tendency of an author whom he regarded, if not as a 'rationalist,' at least as a radical reformer and a bad playwright into the bargain. Aristotle does not call him a bad playwright. On the contrary, he says in his *Poetics* that Euripides was 'the most tragic of poets,' whatever that may mean. Professor Butcher interprets it to signify that Euripides had 'the preference of the poet for the true tragic ending,' as in the *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, and *Hecuba*. But the play of Euripides most closely connected with religion is none of these, nor is it any of those examined by Dr. Verrall to support his theory that Euripides had a great moral purpose in exposing a false and debasing theology. It is the *Bacchæ* which contains one of the most splendid descriptions of religious enthusiasm, or superstitious madness, to be found in the poetry of the world. The question whether he meant to write an encomium or a satire has been the subject of much controversy in modern times. Grote believed that Euripides wished in this wonderful drama, written at the close of his life, 'to repel the imputations, so often made against him, of commerce with the philosophers and participation in sundry heretical opinions.' It is, however, extremely difficult to accept the suggestion that then, or at any other time, the author of the *Alcestis*, familiar to English readers in *Balaustion's Adventure*, 'favourably contrasted the uninquiring faith of the vulgar with the dissenting and inquisitive tendencies of superior minds,' though doubtless there are words in the play which, construed literally, may be taken to mean something of the sort. But even if

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one cannot go all the way with Dr. Verrall, who perhaps sees in Euripides more than Euripides saw himself, one must at least admit that there are insuperable difficulties in the theory of Schlegel that he simply failed where Æschylus and Sophocles had succeeded. And it is to be observed that Professor Bury, in his excellent *History of Greece*, written on much better principles than those which he laid down in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, takes Dr. Verrall's view as established. 'Euripides,' says Mr. Bury, 'used the tragic stage to disseminate rationalism; he undermined the popular religion from the very steps of the altar. By the necessity of the case he accomplished his work indirectly, but with consummate dexterity. Æschylus and Sophocles had reverently modified religious legend, adapting it to their own ideals, interpreting it so as to satisfy their own moral standard. Euripides takes the myths just as he finds them, and contrives his dramas so as to bring the absurdities into relief.' He must, then, have been sarcastic if he meant to adopt himself the language which he assigns in the *Bacchæ* to Teiresias. 'We make no speculations about divine beings. No theory will ever destroy the traditions, or the feelings which in our own lifetime we have acquired, not even if the theory has been discovered by the highest intellects.'

Although the religion of which Miss Harrison traces the origin was merely traditional in classical, even in Homeric, times, it explains and illustrates much that would otherwise be obscure in Greek literature, while for Greek art it is indispensable. Miss Harrison's book, a really great book, as well as a truly learned one, is made not only more attractive, but very much clearer, by beautiful illustrations from ancient vases and reliefs. But they are much more than illustrations. They are evidence, sometimes the only evidence, of the way in which myths grew, and legends were understood, and gods were worshipped in this form or that. The frenzy of the *Bacchæ*, who are rather profanely compared by Miss Harrison with the Hallelujah lasses of the Salvation Army, is essentially feminine. Perhaps few people realised before the appearance of these 'Prolegomena' how feminine the origin of Greek religion was. Many of Miss Harrison's pages appeal chiefly to adepts in archæology. Her delightful chapter on 'The Making of a Goddess' should be read by everyone who cares for the history of art. The religion of Greece is not peculiar in being anthropomorphic. The familiar lines of Xenophanes are an anticipation of the terrible comment made by Voltaire upon the words 'In the image of God made He man.' '*Il l'a bien rendu*,' said the Frenchman. Xenophanes wrote that, as mortal man made gods in his own likeness, so oxen, lions, and horses, if they had hands, would make gods equine, gods leonine, gods bovine. There was a time when the Greeks worshipped a snake for Zeus, a mare for Demeter, and a fish for Artemis. When the Greek mind passed out of this stage, it did not proceed at once to the adoration

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of human and masculine divinities. St. Augustine, of all people, tells a curious story to explain how the Athenian women lost the franchise. The competing claims of Athene and Poseidon were referred to universal suffrage. For in those days, it seems, the people elected their own gods. The vote was according to sex, and Athene headed the poll by a bare majority. After this they were never allowed to vote again, nor to call their children by their own names, a senseless practice which breeds confusion. The supremacy thus lost originated with Earth, the mother of all things, called by Homer *φυσίζοος*, life-giving, as in the lovely passage from the third book of the *Iliad*, where Helen on the walls of Troy condoles with her brethren, Castor and Polydeuces, not knowing that they were dead.

> So said she: they long since in earth's soft arms were reposing.
> There in their own dear land, their fatherland, Lacedæmon.

'Earth's soft arms' is Dr. Hawtrey's free translation of *φυσίζοος*. But with the instinct of a scholar he keeps nearer to Homer's true meaning than Ruskin, who, in his strange fanciful way, imagines that Homer could not think of death without also thinking of life. Homer could use a fixed epithet without thinking at all. But the universal mother is represented on vases as *ποτνία θηρῶν*, lady of the wild things, holding out her hands over the animals, her subjects. The Lady of the Wild Things was the goddess of a hunting age. When man became agricultural there was a goddess of fertility, a fruit-bearing goddess, Demeter, nowhere more gloriously honoured than in the seventh Idyll, the Harvest Home, of Theocritus, where she stands and smiles before her shrine, holding sheaves and poppies in both her hands,

> *δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἔχοισα.*

I scarcely know another instance of words so absolutely simple invested with such magical, inexplicable charm. The *Highland Reaper* might be quoted. But Wordsworth's art is greater, as his ideas are higher. It is to association, not to a mere picture, that he appeals. Demeter, as everyone knows, was the mother of Persephone, the goddess of the regions below, 'who gathers all things mortal with cold immortal hands.' Demeter ascended to Olympus, and became part of the Olympian theology. The early deification of women produced maiden trinities, of which there are curious specimens on votive reliefs. Miss Harrison discerns in these three persons and one goddess. But this conception is only attributed to very early work, where it may be due to imperfect art, as other mysterious semblances are due to imperfect observation. Certainly nothing Trinitarian, except the number Three, is left in the Judgment of Paris. Paris himself is absent from the older representations of this scene, which typifies and symbolises the difficulty of choice without reference to the particular object

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chosen. Aphrodite is not always rising from the sea. She is also of the earth, and she is represented on a vase as 'sailing through heaven on her great swan.' But perhaps the most beautiful composition in which she figures is the Ludovisi throne, now in the National Museum at Rome. A hasty observer would call it the Venus Anadyomene, and would speak of it as Venus rising from the sea. There is no sea, though the women who hold her up stand on sloping banks of shingle. This sculptured slab belongs to the period just before Pheidias, which some critics regard as the most exquisite of all, and certainly there are few things so beautiful even in Italy. Whether she be ascending from the ocean, or from a sacred river, or from a ritual bath, she is a joy for ever. Aphrodite is the most human form of feminine divinity, as Byron recognised in his irreverent couplet, and Lucretius in his 'rich Procemion.' When the worship of the Earth Mother and of the Earth Maids passed over to Zeus and the new hierarchy of Olympus, 'the great Monotheistic figure of Venus Genetrix' reminded later ages that the origin of all things, whether Ge or Hera, Athene or Aphrodite, belonged to the feminine gender. And now that every trace of her worship, at least of her religious worship, has disappeared from the world, at least from the western world, the old matriarchal theory survives the centuries which have rolled over the dethroned altars of Paganism, in the solemn words 'Man that is born of a woman.'

Miss Harrison's chapters on Orphism are the most solid and consecutive part of her religious history. They bring back the mind by degrees to that mysterious play of Euripides already cited, from which comes so much of what we know about the religion of Greece. It is a remarkable accident that has left us in this matter to the dramatist who had least sympathy with the popular faith of his countrymen. For Æschylus, too, wrote a drama, of which religious frenzy was the subject, and two tantalising fragments of it have been preserved by Strabo. Æschylus himself could hardly have produced a much finer composition than the *Bacchæ*. But there would have been no dark problems about his meaning. He could not have been suspected of turning the whole subject into ridicule. His lines on the mysterious music with which homage was paid to Dionysus have been preserved, and thus brilliantly translated by Mr. Gilbert Murray:

> The shawm blares out, but beneath is the moan
> Of the bull-voiced mimes, unseen, unknown,
> And in deep diapason the shuddering sound
> Of drums like thunder beneath the ground.

If Miss Harrison had been able to give the Greek as well as the English of this fragment, numbered 55 in the Æschylean collection, it would be seen that bull-voiced mimes is a literal, perhaps a too literal, translation, and that 'mimes,' or actors, must have bellowed in honour of their Bromios, their boisterous god, although

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Miss Harrison derives the name from βρόμος, oats, thus tracing him to the Earth-Goddess on the one hand, and accounting for the intoxication of his votaries, because wine can be made, so the Emperor Julian said, of barley, if not of oats. Herodotus speaks of Bacchic and Orphic rites as identical, further describing them as Egyptian and Pythagorean. The connection of Orpheus is as old as the hills, or at least older than the wall-paintings of Pompeii, where he figures as a magical musician, 'with power over all wild untamed things in nature.' Orpheus, says Miss Harrison, though killed by the Mænads, as Milton in *Lycidas* reminds us, was also buried by 'the Mænads repentant, clothed, and in their right minds,' or, in other words, by the Muses. This typifies the fact that Orphism is a spiritual ecstasy, far removed from the orgies associated with the worship of Bacchus. Concerning the death of Orpheus there is a singular passage in the most artistically beautiful of all Plato's dialogues, which may be called in some sense a part of English literature, because it contains a prophecy of Shakespeare and has been translated by Shelley. The subject of the *Symposium*, or, in less barbarous language, the *Banquet*, is love, and at the end of his contribution to it Phædrus describes the fate of Orpheus when he visited the realms of Dis in search of Eurydice. The gods sent him away empty-handed, and only showed him a phantom of his wife, because they thought him an effeminate lute-player, who durst not die for his love, like Alcestis, but sought out inventions for making his way alive into Hades. For this cause therefore they inflicted as a punishment on him that his death should be at the hands of women. Phædrus, in his discourse, was using an argument, and making a point. It was his business, his part of the evening's entertainment, to prove that extreme devotion to a beloved object was the highest form of human virtue. Achilles showed this in the case of Patroclus, whose death he avenged at the cost of his own life, and Alcestis showed it by dying for her unworthy husband Admetus. Alcestis was rewarded by restoration to the world she had left, and Achilles by removal to the islands of the blest. In Euripides, according to Dr. Verrall, Alcestis never really dies, and her resurrection is a sham. Æschylus, in a lost drama, is recorded to have made the Bassarids, or Mænads, who killed Orpheus, the messengers of Dionysus himself, whose wrath was kindled by the blasphemy of Orpheus in prostrating himself before the sun. Well might Socrates maintain in the *Republic* that popular religion was not to be reconciled with the first principles of morality.

The head of Orpheus was buried in Lesbos, and the nightingales sang over it their sweetest songs. It gave oracles in the name of Apollo, in the good old style, which could not be wrong, because it could be made to square with any event. Orphism became a recognised creed, and was prevalent in Greece long before classical times. As Orphism prevailed in Crete, the discoveries now being made in that

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island, perhaps the most important since the study of archæology began, may throw a good deal of light upon Orphic rites and ceremonies. Orphism, says Professor Bury, rested on three institutions. One was the worship of Dionysus; another was the mysteries of the world below, the third was the order of itinerant prophets. Pythagoras was an Orphic, and founded an ascetic brotherhood in Italy, with which the Horatian 'bean of Pythagoras' has made us familiar. The Pythagoreans were oligarchical in politics, and about the middle of the fifth century before Christ they were destroyed by the democratic party. Mr. Bury believes that if Orphism, instead of colouring the poetry of Pindar and Æschylus, had taken hold of public opinion, the priests would have become the rulers of the people and would have set up a sacerdotal system in place of civil government. It affected, however, a passage in a great poem, compared with which all institutions then existing in the world were transient and ephemeral. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* tells how Ulysses and his companions, by the instructions of Circe, came to the land of the Cimmerians enveloped in cloud and darkness, that they might bring up the souls of those whom in this life they had known, and of the prophet Teiresias, who foretells their destruction if they eat the oxen of the Sun. It was then that by the shore of that ocean which Homer, or the author of the *Odyssey*, supposed to encircle the globe, Ulysses dug a trench with his sword, and poured out three libations for the dead. The first was honey and milk, the second was wine, and over all he sprinkled barley. By these means he brought up the dead, as the witch of Endor brought up Samuel for Saul. This wonderful episode is supposed to have been revised with interpolations by Onomacritus, working under Pisistratus, who procured the Homeric poems to be edited and written down. There is no torture, no actual punishment, in the Hades of Homer. It is a grey, dim region, without light or warmth or colour, but not a world of pain, except in special cases, such as Tityus with his vulture, Tantalus with, or rather without, his water, and Sisyphus with his stone. Of Heracles a mere image was to be seen. He himself was feasting with the immortal gods, and had Hebe of the fair ankles for his companion. What Plato or the Platonic Socrates thought of Orphic eschatology, we know from the second book of the *Republic*. Musæus and his son Eumolpus were, says Socrates, stranger in their notions of what was truly good, and should therefore be given as a reward to the righteous, than even Homer and Hesiod. For when they bring the just to the life beyond the grave, they recline them on couches, and prepare for them a banquet of holy things, and make them spend their whole time crowned and drunk, deeming perpetual inebriation to be the fairest reward of virtue. And they spin yet longer tales than these on divine authority, such as that good and just men leave behind them a long line of descendants, while the

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wicked have a bad reputation in life, and after death are put into baths of mud, or made to draw water in a sieve. Against materialism in religion Socrates never ceased to protest, and so far he was in agreement with Euripides the Rationalist. He brought religion to the test of morality, and he found that it signally failed. His own inward monitor, his negative conscience, a restraining not a propelling force, was the only guide he had which could in any sense be called preternatural. No one can read the *Apology*, the speech of Socrates to the jury who condemned him, and doubt that he sincerely believed in the reality of this inner light. For even if Plato invented all the rest of the speech, he certainly did not invent that. When the Olympian hierarchy had followed the Orphic mysteries into the dimness of legendary tradition, and had no more influence upon conduct than a fairy tale, there remained the fact that Orpheus was a real man who had sought eternal life through purity. Yet, although in the greatest and best known ages of Greece religion was little more than the embellishment of literature and the handmaid of art, we have to reconstruct it before we can fully understand either one or the other. And if it be said that to explain religion by art, and art by religion, is to argue in a circle, we may reply that when a sufficient number of particular instances have established a general rule, the rule itself can in its turn be used for the solution of what is still obscure. The wholesome scepticism which research engenders should be a preservative against riding even hobbies too hard.

'Excepting Aristotle,' says Mr. Murray in his essay on Euripides, 'excepting Aristotle, who clung characteristically to the concrete city and the dutiful taxpaying citizen, all the great leaders of Greek thought turned away from the world and sought refuge in the soul.' Euripides, the critics tell us, wrote the *Bacchæ* after he had left Athens in disgrace, and when he was living under the protection of Archelaus, King of Macedonia. The story of the play is simple and horrible. Dionysus comes to Thebes, and the people will not worship him. He makes them worship him 'with a vengeance,' with the wildness of unrestrained religious emotion. Pentheus, the King of Thebes, insults the god, intrudes upon his mystic rites, and is torn to pieces by the god-intoxicated Bacchanals, including his own mother, Agave. It is not to be supposed that Euripides intended by his magnificent setting of this repulsive fable to inculcate fanaticism, or hold it up for admiration. His sojourn with King Archelaus would not have been a good opportunity for expressing sympathy with the murderers of King Pentheus. Plato in the *Republic* quotes a line of Euripides, not from any extant play, affirming that despots become wise by associating with wise men, and sarcastically remarks that the poet was speaking of kings he had known. Yet if, as is said, the Athenian democracy punished Euripides for impiety, it was an honour which he shared with the greatest of Athenians, the father of scientific knowledge.

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I think it is Bayle who says of Cicero that his religion was in his heart and not in his mind, that it was an instinct of his nature, with which his philosophical theories had nothing to do. Cicero's philosophy, though it has had millions of readers who knew little or nothing of its source, did not profess to be original. He derived it from Plato, or from Socrates, or from both. Greek metaphysics, Greek ethics, Greek thought in general, culminated after the political power of Greece, or at least of Athens, had already begun to decline. Upon the contemporaries of Socrates, still more upon the younger generation of his illustrious disciple, the orthodox religion, the religion of the State, had ceased to exercise any practical influence. Men were philosophers, or they were pure materialists, unless indeed they were one and the other at the same time. The main interest of such books as Miss Harrison's, except for highly cultivated specialists like herself, is the help they give us in the study of literature and art. Even in the Platonic age this was not far from the truth. That part of the case against Socrates which charged him with undermining the foundations of faith would have been perfectly accurate if they had not been already undermined. People do not like to be reminded of the difference between their theory and their practice, or to be told that they have ceased sincerely to hold the doctrines they have inherited by tradition. If few verdicts are more difficult to justify, few are less difficult to understand than the condemnation of Socrates. Of later ages, when Christians burnt each other because they believed too much or too little, it has been well asked and answered 'Who lights the fagot? 'Tis not the firm faith, but the lurking doubt.' The jury who found Socrates to be an atheist were probably sceptics to a man. So were the men, if the story be true, who procured the banishment of Euripides. Different as these two men of genius were in their views of life, and in their comparative estimate of human affairs, they agreed in their use of the popular religion. They both employed it to illustrate and adorn, to supply examples which would be understood, to give local colour. Plato, though he constantly attacked Homer as the fount and origin of an immoral habit, a habit of mingling truth with falsehood under the glamour of eloquence and verse, could not get away from him, and quoted him as men of all opinions now quote the Bible, because everyone will recognise the quotation. Euripides taught his moral by means of a mythology which all his hearers, and all his readers, think what they might of it, knew by heart, just as St. Paul laid hold of the admission that there were Athenians who worshipped an unknown God.

In that marvellous dialogue, the *Gorgias*, of which not the least wonderful feature is that it was written four hundred years before Christ, the examples of Tantalus, and Tityus, and Sisyphus are put forward to show that kings and princes and dictators are punished beyond the grave on a scale proportionate to their offences. Just as

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St. James told the rich men to weep and howl for the miseries that were come upon them, so Plato or his master picked out the great and mighty upon earth for the future punishment which Homer borrowed from the Orphic creed. Private persons, such as Thersites, have not, Socrates remarks, been depicted as undergoing these torments, because luckily for them they had not the opportunity of committing great crimes. They were not, therefore, as Jowett says, counted worthy of eternal damnation. In the *Gorgias*, Socrates seems to accept for the sake of the argument the authority of Homer, which in the *Republic* he repudiates altogether. If poets were regarded as moral teachers, or faithful historians, they were a danger to the State. But they were valuable as witnesses to that common opinion of mankind which they followed even when they seemed to lead it. Such appears to have been the general attitude of the Platonic Socrates towards the mythology of the poets. There is, however, a curious and interesting exception. The passage in the *Odyssey* which describes Minos bearing his golden sceptre, and giving laws to the dead, is quoted by Socrates in the *Gorgias* with all seriousness as the embodiment of a solemn reality. He is convinced, he says, of its truth, and he so orders his life that he may present his soul in all possible purity to Minos, the judge. These, he adds, are regarded as old wives' fables by enlightened young men like Callicles and Polus and Gorgias, whom he is addressing. Yet, though they are the wisest of living Greeks they have nothing better to propound than the stories they reject. He is not seriously arguing, he would be the last man to argue, that Orphism, or any other theology, must be adopted by every man who cannot provide a substitute. He did not believe in the divine origin of the *Odyssey*. He asks how this doctrine of future retribution came into existence, and he answers that it testifies to an indwelling sentiment of the human mind. The more purely human it is, the stronger his case becomes. The outward signs and symbols of earthly greatness, the pomp of power, and the apparent impunity with which it is abused; the cynical indifference of tyrants like Archelaus to everything except their own interests and their own pleasure; the oppression of the good, the triumph of the wicked, the open and successful appeal to force as stronger than justice: all these things excuse, or at least explain, the blunt assertion of Callicles that might is right, or, as the modern blasphemer put it, that God is always on the side of the strongest battalions. 'Yes,' says Socrates, 'that may be all very well. You account, or you think you have accounted, for the superficial aspect of things. But how do you explain these stories of Minos, and Æacus and Rhadamanthus; of the stone, and the sieve, and the wheel? Homer did not invent them. They are forms of the universal belief, which no cynical paradoxes will ever expel from the human mind, that the difference between right and wrong is eternal, that it is more blessed to be the victim than the author of injustice.' That the

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wisdom of this world is foolishness with God might be called the text or motto of the *Gorgias*. The problems with which it deals are for the most part simple and elementary. When Callicles looked at the little tyrants of Greek or Sicilian cities, and saw that they came in no misfortune like other folk, neither were plagued like other men, he drew the inference which was not new then, and is not old now, that it was wisest for each man to imitate them in his own sphere. Socrates was not content with vanquishing him in argument. He took him into the kingdom of Minos, that he might understand the end of these men. That was the use he made of Greek religion. Himself guided, or at least restrained, by his 'dæmonic' conscience, he appealed to popular mythology, not as evidence of facts, but as an indication of certain tendencies in the human mind. If, as Miss Harrison says, 'the last word in ancient Greek religion was said by the Orphics,' it was capable of being moulded by the hands of philosophical genius into the austere and sublime morality which made Theætetus exclaim, 'If you could persuade all men, Socrates, of what you say, as you persuade me, there would be more peace and less evil in the world.'

HERBERT PAUL.

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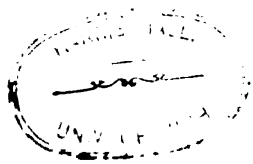

BEHIND THE FISCAL VEIL

'LOOK where you will in this England of ours, you will everywhere find signs of an abounding and increasing prosperity.' Thus Lord Rosebery, if correctly reported, when discussing Mr. Chamberlain's proposals at Leicester last November. Similar words have during the last eight months fallen from the lips of scores of other speakers engaged on a similar errand. They will doubtless be heard again within the walls of the Parliament now about to assemble.

When such utterances get into print and are read by cosy firesides, they diffuse a pleasing sense of complacency, which it seems cruel to disturb. But the question is, Are they true? The Liberal politician of to-day unhesitatingly says 'Yes.' The Tory of to-day, in unison with that detached group which cares little for the rise and fall of parties and party-leaders, will, as unhesitatingly, say 'No.'

Fiscal problems have of late bulked so largely on platforms and in the press as to throw all else into the shade. Debated, as they have been, mainly in the interests of our manufacturers and artisans, they have drawn away public attention from the condition of British agriculture, and from the still more distressful case of that residual deposit of our large towns, which literally knows not, when it rises in the morning, where it will lay its head at night or how it will sustain life during the day. It is time to lift this fiscal veil and see things as they really are.

One of the lessons enforced by the serious thinkers of the Victorian era, and, in particular, by the great synthetic philosopher who died last December, is that society, like life, is an organism, with mutually related, interdependent parts. This is now a generally accepted axiom. It follows that, just as we cannot truthfully say the physical body is healthy when one of its members is suffering from gangrene, so we cannot truthfully say the body politic is prosperous when, at the heart of it, there are symptoms of malignant disease.

The optimism of Lord Rosebery and his friends will be seen to be not a little delusive when we consider what is going on simultaneously in our rural districts on the one hand, and in our large towns on the other.

It is common knowledge that British agriculture has been on the

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down grade for the last thirty years, and that in some counties it is practically ruined. This has not been due to bad seasons. When a bad season occurs, the disasters it brings seldom persist throughout the whole of the twelve months. A spring drought, followed by copious autumn rains, may cause a falling off in the yield of corn and hay, and yet consist with an abundant crop of turnips and swedes. This occurred in 1893. Again, a favourable spring and summer may be succeeded by excessive drought in the late autumn. In that case, the hay and corn crops may be good and well harvested, whilst the root crops may turn out a complete failure. This occurred in 1899. When, as in 1903, the corn crops and root crops are each damaged in their turn, the event is so exceptional that, to match it, farmers have to go back to 1879. The resemblance is not complete, for in many respects 1879 was a worse year than 1903. The one satisfactory reflection is that the two seasons so compared are a whole generation apart.

For the chronic causes of agricultural distress we must look further afield than to the caprices of the weather. What these causes are will appear by attending to a few facts gathered from the statistical tables published by the Board of Agriculture.

During the Crimean War, when our population was only 27,000,000, we produced nearly all our own food. Now, with a population of 41,000,000, we import three-fourths of our food, because our farmers have, in the interval, laid down to grass land on which it no longer pays them to grow wheat. In 1876 the yield of British wheat was 18,000,000 quarters, which, selling as it then did at fifty shillings a quarter, gives a value of 45,000,000*l*. In 1901 the yield was 6,500,000 quarters, which, selling as it then did at twenty-eight shillings and tenpence a quarter, gives a value of 9,000,000*l*.—exactly one-fifth of the previous value. Comparing the year 1902 (it would not be fair to take 1903) with the average of the quinquennial period 1871–75, there was a decrease in the cultivated area of British green crops of over four-fifths of a million of acres.

Along with the diminution of our crop area, there has been a diminution of our live stock, indicating, as the Board of Agriculture point out, a 'decrease of farmer's capital.'

This double shrinkage of crops and stock alike has, as an inevitable consequence, entailed a considerable shrinkage of agricultural employment. Notwithstanding that in the last thirty years the population has increased by 10,000,000, the census returns show the falling off of the number of persons under the heading 'agriculturals' to have been 435,000 for England and Wales, or over 8 per cent. Comparing 1901 with 1881—an interval of twenty years—the Board of Trade Blue Book shows a decrease of 'agriculturals' of over 211,000, whereas, having regard to the increase of population, there should have been, if agriculture had not declined, an *increase* of 300,000.

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As a secondary effect, loss of employment has also been occasioned to the blacksmith, the miller, the implement maker, and others who render the services or furnish the supplies required by farmers for carrying on their business. Even in an age of cut-throat competition—when A's gain is usually B's loss, and A's loss is B's gain—it still sometimes happens that 'if one member suffer, the other members suffer with it.'

Some platformists and philosophers, perhaps themselves steeped in gilt-edged securities, are in the habit of representing the depression of agriculture as affecting landowners only, and therefore of no moment, since landowners are, in their view, wholly undeserving of compassion. Being myself a landowner, I do not care here to defend my order, and shall confine my observations to the unfortunate farmers, than whom there is no more hard-working set of men. It would be difficult to put their case better than was done recently by Mr. Hugh Roger in a letter to the *Times*:

> Sir Robert Giffen, in his evidence before the Royal Commission of Agriculture, expresses the opinion that the fall in the annual value of agricultural produce between 1874 and 1891 amounted in the average to 77,000,000*l.*, whilst Mr. E. R. Turnbull, another witness, estimates the reduction in the gross annual revenue from agriculture, comparing 1874-5 with 1892-3, at about 82,000,000*l.*

If we take into account what has happened since 1893, the reduction of the gross annual revenue is computed by Mr. Roger to be hardly less than 90,000,000*l.* This, as he points out, is equivalent to the whole of the freights derived from our shipping, and to about 40 per cent. of the value of our exports of manufactured goods. Had this 40 per cent. loss fallen on those favoured few who are so ready to pronounce the nation flourishing, would they be of the same opinion?

Assuming the above figures to be approximately accurate, let us now ask what becomes of the large number of persons who, by reason of this steady shrinkage of agricultural employment, are deprived of their natural occupations and evicted from the soil. They cannot be supposed to die off straight away, and they are certainly not caught up in the air clothed in the white robes of Arcadian simplicity. Their destination is obvious when we pass on to examine another set of statistics relating to our industrial centres. It is to these centres that they gravitate, and in the end a considerable proportion of them swell there the ranks of the 'legal poor,' and are supported by the rates.

The figures relating to London pauperism are by no means agreeable reading. Here are some of the latest. The number of persons who, at Christmas 1903, were in receipt of Poor Law relief, fell little short of 115,000—a higher figure than had been reached in any year since 1871. Of these 115,000, the outdoors were 40,970, the indoors

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(workhouses and infirmaries) 73,000. The increase of indoor paupers in 1903 was 2,600; during the past ten years it has been over 7,000. There have been, of course, numerical fluctuations, but, on the whole, the tendency has been towards higher, not towards lower, figures.

This increase of legal pauperism is by some attributed to lax administration of the Poor Law. The purely elective system under which Boards of Guardians are constituted is, no doubt, open to objection, and it may be that if the labour test were made stiffer, if outdoor relief were more sternly refused, the figures would be somewhat reduced. But this would not carry us very far. The inference would still remain that when so many are willing to enter the workhouse, there must be many others on the verge of destitution. It is estimated that in London there are 1,250,000 people whose weekly wage for the entire family is twenty-one shillings or less. Reckoning a family to consist of five—a father, mother, and three children—the whole of this amount is consumed in food and rent (especially rent), leaving very little for clothes and nothing for casualties or journeys to or from work.

The Census Reports of 1891, quoted by Mr. Charles Booth in the final volume of his monumental work, show that, in 1891, there were (in round numbers) 174,500 tenements, consisting of only a single room. Of these, over 29,000 held three persons, over 16,000 held four, over 7,000 five, over 2,500 six, over 850 seven, over 250 eight. The remainder held in some cases nine persons, in others ten, eleven, twelve, or more. When we reflect that in these single rooms the occupants sleep, wash, cook, feed, and that the women and children spend there a great part of the day, the results may be foreseen. Misshapen bodies, arrested growths, and general deterioration are the result. All the outside air the young children get they inhale from the fetid alleys in which they are sent out to play, while their elders, male and female, resort to the public-houses, not so much for the sake of the drink as to escape from their intolerable 'homes.'

Infant mortality is, of course, rife. In the East End of London the percentage of children dying before reaching the age of five is fifty-five, whereas in the West End it is eighteen. Unfortunately, although the death-rate is very high, so also is the birth-rate, it being notorious that the largest families are found among those who can least afford them. And so the stream of population grows fuller and fuller, fed from the nethermost springs, notwithstanding that not one in ten of the newcomers will prove a useful citizen.

The overcrowding in London has its counterpart in the provinces. For example, in the city of York, which has a total population of about 75,000, there are 663 families, comprising 4,705 persons, living under insanitary conditions. These numbers, as Mr. Seebohm Rowntree points out in his excellent monograph on that city, amount to 10 per cent. of the working class, and to 6 per cent. of the total popu-

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lation. In Glasgow, Gateshead, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Plymouth, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, Stockport, Manchester, this percentage is much higher, ranging from 59 per cent. of the population in the first named to 8 per cent. in the last.

The statement made by that most humane of scientists, the late Professor Huxley, who had been early brought into contact with the slums of London when acting as assistant to the medical officer for Rotherhithe, holds good at the present time:

> Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of our great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme that condition which the French called *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens where decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave.

The physical deterioration of the people is more than a social question. It touches our military strength and our place among the nations of the world. The disasters of the Boer War brought home to all of us the lamentable shortcomings of the later drafts of men despatched to South Africa—men who would never have been admitted into the ranks but for the lowering of the regulation standard of efficiency. These same men were largely drawn from our towns. Many, on arrival at their destination, succumbed to dysentery and enteric, to which their miserable upbringing rendered them an easy prey.

When the normal standard is adhered to, the evidence before the Royal Commission of Physical Training, issued last December, shows us how it operates. Lieut.-Colonel Don, of the Army Medical Staff, told the Commissioners that of 12,292 recruits examined for the regular army in the course of 1901, some 3,900, or nearly 32 per cent., had to be rejected for diseases or defects. Of those so rejected, 311 were under height, 607 under chest measurement, 600 under weight, 457 had defective vision, 143 were deaf, 322 had their teeth much decayed, this last being presumably due to insufficient and unwholesome feeding during childhood.

Dr. Mackenzie's report on the children attending the North Canongate Schools, Edinburgh, shows that the hygiene of that capital leaves much to be desired. More than half of these children had eyes so optically imperfect as to interfere with their daily tasks. The hearing

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of more than 40 per cent. was impaired. Nearly all of them were suffering from disease of the nose and throat. Sir John Gorst has lately affirmed that this is also the condition of a number, unknown but large, of the children in our public elementary schools throughout the United Kingdom.

A bird's-eye view of the general state of things has been given by a careful observer from California in his striking volume, published last year, entitled *The People of the Abyss*.

> In all England and Wales 18 per cent. of the entire population is driven to the parish for relief, and in London, 21 per cent. London supports 123,000 paupers. Above these there are 1,800,000 persons there who live on the poverty line, with but one week's wages between them and pauperism.
>
> Nine hundred and twenty-nine out of every thousand in the United Kingdom die in poverty. One in every four persons in London dies supported by public charity.
>
> Eight millions in the United Kingdom simply struggle on the ragged edge of starvation, and 20,000,000 more are not comfortable in the simple and clean sense of the word.

Pondering these facts we are in a position to appreciate the 'sort of prosperity' which politicians on the warpath ask us to accept with satisfaction. The man or woman must, indeed, be strangely minded who is content 'to take it lying down.'

* * * * *

The depopulation of the country districts bears to the over population of the towns the relation of cause and effect. Anything, therefore, that we can do to remedy the first will tend also to remedy the second. If we are to get the agricultural labourer back to the land we must make the land more attractive to him, and we must begin by reforming our method of education. The children attending our rural board schools are not taught to take interest in the subjects with which dwellers in the country are most concerned. They acquire just enough smattering of learning to breed in them dislike of country life, but not enough to fit them for the struggle of existence elsewhere. The schoolmaster is often town-bred, with no special agricultural tastes or knowledge. By all means let there be educational ladders, and as long as you please, but let the child who has shown no aptitude for mounting them be at liberty to leave school at the age of twelve and assist his parents in field work. 'English history,' as has been well said, 'is a noble study, but it is not more so than natural history, and when it comes to farming, and even working an allotment, the boy who knows the wayside weeds in the way that leads to school, and the wild creatures in the hedgerows, is more than likely to hold his own with him who can run you off the kings of England and the great battles with their dates. The great thing is to have in the curriculum a course of instruction such as cannot possibly be got up from books; that is utterly unattainable save by the direct use of

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the senses of sight, touch, smell, or hearing; in other words, knowledge, the acquisition of which affords a proof that master and pupil alike have been examining nature for themselves.'[1]

Next to a more suitable education is the placing of suitable plots of ground and cottages within the reach of the adult labourer. In ancient times, as we all know, the labourer enjoyed several privileges of which he has been gradually deprived. He could graze a cow, or a pig, or a flock of geese on the waste of the manor which lay near his home. This encouraged him to stay on the land. These privileges were gradually curtailed and finally destroyed by the multitude of Enclosure Acts passed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, thus leading the way to the divorce of the labourer from the soil. The much ridiculed 'three acres and a cow' movement was designed to redress the balance. About twenty years ago an agitation was set on foot for granting allotments to labourers through local authorities by Mr. Jesse Collings and the late Mr. Joseph Arch. To them we owe the Allotments Extension Acts of 1882 and 1887, which empower Rural and Urban District Councils to acquire, by compulsory purchase for the benefit of the labourers, small and suitable parcels of land. In some parts of England, especially in the neighbourhood of towns where there is a ready market for agricultural produce, these allotments have been eagerly taken up. In that portion of the north of England with which I am best acquainted, they are not in request, at least by unmarried labourers, who often reside with the farmers, getting board and lodging as part of their wages. By this arrangement a single man may gain about 40*l.* a year at very little cost beyond his own clothing, and, in fact, may be better off than many a small farmer.

Another expedient designed to embrace a rather different class is the granting, again through the local authorities, of 'small holdings'—that is to say, of land from one acre to fifty acres in extent, and of an annual value not exceeding 50*l.* Mr. Henry Chaplin's Act of 1892 enables persons who have saved a little money to acquire this description of property through the County Council, they paying one-fifth of the purchase-money in cash, and the remainder in half-yearly instalments spread over a term of years. This Act, like the Allotment Acts, has been but sparingly availed of up to now. The latest returns are not before me, but I find that between the end of 1894 and the middle of 1897 only two County Councils had exercised this power, and their operations were confined to six parishes and 120 acres. Mr. W. E. Bear, who made a study of small holdings in 1892, which he embodied in an essay written for the Cobden Club, came to the conclusion, which later experience confirms, that the labourer often finds it more profitable to hire a holding of moderate size than to

[1] *The Rural Exodus*, by P. Anderson Graham (Methuen).

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purchase a smaller one. The 'statesmen' of Cumberland and Westmoreland are nearly an extinct species. Their successors are tenant farmers, who, since they have the repairs of their dwellings and farm buildings done for them, and are helped in other ways by their landlords, have no reason to regret the change. To them Goldsmith's lines may be applied, though in rather a different sense than he intended:

> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroy'd can never be supplied.

The 'Garden City' scheme is of much more recent date than the allotment or the small holding scheme, and is of fuller promise than either. It requires no Act of Parliament to carry it out, but rests entirely on private enterprise and initiative. Its history is not a little remarkable. In the autumn of 1898, Mr. Ebenezer Howard published a little book called *To-morrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform.* The writer's root-idea was to unite the country and the town by the formation of a new unit which should embrace the attractions of both.

He likened town and country to two magnets, each striving to draw the people to itself—the town magnet offering the advantages of high wages, but largely counterbalanced by high rents and prices; the country magnet offering fresh air and water and opportunities of health and strength. These two magnets, he maintained, must be made one by the construction of a town-country magnet which should stem the tide of migration into the town and get the people 'back to the land.' Like all new ideas, time was required before the scheme could be even understood. Lectures were given and public meetings held to explain it. Mr. Howard had not long to wait. Early in 1899 was formed the 'Garden City Association,' the objects of which were to secure a wider distribution of the population over the land, and to advance the moral, intellectual, and physical development of the people by establishing garden cities on Mr. Howard's lines, of which the inhabitants should become the collective owners and yet have full scope for individual exertion.

The first practical outcome of this association was the formation of a company called 'The First Garden City, Limited,' of which Mr. Ralph Neville, K.C., was chosen chairman, other directors being Lord Brassey, Mr. Edward Cadbury, whose industrial village of Bourneville, near Birmingham, was on the same model, Mr. W. H. Lever, who had started a similar village at Port Sunlight, in Cheshire, and, of course, Mr. Howard, the originator of the entire plan. The 'First Garden City, Limited,' have purchased, as the theatre of their operations, the Letchworth Estate, near Hitchin, comprising about 4000 acres and distant some thirty-five miles from London.

The property purchased being vested in the company, the rents

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derived from it do not go to enrich any private landowner. As Lord Grey told his audience, when speaking on the spot last October, they are applied in such a way as 'to tend to refine the lives, ennoble the characters, and exalt the minds of all who reside on the estate.' This was not a mere rhetorical flourish. Coming as the words did from one who has done much to promote co-operation in his own neighbourhood in the North, and to improve the administration of public-houses in all parts of England, they were, we may be sure, spoken from the heart.

Such are some of the experiments which have been and are being tried to reanimate and improve the country districts. I must reserve for some other occasion an examination of the measures in force in the metropolis for the relief of its congested areas and the betterment of its poor. Here I can only make a passing allusion to the agencies at work—the improvements under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890 to 1903; the splendid and unique work of the Salvation Army, with its dairies, its market gardens, and other industries at Hadleigh bringing in over 35,000*l.* a year; and a host of other philanthropic institutions, denominational and lay.

* * * * *

The question of the moment is, Will any of the fiscal proposals now dividing households and disquieting politics assist in the same direction? Mr. Chamberlain's watchword is 'Greater employment for the masses,' but all he can hold out to us is greater employment for the men who know a trade and have sufficient stamina to work at it. We are all with Mr. Chamberlain in desiring this. The real social problem does not, however, lie here. It centres in, it revolves round, the incapable and the inefficient. This problem, ever present with us at our gates, is far graver than any which confronts us at our ports. Why, then, is it that when discussion is so rife, it is passed over almost in silence? Why does it not command a fraction of the public attention that is lavished on the leadership of the Liberal Unionists, or the petty sectarian squabbles over the Education Act? Let us endeavour to find the answer.

The keen American observer to whom I have already referred formulates a terrible indictment:

> The people of England have come to look on starvation and suffering, which they call 'distress,' as part of the social order. Chronic starvation is looked upon as a matter of course. It is only when acute starvation makes its appearance on a large scale that they think there is something unusual.

This is for us a hard saying, for, on the whole, we are not uncharitable. We gave 7,000,000*l.* last year to London charities alone, the hospitals receiving of this nearly 1,140,000*l.* Neither can it be affirmed that we are, on the whole, irreligious. Scripture enjoins us

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to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and we expended last year no less than 2,000,000*l.* on Foreign Missions, and nearly 420,000*l.* on Bible and Tract Societies. The indictment is nearer the mark if for 'the people of England' we read 'the sybaritic section of it,' which, with that other Scripture saying on their lips, 'The poor you have always with you,' accepts the pinching poverty of the 'uncomfortable classes' as an arrangement of Providence to be readjusted in the next world rather than in this.

So wide and so deep is the gulf which at this hour separates the rich from the poor, in spite of the heroic efforts made to span it, that many who pay no heed to Biblical texts have come to look on poverty more as a curiosity than as a trouble. When some half-clad, emaciated, foot-weary, dosser from the East End slinks along the street curb amid the palaces of the West End, they instinctively avert their eyes, or else turn them on him as if he were a visitant from another planet. Sympathy is as much killed by 'glut of numbers' as by 'gluttony of wealth'; and both are encouraged by the false scales and weights with which we gauge the national weal. Unless our population be steadily on the increase, we fondly imagine that Great Britain is on the decline. We lay more store by quantity than by quality. The upper and middle classes have learnt how 'to reconcile the conditions of living with life' by adapting the size of their families to their responsibilities. We are all of us, however, creatures of our environment; and the lowest classes who now recklessly propagate their kind, although that 'kind' is not even good 'food for powder,' would quickly learn the same lesson if they had either anything to conserve or anything to lose. In short, parents are more likely to recognise the rights of those for whose very existence they are accountable when they are in the enjoyment of rights of their own. Without the universal recognition of this cardinal truth the melioration of the entire stock will never be advanced.

Our 'gluttony of wealth' we proclaim to the world when we estimate the well-being of the nation by lumping together the millions that are turned over each year. Exports, imports, revenue from trade and agriculture—every kind of incoming and outgoing—are pressed into the service. As the columns of figures lengthen and expand, we rejoice and feel proud. With triumph we point to the swelling list, and ask what better testimony could be furnished of our 'increasing and abounding prosperity.'

And yet what does this very inflation, this very rapidity of growth prove but that certain sections of society have learned the modern trick of how to get rich? Unless those who make parade of this increase of wealth can satisfy the people that it is fairly distributed, the public danger is augmented rather than diminished. What signs are there to-day of any such fair distribution? Evidence enough have we of the influence of American methods of finance, of the

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building up of enormous fortunes by 'lucky' individuals who become in their turn beacon-lights of ambition to other less lucky mortals, not one in a hundred of whom will succeed in 'making his pile.' But this only makes the inequality more glaring.

Is there anything nowadays that is not overdone? Under the specious but flimsy disguise of 'sport' we convert our glorious woods into shambles until the moist autumnal air seems to reek with the blood of the feathered slain. There are bubble Companies plenty for the daring speculator. There is gambling with 'differences' for all. There is wholesale betting for the working classes and the domestic servants who, in imitation of their employers, eagerly risk their savings and their wages on the strength of the predictions of spurious racing-prophets. After this fashion are our national ideals formed. After this fashion are gods set up in our national temples.

It is no exaggeration to say that the worship of wealth in England has now reached a point beyond anything that has gone before. To have accumulated it ensures for a man the highest consideration and esteem. To be allied to money, to bring it in by marriage or association, is to be 'on the make.' To be without money is taken as plain proof of failure, or of incompetency to run the race. A man may have sacrificed his chances in life for the sake of what he held to be his honour. He may in consequence go poor all his days. Pity will be freely bestowed on him; admiration, never. The unexpressed judgment of his world will be, What a fool he has been!

The possession of wealth being thus the day-dream of every 'clever fellow,' what happens should he at last begin to realise a tithe of his vision? He must of course announce his genius. This he can only do by the display of his counters. His women-kind are here only too ready to rush to his aid. When he starts for his house of business in the morning, they take up the running, often with wonderful pluck and spirit, entering the lists against those who are much better equipped for the fray than themselves.

Lady Jeune, whose authority will not be questioned, writing in the *Ladies' Field*, says:

> Dress, like everything else in these days, has completely altered, and the standard of dress likewise. What was considered suitable and becoming twenty years ago would be obsolete and impossible to-day. Thirty years ago, five or six hundred a year was a good allowance for a married woman who went much into Society. Nowadays it would hardly pay for her petticoats, gloves, shoes, and boots.

This estimate, I am assured by those who know, is not overstated.

Life is lived on the plane that offers the least possible trouble to the liver, along with the greatest opportunities for expenditure. The home *chef* is exchanged for the *chef* of the smart hotel. But lately, a

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man who had inherited large possessions meditatively remarked that he could not get along on his father's income. When a solicitous friend asked him why, he replied, he could not tell how it was, but 'he supposed in dad's time there were no restaurants.' He might have added that in 'dad's time' bridge twice a day was equally unknown. Neither in 'dad's time' did the pleasant practice prevail of spending in London three days of every week, year in, year out, save during the dead months of the late summer and early autumn—a practice rendered more and more facile by the motor in our midst. Recollect, money so spent does not find its way into the pockets of the proletariat. It sticks to the purveyors of the luxuries indulged in, who have themselves studied the art of climbing quite as closely as their customers. And what of the effect on the deserted provinces? And what of the example? As to the first, the record is before us in these pages. As to the second, everyone knows that what the 'top-drawer' does to-day, the other 'drawers' will inevitably do to-morrow.

Of no use is it to lay foundation-stones, to open bazaars, to organise charity entertainments, to visit hospitals and workhouses, even to become mayor or mayoress of your town, if the whole of the rest of your time is spent in the pursuit of excitement and self-gratification. Such sporadic duty-calls deceive nobody. For these are the days when no secrets are hid; when, indeed, all secrets are laid fatally bare by the altruistic efforts of an enlightened halfpenny press.

It is said that it will be reckoned the grandest achievement of the early part of the present century to have discovered the disintegration of material atoms and to have adapted their countless components to curative uses. A far grander and more practical achievement, aye, grander and more practical than the consolidation of the Empire, would be the discovery of some means of re-integrating and re-combining our social atoms, which are now too utterly sundered to act and react wholesomely on each other. The first steps towards the fulfilment of this high purpose will be taken if the so-called leaders will set out in earnest to purify their pleasures and, above all, to simplify their lives. Reform is always and everywhere safer than revolution, and revolution, be it remembered, has before now lain hidden in the folds of neglected reform.

Mr. Thomas Hardy in his new drama, *The Dynasts*, puts a speech into the mouth of Pitt after Austerlitz, which gives to think at the present hour:

> Roll up that map. 'Twill not be needed now
> These ten years! Realms, laws, peoples, dynasties,
> Are churning to a pulp within the maw
> Of Empire-making Lust and personal Gain.

MONTAGUE CRACKANTHORPE.

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A FORGOTTEN VOLUME IN SHAKSPEARE'S LIBRARY

THE books that Shakspeare read, and remembered when he was composing his plays and poems, must always possess a singular attraction for those who concern themselves with English literature. They seem to occupy a place apart, above their meaner fellows, in having been singled out by our greatest poet as containing some fact, phrase, or thought which he considered worthy of notice, imitation, or embellishment—some triviality to which his genius was destined to lend a portion of the immortality belonging to his own creations.

Many, however, as are the volumes which have passed the scrutiny of students of the Elizabethan age as worthy of being numbered among the books believed to have been in Shakspeare's library, there is one work which, up to the present, seems to have escaped the vigilant investigations of the editorial hierarchy, and the commentators whose researches have resulted in the compilation of what may be called the Catalogue of Shakspeare's books.

I venture to advocate the claims of this neglected volume to a place beside its more fortunate and honoured contemporaries.

The work is one of extreme rarity,[1] and its title runs as follows:

The Civile Conversation of M. Steeuen Guazzo, written first in Italian, and nowe translated out of French by George Pettie, divided into foure bookes.

In the first is conteined in generall, the fruites that may be reaped by conversation and teaching howe to knowe good companie from yll.

In the second, the manner of conversation, meete for all persons, which shall come in any companie, out of their owne houses, and then of the perticular points which ought to bee observed in companie betweene young men and olde, gentlemen and Yeomen, Princes and private persons, learned and unlearned, Citizens and strangers, Religious and Secular, men and women.

In the third, is perticularly set foorth the orders to be observed in conversation within doores, betweene the husband and the wife, the father and the sonne, brother and brother, the maister and the servant.

In the fourth, the report of a banquet.

Imprinted at London by Richard Watkins 1581.

[1] I have been unable to trace more than three existing copies of this the 1st ed.—one in the Signet Library, Edinburgh, one sold at Sotheby's in 1897, and my own.

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It is 4to in size, and printed in black letter.[2]

This interesting volume is not in any sense a Manual of Conversation, although it contains in places many excellent maxims and suggestions as to how conversation should best be carried on.

In form it is a dialogue between *Guazzo* and *Anniball*, the former (a younger brother of the author) being a gentleman attached to the Court of Lord Lewes Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, Lieutenant-general of the most Christian King Charles the Ninth; and the latter, his friend Maister Anniball Magnocavalli, a philosopher and physician of Saluce (Saluzzo) in Italy. The writer tells us in his Preface that his brother had recounted to him what had passed between the speakers during their many discourses—'and for that,' he continues, 'I thought them so well seasoned, that they might long time bee preserved to the profite of posteritie . . . I have been gathering together their discourses, which in effect were like to these which followe heere.'

In the opening pages of the dialogue Anniball endeavours to cheer his companion, and to give him hope in the sickness from which he had long been suffering, 'a quartane Ague and other great distemperatures of his body'; but before long their discourse turns to the main topic of the work, 'Civile Conversation,' which is defined by one of the speakers to be, 'an honest, commendable, and vertuous Kinde of living in the world.' The volume is in fact a complete *résumé* of conduct in life as it should be; and it presents us with a picture of Italian manners, ceremonies, customs, occupations, foibles, dress, and thought of the day; so full of reliable and interesting details, that it may be looked on as a very storehouse of information for anyone who desired to make himself acquainted with the realities of Italian society at that period. It is just such a book as a dramatist who was preparing a play, the scene of which was to be laid in Italy, would at once seize hold of, and one by the aid of which he could supply himself with all the local colouring required to make his play a living creation, and one to which the travelled portion of his spectators could raise no objection on the score of misrepresentation or inaccuracy touching the behaviour or conversation of his characters. The work was evidently much read in England, as it went through two editions in the course of six years—the second edition appearing in 1586[3]—so that, having regard to its character and popularity, there is nothing surprising in the assumption that Shakspeare in some way became familiar with its contents. My contention is that he knew the book well, and used it largely in his

[2] The original Italian edition was published in 1574. Two French translations, by F. Belleforest and G. Chappuys, appeared in 1579.

[3] The fourth book, although mentioned in the title of 1581, was not included in the first edition. Its first appearance in English was in the edition of 1586. The translation, which was left unfinished by Pettie, was then completed, from the Italian, by Bartholomew Young.

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writings, however little the fact seems to have been observed by those who have devoted themselves to the study of his works.

We are all aware with what freedom Shakspeare utilised the literary material current in his day. His plots, with few exceptions, are reproductions of stories or chronicles which were already in an English garb before he had commenced to write. Here and there through all his pages we find echoes from the works of earlier authors, turns of thought and speech, culled as it were at haphazard from all the literary fields over which his mind had wandered, and stored up in his receptive memory against the time when they might be turned to account; and from the cradle days of Shakspearian criticism the commentators have busied themselves in collecting and pointing out the sources, contemporary or otherwise, from which passages containing such echoes have in all likelihood been derived.

Following in the footsteps of such commentators, I venture to suggest that the parallelisms between Shakspeare's writings and Pettie's translation of the *Civile Conversation*, which I am about to cite, go far towards showing that the Great Poet was in no small measure indebted to the work of his now somewhat neglected contemporary.

To commence, then, with *Hamlet*. In this play there are no fewer than eight cases where the similarity of thought and mode of expression are so remarkable that it is difficult to believe that even Shakspeare could have written *all* these passages without a knowledge of the earlier work.

> *Ham.* Ha, ha! Are you honest
> *Ophelia.* My lord?
> *Ham.* Are you fair?
> *Ophelia.* What means your lordship?
> *Ham.* That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.
> *Ophelia.* Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty? (iii. 1.)

Lines which seem to be a direct echo of the following:

> Ad hereto that bewty breedeth temptation, temptation dishonour: for it is a matter almost impossible, and sieldome seene, that those two great enimies, bewty and honesty agree together . . . and though it fall out often that bewty and honesty are joyned togither, yet it falleth out sieldome, but that exquisite bewty is had in suspition.—(*Civ. Con.*, Book iii. 5 a.)

On the very next page of Pettie's work, are the words:

> . . . those which use artificial means, *displease God much, in altering his image*, and please men never a whit, in going about to deceive them. I know no man of judgemẽt, but setteth more, by ods, by a naturall bewty that sheweth but meanly, then by a *painted* artificial bewty that shineth most gallantly.—(iii. 6.)

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And a page further on:

We will maintain then that a woman taking away and changing the colour and complexion *which God hath given her*, taketh unto her that which belongeth to a harlot.—(iii. 7.)

Passages that may well have been in Shakspeare's mind when he wrote:

I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another.—(*Hamlet*, iii. 1.)

Again, if Hamlet declares:

Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny.—(iii. 1.)

Pettie is still before him with:

I never yet hitherunto knewe man so good and vertuous, which hath not been subject to the malice and slaunders of some one.—(i. 47.)

And if Prince Hamlet says:

Denmark's a prison. . . . To me it is a prison.—(ii. 2.)

Pettie had already said:

The Citie to me is a prison.—(i. 8.)

In Book II. of the *Civile Conversation* there are some excellent and pithy admonitions touching the proper delivery of speech, somewhat long, however, to reproduce here in their entirety. The extracts which follow will give an idea of their nature:

The voyce must be neither fainte . . . neither shrill nor loud *like a crier*. . . . It is muche in my opinion to keepe a certaine maiestie in the jesture, which speaketh as it were by using silence, and constraineth as it were by way of commaundement, the hearers to have it in admiration and reverence. Yet herein is required such a *moderation* that a man with too litle be net immoveable like an image, neither with too much, too busie, like an Ape. . . . And therefore it is necessarie *to use a meane*, that the *pronuntiation* be neither too swift nor too slow . . . and therefore we must speake freely. . . . We must likewise take heede we speake not of the throate, like one that hath some meate in his mouth which is too hotte . . . a *player-like* kinde of lightnesse . . . *to see the wordes agree to the jesture* . . . the hearer to take heede of rude lowtishe lookes . . . and of laughing without occasion . . . so great agreement is there *betweene the words and the countenance, and the countenance and the wordes* . . . and yet we must see that this change (*i.e.* of voice) be made *with discretion*.—(ii. 11, 12, 13.)

One can hardly peruse these passages without recalling Hamlet's address to the players:

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I *pronounced* it to you, *trippingly on the tongue*: but if you *mouth it* . . . I had as lief the *town-crier* spoke my lines . . . but use all gently; for in the very torrent . . . of passion, you must acquire and *beget a temperance*. . . .

Be not too tame neither, but let your own *discretion* be your tutor: *suit the action to the word, the word to the action*: with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. . . . Now this overdone, or come tardy off, *though it make the unskilful laugh*, cannot but make the judicious grieve.—(iii. 2.)

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Somewhat later in the second book we read of those who 'hyde their woundes, and make them to fester inwardly' (ii. 33); so *Hamlet*:

> It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
> Whilst rank corruption, mining all within,
> Infects unseen.—(iii. 4.)

Much of the dialogue between Guazzo and his philosophic friend turns on dress, its use and its abuse; and in speaking of the wearing of costumes unsuited to one's station in life, he says:

> This abuse is so in use at this day in Italy, that as well in men as women, a man can discern no difference in estates. And you shal see the Clownes will be as brave as the Artificers, the Artificers as the Merchantes, and the Merchantes as the Gentlemen. . . . *But you shall not see this disorder and confusion in Fraunce*, where, by auncient custome, severall apparell is worne, according to everie ones calling. So that by the garments only, you may know, etc.—(ii. 46 a.)

A passage which at once brings to mind some of the 'few precepts' delivered by Polonius to his son:

> Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
> But not express'd in fancy; rich not gaudy:
> For the apparel oft proclaims the man:
> *And they in France*, of the best rank and station,
> Are of a most select and generous chief in that.—(*Ham.* i. 3.)

Of smaller importance, as coincidences, are:

> A thing ill begun will come to a worse end.—(*Civ. Con.* iii. 23.)

and

> Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.—(*Ham.* iii. 4.)

and the somewhat uncommon phrase 'the rites of war' (*Ham. ad fin.*), which is also to be found in the earlier work (i. 25 a.)

The phrase 'to make a virtue of necessity' may, or may not, have been borrowed by Shakspeare (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 1). It is found in a Latin form in the patristic writers, and it also occurs in *The Canterbury Tales*; but if Shakspeare used it at second hand, George Pettie is more likely to have been his literary creditor than any other author:

> Whereof followeth a vertue of necessitie.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 5.)

In the same play, too, we have other similarities, such as:

> O jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,
> As a nose on a man's face. . . .—(ii. 1.)

and in the same *ironical* sense in Pettie:

> The simple soules not perceiving that this their transformation, or rather deformation, is no more seene then a nose in a man's face.—(ii. 35.)

While later on we read:

> To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue . . . place it for her chief virtue.—(v. 3.)

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an idea which Mr. Churton Collins[4] thinks was borrowed by Shakspeare from the *Ajax* of Sophocles. I am inclined to think, however, that it was borrowed, if at all, from a sentence in the *Civile Conversation*: 'the answere of wise women is silence' (iii. 19 a). The fact that a snail 'carries his house on his head,' as Rosalind puts it (*As You Like It*, iv. 1), can hardly perhaps be relied on as suggesting that Shakspeare was indebted to some other writer for so obvious an idea; but, coupled with so many other coincidences, it is at least worthy of notice that Pettie also talks of 'the snayle' as being 'able to carrie his house about with him' (i. 47).

The well-known

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> (*As You Like It*, ii. 7.)

has been traced to many sources of origin, both Latin and English; I doubt, however, if Shakspeare found the idea anywhere but in the *Civile Conversation*:

> Another used likewyse to say, that this world was a stage, wee the players whiche present the Comedie . . . and that wee whiche are the players, are in a manner all of us given to play those partes whiche you have spoken of.[5]—(ii. 6).

Again, in the same play we have,

> If the cat will after kind,
> So be sure will Rosalind.—(iii. 2.)

and here again Pettie is first in the field with,

> remembering the saying that the Eagle breedeth not the Pigeon, but that Cat will after Kynde.—(iii. 7 a.)

Almost immediately following there is yet another passage in *As You Like It*, and one which has puzzled commentators sorely—so much so, that, unable to explain it, they have been driven to alter the text of the first folio ('emend' the editors it call), by substituting 'rate' for 'ranke' in Touchstone's lines:

> I'll rhyme you so, eight years together; dinners, and suppers, and sleeping hours excepted; it is the right Butter-women's *ranke* to Market.—(*Ibid.*)

But with the aid of Pettie's work, all difficulty is at once removed, for he uses the very word which formed the stumbling-block of the editors, and supplies us also with its explanation:

> All the women of the towne runne thyther *of a ranke, as it were in procession.*—(iii. 38 a.)

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[4] *Fortnightly Review*, July 1903, p. 116.

[5] Since noticing this parallel, I find that Francis Douce had already mentioned it in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1839, and further, had quoted one other passage from *Pettie's Guazzo* in connection with some lines in *Timon of Athens*. It is curious that so vigilant and laborious a student of Elizabethan literature should not have quoted the *Civile Conversation* more largely. His copy, the *second* edition, is now in the Bodleian Library.

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Again, take Touchstone's

Why, if thou never wast at court, thou never sawest good manners; if thou never sawest good manners, then thy manners must be wicked; and wickedness is sin, and sin is damnation.—(iii. 2.)

Both sentiment and method of argument bear a close affinity to:

A man cannot be a right man without conversation. For he that useth not company hath no experience, he that hath no experience, hath no judgment, and hee that hath no judgment, is no better then a beast.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 18 a.)

and later on,

Anniball. This countrey surely in my opinion, bringeth foorth no good servingmen.
Guazzo. I think the cause of it is . . . Princes sieldome keepe their Courtes where servingmen chieflye learne good behaviour.—(iii. 58 a.)

Turning now to *The Taming of the Shrew*, we are still met with unmistakable traces of George Pettie. For instance, the lines,

Whose hap shall be to have her,
Will not so graceless be to be ingrate.—(i. 2, 270.)

may not improbably have been suggested by

no child should be so graceless and grateles . . . to forget these three benefits received.—(*Civ. Con.* iii. 36.)

Again,

Baptista. If either of you both love Katharina . . .
Leave shall you have to *court* her at your pleasure.
Gremio. To *cart* her rather: she's too rough for me.—(i. 1, 52.)

with which compare,

that coveting to bee *courtlike*, they become plain *cartlike*.—(*Civ. Con.* ii. 30 a.)

and later,

though they take upon them the name of *Courtiers*, yet in their behaviour they shewe themselves little better than *Carters*.—(*Ib.* 36 a.)

It is, besides, possible, that when Shakspeare gave the name of 'Sugarsop' to one of the servants in this play (iv. 1, 92), he may have had in mind the two 'receites' which *Anniball* gives for enabling courtiers to maintain themselves in their prince's favour; 'These are abstinence, or else suger soppes'—a phrase the mystic significance of which the speaker proceeds to explain in verse:

Before their Prince let Courtiers silent be,
Or let their words be saust (sauced) with pleasant glee.—(iii. 56.)

In *Othello* there are two passages which seem to be clear reminiscences of *Pettie's Guazzo*. 'The Tyrant Custom' (*Oth.* i. 3) may have its origin in 'Doubtless Custome is a great Tyrant' (*Civ. Con.* i. 24); but a more important instance is to be found in the lines,

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Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
Who steals my purse, steals trash: . . . .
But he that filches from me my good name, etc.—(iii. 3, 155.)

which may well have been developed from,

For as the soule is more precious then the body, so it is a greater offence to take away one's good name, which refresheth the soule, then to defraud one of food, which sustaineth the body.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 27.)

In discoursing of maligners of the dead, *Anniball* says:

And of these, this *saying* rose, that the Lion being dead, the verie Hares triumph over him.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 31.)

While in *King John* we have,

You are the hare of whom the *proverb* goes,
Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard.—(ii. 1, 137.)

Where did Shakspeare meet with this *Italian* proverb, if not in Pettie's translation?

In the *Comedy of Errors* the Duke exclaims:

I think you all have *drunk of Circe's Cup*.—(v. 1, 270.)

but here, too, the phrase is Pettie's:

Yea, wee must deale so warily in the matter, that it may be said that wee have been in the very jawes of Scilla and *drunke of Cyrce's Cup*, and yet have escaped both drowning and transforming.—(ii. 71 a.)

Then, again, in speaking of the undying enmity of Eteocles and Polynices, one of Pettie's characters states that 'death was not able to take up their controversies, or set an end to their *cancred* hatred' (iii. 42); and so the prince in *Romeo and Juliet* (i. 1, 102) talks of the 'canker'd hate' of Capulet and Montague; while later in the same play Juliet exclaims:

O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face.—(iii. 2.)

which looks extremely like the recollection of a quotation used by Pettie:

That in the fayrest flowers and grasse, the serpent most doeth lurke.—(*Civ. Con.* ii. 16.)

The phrase 'a fool's Paradise' is nowadays of very common occurrence; but it does not seem to have been so in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as is shown by the fact that, in illustrating the expression where it occurs in *Romeo and Juliet* (ii. 4), Malone, with all his knowledge of the writers of that period, cites only one instance of its use in Shakspeare's day, from a *Handful of Pleasant Delightes*, etc. 1584. *Pettie's Guazzo* was, as I have mentioned, first published in 1581, and the phrase occurs in the second book (69 a).

In *Henry VI.*, Part II., we read:

Whose smile and frown, like to *Achilles' spear*,
Is able with the change to kill and cure.—(v. 1, 100.)]

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in illustration of which Malone cites Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, 1599, where an allusion is found to the qualities of 'Achilles' launce.'

But if this editor suggested, as he seems to do, that Shakspeare was here borrowing from Greene, he must have forgotten that he himself in his Introduction was satisfied that *Henry VI.*, Part II., was written at an earlier date than 1599. It is therefore more likely that here also the idea was taken from Pettie's description of 'the weapons of Achilles, with which you both woũd and heale' (i. 2 a).

Here, again, is a quotation from Pettie's work which may have suggested the idea in the well-known lines in *Macbeth* which I have placed after it:

For our Galen sayth, the disquiet of the minde breedeth the disease of the bodye; and that he hath cured many diseases by bringing the *pulses into good temper*,[6] and by quieting the minde; but being not so well skilled in curing *diseased mindes* as I should be, and knowing my selfe to have neede of Phisicke, I will be with you to-morrow, etc.—(Book iii. 56 a.)

Macb. How does your patient, doctor?
Doct. Not so sick my lord,
As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies,
That keep her from her rest.
Macb. Cure her of that.
Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased . . . ?
Doct. Therein the patient
Must minister to himself.
Macb. Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it.—(v. 3, 40.)

We read in *All's Well that Ends Well* (ii. 2, 40):

I will be a fool in question, hoping to be the wiser by your answer.

and in Pettie:

Of the wise thou shalt learne to make thy selfe better, Of fooles, to make thy selfe more advised.—(ii. 5.)

While Isabella's oft-quoted lines,

That in the captain's but a choleric word
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.—(*M. for M.* ii. 2.)

have more than a passing resemblance to the same sentiment as it occurs in *Pettie's Guazzo*:

Remembring the saying, That the vaine wordes of temporall men, are meere blasphemies in the mouth of spirituall men.—(ii. 64.)

Guazzo's description of the lover is a good example of his close powers of observation:

So soone as he spyeth comming a farre of, her whom hee hath placed most neere to his heart, I warrant you he setteth his ruffes, hee *turneth his Cappe and feather the right way*, hee pulleth up his cloake about his shoulders, hee standeth on tiptoe, hee sheweth a joyfull and smyling countenaunce, and hee seemeth to become a newe man, that hee bee more acceptable to the sight of his mistresse, etc.—(ii. 66 a.)

[6] Cf. *Hamlet*: 'My pulse as yours, doth *temperately* keep time.'—(iii. 4, 140.)

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and the creator of Benedick would seem to have remembered something of it when making that prince of bachelors, in his unregenerate days, exclaim:

> Is't come to this? I' faith, hath not the world one man, but he will *wear his cap with suspicion*?—(*Much Ado*, i. 1, 199.)

But if the Plays have been influenced by the English rendering of *Guazzo*, there is no good reason why the Sonnets should be free from all traces of that work. As a fact, I do not think that they either have escaped its influence.

The first seventeen of them are dominated by a single idea, which, when stripped of the ever-varying luxuriance of gorgeous imagery into which it is cast, takes the form of an exhortation to the youth to whom these Sonnets are addressed, that he should marry, and so perpetuate his race. The thought cannot be said to be an uncommon one; and it is, of course, readily conceivable that it originated with the poet himself. Yet if he *did* borrow from Pettie in other instances, perhaps he did so here. The *possibility* of his having done so is certainly apparent from the following:

> but you know that a wise and stayed man frameth himself cherefully to any kinde of life, and specially forgetteth not this sentence, That it is an execrable thing wilfully to deprive oneself of immortalitie, which he doth who seeketh not to have wife and children.—(iii. 2.)

I have pointed out already that Shakspeare may have derived much of the local colouring which forms so salient a feature in his Italian plays from a study of *Pettie's Guazzo*. The apparent accuracy of his topographical knowledge concerning countries which he had never visited, coupled with the fact that guide-books were unknown in his day, has been a source of trouble to some of his admirers.

One of the difficulties upon which they lay peculiar stress is that connected with his references to the water communication between places in North Italy, which is now known to have been in existence in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This difficulty is, however, to some extent, disposed of by a reference to the *Civile Conversation*, where we find mention of persons, 'bounde from Padua to Venice,' embarking in a vessel for the purpose of getting to their destination—a means of communication between these places which is obviously alluded to in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

> *Tranio.* 'Tis death for anyone in Mantua
> *To come to Padua. . . .*
> *Your ships are stay'd at Venice.*—(iv. 2.)

Such then are the more important passages which, in my opinion, compel one to believe that Shakspeare was thoroughly familiar with George Pettie's work when engaged in composing his Plays and Sonnets.

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There are yet other parallels which I might mention, although of minor importance; but I hardly think they would be likely to add any greater probability to my contention.[7]

It is a somewhat curious fact that George Pettie, as a writer, should be best known to readers of Elizabethan letters as the author of the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*—a collection of stories, published about 1576, which gained a wide popularity as soon as printed. The work failed, however, to meet with the approbation of one very capable judge of literary matters, Anthony à Wood; who, when he stated that Pettie 'was much commended for his neat style as any of his time,' must, I fancy, have been thinking chiefly of his translation of Guazzo; which, independently of any attraction it may have for Shakspearian scholars, is in every sense a charming example of English prose writing at its very best. There is hardly a dull page in it from its opening to the end; every sentence is lucidly framed and, in many cases, brilliantly expressed; and lit, as it not infrequently is, by flashes of quaint and genuine humour—teeming with pithily turned precepts on behaviour, and all else that goes to make society agreeable to mankind in every station—it rises at times to a serious eloquence which may be compared with much of the finest prose writing of the 'spacious days' of the late sixteenth century. There are few volumes that would make a more interesting reprint.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

[7] I have already shown, in the case of the word 'ranke,' the value of such a book as Pettie's Translation as a means of expounding a verbal difficulty resulting from the change which a long course of years has effected in our language. A like instance of its utility as an interpreter appears in a remarkable way in connection with a passage in *Macbeth*, where the line:

'Their daggers unmannerly *breeched* with gore.'—(ii. 3, 122.)

has fairly puzzled the commentators, many of whom (including the editors of the *New English Dictionary*) take the word 'breeched' as meaning, in a figurative sense, 'covered, or clothed, with breeches'! Mr. Charles Mackay's explanation of the word as derived from Keltic, 'breach,' a spot (*Glossary of Obscure Words in Shakespeare, etc.* London, 1887), although he does not quote any other example of its use in English in this sense, must be taken to be the true one, when we read such a passage as the following in the *Civile Conversation*: 'which have their wit so *breeched* that they cannot discerne sweete from soure.'—(i. 4.)

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AN EX-PRISONER ON PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS

I HAVE read with no little interest the article which appeared in the January number of this Review from the pen of Sir Robert Anderson on the best means of dealing with professional criminals. The article in question is one of a series on the same subject by the same writer. I read these *en bloc* some time ago, but I did not then contemplate inditing a reply to them. Nor should I as a matter of fact criticise Sir Robert Anderson's very latest pronouncement on his pet subject were it not that the Home Secretary, at the close of last session, laid on the table of the House of Commons a Bill to amend the law relating to Penal Servitude with a view to the Bill being considered during the recess. This Bill is presumably to be reintroduced during the coming session. The object of it is, briefly, to 'make it hot' for the professional criminal. Sir Robert Anderson evidently imagines his several articles have had a direct result in producing this Bill. That may be so, but quite evidently Sir Robert Anderson only intends to take the Bill as something on account. He apparently has a much shorter, and certainly far more drastic, panacea for abolishing the professional criminal than that contemplated by the Bill. Sir Robert Anderson's remedy for dealing with a certain section of his fellow creatures, who have broken the law a certain number of times, and have been tracked down and punished for their dereliction, is to permanently incarcerate them until public opinion is sufficiently ripe for exterminating them as mere vermin. When that time arrives, presumably a lethal chamber will be attached to every large prison into which the professional criminal will be introduced for the same purpose as the superfluous dogs in the Battersea Dogs' Home are conducted to the lethal chamber therein. I have no doubt, when the time does arrive, if it ever should, for this manner of treating the professional criminal to be brought into vogue, there will not be wanting gentlemen who will indite articles for the reviews, poking fun at the 'humanity-mongers' and pleading that a painless death in a lethal chamber is far too lenient a method of dealing with such human vermin.

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Perhaps I had better at once say that I am not myself what is usually termed a professional criminal. But I have had the misfortune to undergo a term of penal servitude, and have accordingly had some opportunity of arriving at the ideas and opinions of professional criminals, and can, I think, bring to bear on the subject of the best means of dealing with them something other than merely theoretical views. I have lived with these men, I have made a close study of them for some years, and I certainly claim to know more of them practically than Sir Robert Anderson does, despite his vast experience in Scotland Yard. At the same time perhaps I had better say that I have not the slightest doubt Sir Robert Anderson is perfectly sincere in the opinions he expresses. Indeed, with some of those opinions I find myself in complete agreement. No man has ever indited truer or more pregnant words in regard to the present prison system than those of Sir Robert Anderson in the article which appeared in the last issue of this Review. He says: 'In certain cases penal servitude is barbarously cruel. In such cases, indeed, its operation is really a disgrace to a civilised country. But to the gaol bird there is no element of cruelty in it. He settles down to it in the spirit in which an officer on service accepts exile in some particularly undesirable foreign station. There is nothing in it likely to elevate and reform anybody.' These words are, as I have said, the truth and nothing but the truth. It is, I think, deplorable that such things should be true in the fourth year of the twentieth century. It is, in my opinion, still more deplorable that the man who has had sufficient light to convince himself of these facts, and sufficient courage to publicly assert them, should at the same time put forward a plea for a manner of dealing with the professional criminal which, if put into force, would be a disgrace to our civilisation, a travesty on our Christianity.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, in the *History of our Own Times*, has remarked, and remarked correctly, that in no country except England is there a distinct criminal class, and he contends, and I believe rightly, that this criminal class is merely the natural result of our existing prison system. In other words, that English prisons, instead of being simply punitive or simply reformative institutions, or both combined, are in reality forcing-houses for criminals. Mr. McCarthy quotes the expressed belief of an ex-prisoner that the present English prison system takes out of a man the heart of a man and puts in its place the heart of a beast. I believe this to be the literal truth, and, if it be the truth, the man so metamorphosed can hardly be blamed if, upon his release, he acts as a beast. That so large a proportion of ex-prisoners do not so act is I think greatly to their credit. Be that as it may, I feel no hesitation whatever in asserting that the English prison system is largely, if not altogether, responsible for the manufacture of the English professional criminal.

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Sir Robert Anderson's remedy is not to reform the prison system or attempt to reform the criminal, but to seize on the professional criminal and keep him permanently incarcerated in the place that has made him what he is until the time arrives when, public opinion having been sufficiently educated to sanction it, the professional criminal will, instead of being incarcerated, be exterminated.

It is impossible to read Sir Robert Anderson's article without perceiving that it is one likely to have a convincing effect on most persons who may peruse it. More false conclusions are arrived at in this world from the use of false analogies than from any other kind of argument. It is a peculiarly false analogy which has probably rendered Sir Robert Anderson's article so convincing to the superficial reader. This false analogy has done duty not only in his last article but in all his previous articles on the same subject. Sir Robert Anderson draws a comparison between some particularly malevolent wild beast unknown to natural history and a professional criminal as known, in theory, to Sir Robert Anderson. 'If,' he says, 'superstition decreed that a dangerous beast must neither be destroyed nor permanently kept in confinement, every year added to the period for which it might be shut up would, of course, be a practical benefit to the community. But most people would think it not only stupid but wicked to turn it loose at all.' The attempted argument from a false analogy is plausible, but, I contend, entirely fallacious when closely examined. Let me examine it for a moment. Suppose the fierceness of Sir Robert Anderson's wild beast, which, by the way, was originally a tame beast, had been induced by a long period of confinement, during the whole of which it had been goaded, pricked, half-starved, and subjected to a long course of irritating and petty annoyances which had resulted in the 'beast' being reduced to an extremely savage condition. Suppose that, at the acme of its savageness, it had been released from confinement and given just sufficient sustenance to keep it alive for a week or two, and that, at the expiration of that period, no further sustenance or means of obtaining sustenance were provided, and no man would have the 'beast' at any price or upon any consideration. Suppose then the 'beast' in its obstinacy determined, by some process of mental obfuscation, that, having been sent into the world presumably to live, as no man would help it, it would help itself. The 'beast' does help itself and, being detected in so doing, is once again subjected to the confinement, the goading, pricking, and irritating process, continued this time for a longer period. Rendered even more savage, it is in due course once again released, has the same experience, is once again detected in supplying itself because it has no other alternative. The 'beast' this time is decided by 'the authorities' to be an habitually ill-disposed animal, incurably savage, innately depraved, and all the rest of it, and, according to Sir Robert Anderson's plan, should, if not at once exterminated, be,

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at any rate, permanently shut up and presumably rendered more savage still. No one apparently, unless he be a 'humanity-monger,' has ever thought, or, if he has thought, has ever suggested the ceasing of the goading and irritating process, the kindly treatment of the 'beast' on its release from captivity and the making of some attempt to bring it back to its former condition of tameness. I have considered the 'beast' from a purely material standpoint. There are, however, men who believe that the particular 'beast' referred to by Sir Robert Anderson is not in fact a mere beast but has a soul, that that soul is immortal, and that the possessor of it is linked to his fellow-creatures from that very fact by other ties than link the beasts of the field, to which it has been compared, to man. Only the 'humanity-mongers' seemingly voice the brotherhood of man as regards the treatment of actual and ex-prisoners, and in this great Christian country no one save they appears to consider that even a professional criminal, who, after all, is the possessor of a human soul, however degraded the possessor may have become, deserves and should receive from his fellow-men some other treatment than that of a wild beast. If his fellow-men have for some reason, good or bad, deprived him of his liberty and subjected him to various restraints and punishments of an extremely artificial nature, which, if they have any effect at all, can only render him more unfitted for the battle of life, those fellow-creatures have, I submit, an obligation and a moral responsibility in regard to that man which cannot be got rid of, however they may be covered over or confused, by drastic proposals of putting the man where he will be out of sight and out of mind.

I am not concerned to deal with Sir Robert Anderson's quotations of the *obiter dicta* of several judges on the subject of the treatment of professional criminals. I have a great respect for the judges as a body, but, after all, they know little or nothing as to the treatment of prisoners when undergoing the sentences inflicted on them; and at the best, a man who is continually being brought into contact with crime, constantly talking high morality from the Bench, and everlastingly sentencing his fellow-creatures to long terms of imprisonment, is prone to take a somewhat morbid view of criminals and their ways. Quite recently a prisoner was arraigned at the Old Bailey on a charge of bigamy. The man had previously served a term of penal servitude for some other offence and had narrated his experiences of convict life in a popular magazine. The prosecuting counsel mentioned the fact to the judge, and suggested that perhaps his lordship might have read the narrative in question. The judge replied that such things had no interest whatever for him, and his observation was received with laughter. This is, I fear, the spirit in which too many judges send men to long terms of penal servitude. The details of their incarceration do not interest the judge who, by some process of mental arithmetic I have never been able to com-

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prehend, decides on the precise time the man in the dock shall be kept in confinement. To my unsophisticated mind a public official charged with so solemn a duty as depriving his fellow-creatures of their liberty for such periods as he thinks fit should have some comprehension as to what the punishment he inflicts precisely means.

As I have said, during the period of my incarceration I conversed with some hundreds of prisoners belonging to what is known as the professional or habitual criminal class, those desperate, hardened, clever criminals of whom we hear and read so much. I got at these men's sentiments, ideas, and feelings, and I believe I am safe in saying that in only two instances did I encounter prisoners whom I put down as utterly irreclaimable. As for the remainder, they were professional criminals simply because no other profession was open to them. To suggest, as writers like Sir Robert Anderson do, that these men are burglars, housebreakers, pickpockets, or whatever it be, because they hanker after pursuing these occupations is, to my mind, sheer nonsense. These men are professional criminals for very much the same reason as ninety-nine hundredths of the women who nightly patrol the streets of the metropolis are professional prostitutes —because their wills have been weak and circumstances have been too strong for them. To assert that these professional criminals are mere wild beasts impossible of being brought back to the path of rectitude is, to my thinking, not only absurd but untrue. No one attempts the reclamation process either in gaol or out of it. Once a man has worn a prison suit, the world, whatever may be its protestations to the contrary, tacitly declares him an outlaw, every man's hand is against him, he is a pariah, an outcast, and, unless he be a man of strong will and fierce determination, or has private means, or friends to assist him, he almost naturally relapses into crime. It is in fact his only alternative, and the men he has met in prison are the only persons who will assist him. I confess I feel sick when I read the puling sentimentality which, from time to time, appears in reviews and newspapers anent the innate depravity of the criminal, knowing as I do the struggle, the almost hopeless struggle, the ex-prisoner has to make, if he is to exist without infringing the law. No doubt, there are prisoners' aid societies which receive and spend the vicarious charity of the public. These societies will, I know, receive the prisoner on his discharge and make him clearly understand that he is an ex-prisoner, they will dole him out the paltry gratuity he has earned in prison, and, if he wants anything else, they will employ him to chop wood or at some such congenial labour—at a profit to the society. These institutions may do excellent work for all I know, but the excellent work has not come under my notice. How they expend their funds has always been a mystery to me, because in not one solitary instance—and I have made hundreds of inquiries—have I been able to trace the fact of their having rendered efficient aid

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to any discharged prisoner. Sir Robert Anderson must, I imagine, be in a position to know that these societies, however excellent the aims with which they were started, are now practically useless as regards the reclamation and assistance of discharged prisoners; and the two things are most intimately bound up together. If Sir Robert Anderson does not know, his former subordinates at Scotland Yard most certainly do. They are under no misapprehension as to the efficacy of prisoners' aid societies, and they are fully cognisant of the fact, which Sir Robert Anderson apparently has not grasped, that the reason so many men who have been in prison relapse into crime and eventually become professional or habitual criminals is largely owing to the fact that on their return to the world in the first instance they were unable to obtain that assistance, material and otherwise, which would, had it been proffered in season and in the right spirit, have prevented these men wrecking their own lives, and preying on the community, to say nothing of being directly and indirectly a heavy cost to the state.

Some time ago Sir Robert Anderson wrote an article—I believe it appeared in this Review—on the subject of 'Crime and Criminals,' in which article he asserted that most, if not all, the burglaries committed in London were in reality organised by a Cabinet of burglars who sat round a table and directed all operations with a thoroughness, skill, and ability, which would put any Cabinet of Ministers to shame. At the same time, so Sir Robert Anderson led his readers to believe, the gentlemen who comprised this Cabinet were prudent enough to keep their own skins safe while risking those of their myrmidons. Soon after this article appeared I was informed of it, and I took the opportunity of inviting the opinions of as many as possible of the burglars in the establishment where I was confined. They one and all declared that there was not a word of truth in such an assertion, and that they and their 'pals' invariably worked on 'their own.' One of these prisoners added, in reference to Sir Robert Anderson and his official position: 'Them blokes believe anything the 'tecs tell them.' I do not defend the English of the phrase, but I fear there is some element of truth wrapped up in its peculiar verbiage. One thing I will tell Sir Robert Anderson, and that is that there would be a marked diminution in the burglaries, housebreakings, pickpocketings, and thefts generally, annually perpetrated in London, if the receivers of stolen goods, instead of the professional criminals, were exterminated or permanently incarcerated. No burglar or other description of professional thief would commit his depredations did he not feel certain that he could at once dispose of his plunder. If the receivers were not in existence and ready to take the stolen goods and pay over a small percentage of their value, two-thirds of the offences against property in London would probably not be committed. The receivers are men who grow fat on the crimes of the

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criminal, and the receivers as a rule carry on their occupation with what is certainly a wonderful immunity. I have reason to believe that nearly all the receivers in the metropolis are perfectly well known to the police, and the impunity with which they carry on their unlawful and dangerous business is only explicable on one supposition—a supposition which every professional thief I have conversed with has declared to be a positive fact. I would modestly suggest that Scotland Yard should seriously direct its efforts to the task of exterminating the metropolitan receivers, or rather their nefarious trade, before advocating the extermination of the criminal, whose professional existence is rendered possible only by the existence of the receiver. Sir Robert Anderson presumably does not know that there are receivers in the metropolis, well known to the police, whose names are on the tongue of every London thief, and who have been carrying on their trade for twenty years or so. The fact, and I assert it to be a fact, surely needs some elucidation from Scotland Yard before further legislation to repress the professional criminal is undertaken.

The best scheme for dealing with professional criminals is, in my humble opinion, the scheme which will reform them and make them useful and respectable members of the community. Such a scheme has never, so far as I know, been broached; it certainly has never been attempted. I have no intention in this article to enter upon such a wide field as the consideration of the present systems of prison administration and prison discipline would be. I think, however, I may say, without entering thereon, that the reformation of the criminal forms no part whatever of the existing prison system in this country, that not the slightest attempt is made in that direction, and that the prison treatment, as it is to-day, merely tends to harden the prisoners subject to it; not only degrades them, but makes them feel degraded; deprives them of every atom of self-respect; renders them on their return to the world men embittered against their fellows; more or less reckless, and as a rule disbelievers in any religion whatever, because within the prison walls they have seen religion divested of its outside artificiality, and have, in the minister of religion. merely viewed a prison official who regarded the prisoner and the prisoner's soul from a prison official's standpoint. In my opinion there is no finer field in the world for missionary effort than his Majesty's prisons. Furthermore, it is the only field, if I except a few sporadic efforts hardly worth taking into account, utterly neglected. The prison officials at the Home Office and in the prisons, perhaps naturally enough from their point of view, desire no missions or outside interference with either a prisoner's body or soul. But in such connection the views of the prison officials should be ruthlessly set aside. The community, I suggest, is deeply concerned in the reclamation of prisoners, in the interests not only of the community but of the prisoner. At the present time a man sentenced to a long term of

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penal servitude, or a short term for the matter of that, has, during the whole course of his sentence, no influence brought to bear on him save the disciplinary influence of gaol officials. As regards any other influence he is simply left severely alone. I know of a man who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, and after completing twenty years and three months of actual imprisonment was, as is customary in all life sentences, ordered to be released. When he was about to be discharged I asked him how many times during the whole of that long period the prison chaplain had visited him for the purpose of giving him spiritual consolation or inquiring as to the state of his soul. He told me that during the whole of that frightful period a prison chaplain had been to see him on only one occasion—and that by mistake. The man had requested the warder on his landing to put his name down to see the governor, and the warder had in error put the man's name down for the chaplain. I asked this prisoner what the chaplain said when he did call. He replied 'He didn't say nothing; I told him it was a mistake and he went away.' During twenty and a quarter years—just think of it, you philanthropists and charitable people—no minister of religion, no missionary of any kind, had ever crossed the threshold of that man's cell, no outside influence of any sort had ever been brought to bear on him during that long period. Every morning he had got up to go through the same dull round of monotonous labour, every night he had gone to bed unconsoled by anything, hoping for nothing because he had nothing to hope for. Whatever one may think of the man's crime—I believe it was stabbing a policeman who did not die—or of the punishment awarded to him for it, I think I am hardly rash in saying that the existence he led during those twenty years and three months was not one that tended to develop the finer feelings of the man's nature or to evolutionise the prisoner into a saint, or anything approaching it. The man in question was discharged at seventy-one years of age and sent back to the world with the munificent sum of 6*l.* to commence life on afresh, having had no one during the term of his awful sentence, except his fellow prisoners, to give him a friendly word; no human being on his return to the world to hold out a helping hand. If he had been twenty years younger I should have expected such a man to develop into a professional criminal, but he was probably too old for that, because, in this profession, as in others more reputable, youth and energy are essential, old age a disqualification.

As regards the measure introduced by the Home Secretary at the close of last session for dealing in more drastic fashion with habitual criminals, I shall say but little. Indeed, my previous remarks have, I think, clearly indicated that I consider reclamation, and not perpetual incarceration or extermination, the best and certainly the cheapest method of dealing with the professional criminal. Reclamation in earnest has, as I have already remarked, not yet been tried,

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and I suggest that it might be given a trial before more ruthless and, as I think, barbarous methods are attempted to be brought into force. Perhaps I had better say that I am an earnest advocate for punishing, and severely punishing, all crimes, because it is evident that in any civilised community punishment for crime is an absolute necessity. But I am also of opinion that long terms of imprisonment, whether for habitual or other criminals, are, in every way, a mistake. All punishments should be severe and should be keenly felt. Punishments prolonged over a long period absolutely lose their effect. In our present prison system, which regards every man as equal, there is, save for a limited class, practically no punishment whatever. The system is frightfully expensive and absolutely useless from any point of view. To proceed further in the same direction, as the Home Secretary's measure does, by locking men up for still longer periods while still further minimising the present minimum of punishment, seems to me sheer lunacy. Be that as it may, I cannot conclude this article without remarking that I should not like to be the governor of the establishment where these professional criminals are to be incarcerated. I should say that before that particular institution is very long established it will itself provide abundant evidence in regard to the futility of the system of which it is the outcome. There are likely to be murders, and there is certain to be a more or less constant state of mutiny, in such a place. The present system of penal servitude is only rendered possible by the regulations which enable a convict to obtain a remission of one fourth of his sentence. This remission is certainly not granted with a view of enabling prisoners to escape from undergoing a portion of their term of penal servitude, but simply because experience has clearly shown that, unless this remission were granted as an incentive to good conduct, it would be a sheer impossibility to control and keep in order seven hundred to twelve hundred men in a confined space. Anyone who knows what two or three desperate prisoners, who had through misconduct forfeited the whole of their prospective remission, can do towards turning a convict prison upside down, will be able to realise very vividly what a prison for the permanent incarceration of offenders will be like. Bedlam let loose would be nothing in comparison. The idea of such a place, and apparently the idea is about to assume a concrete form, is, I contend, only worthy of Bedlam. I say nothing of the expense. At present every convict costs the country about 75*l.* a year. If the habitual criminal is to be permanently locked up, the cost of the prison service is likely to be largely enhanced, a profitless expenditure surely. Once more, and finally, I say better try first to reclaim and reform the professional criminal. At any rate it would be cheaper. Over and above that, it would be, I suggest, more humane, more statesmanlike, more Christianlike.

I made no apology at the commencement of this article for writing

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it; I shall content myself with one or two observations at its close. I am aware there are many persons who think that when a prisoner returns to the world he owes it to his fellow-creatures at least to hide his diminished head. If he have any opinions in regard to prison treatment or prison administration, they are ascribed to a mere prejudice against that authority which he found to be unpleasant. If he have anything to state in reference to his late fellow-prisoners, their views, sentiments, ideas, and so on, there is, I fear, a disposition to regard a man who has been in prison, whatever his offence may have been, as having acquired an incapacity to tell the truth upon any subject. Knowing how prevalent are these views, I hesitated before setting about the writing of this article. I have done so with no motive except to say what I think and believe on a matter which is, after all, one of great national importance. I have no axes to grind. I have no prejudice against prison officials or in favour of prisoners. I have written this article because, and simply because, the subject of it is a matter on which I think an ex-prisoner has some claim to be heard, and in regard to which the views of an ex-prisoner, if they be impartially expressed, may be of some assistance to those who are charged with the important duty of legislating for and administering the prison service. I write it, moreover, because I came to the conclusion, when I read Sir Robert Anderson's article, that his suggestions were impracticable and inhuman, and that any attempt to put those suggestions into practice would merely result in a largely increased cost to the country and an increase of crime within our prisons, even should there be, as Sir Robert Anderson contends there would, a diminution of crime without them.

H. J. B. MONTGOMERY.

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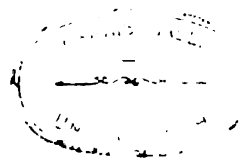

SERMONS AND SAMUEL PEPYS

WITH some men, nothing less than a centenary of their deaths will serve to remind the public of their names. It is true that Samuel Pepys departed this life just two hundred years ago, yet no one has owed less to the calendar than he, nor achieved a more fortuitous immortality. His unconscious self-revelation has not only produced one of the most delightful books in the English language, but has given him a place in the hearts of his countrymen which wiser and better men could never fill. In his Diary he has laid bare his soul, unwitting that one day his most secret and unmentionable thoughts should be torn from their wrappage of cipher and foreign tongues, that upon them his later descendants should pour a cool scrutiny so searching that no human being could hope to sustain it with unimpaired credit. Through the whole of one century and the quarter of another, the diarist lay dead and buried in the library of his old college of Magdalene at Cambridge, until an Oxford graduate broke open the six books of his sepulture, and showed him alive and speaking.

In these pages we have—not the unblushing revelations of a Rousseau deliberately untrussing his points before the common gaze—not the studied unconsciousness of Montaigne, writing for effect, and with an eye on his readers—not the posturings of Chateaubriand, nor the morbid dissections of Marie Bashkirtseff, ever hovering above herself with a scalpel, but Pepys himself. So real was the presentation, that when he ordered his affairs before quitting this world, he had not the heart to destroy it, thus contributing at once to his own loss of reputation, and his own undying renown.

At first sight there appears to be little connection between Pepys and the pronouncements from a pulpit. Known to the men of his day as the friend of Royalty and the dignified official, it has been his fortune to exhibit the worst and most contemptible side of his character to later generations. To us, the Fellow of the Royal Society and Secretary to the Navy is the 'Dapper Dicky' of an improper correspondence. We are not impressed with his courage in the House of Commons, for we have seen the contemptible

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cowardice which could kick a servant maid at home. Indulging in coarse delights with the rabble of actors, courtiers, and courtesans who riot through his pages; intemperate and given to vulgar intrigues; using his learning as a cloak to the more scandalous of his confidences; miserly—with a love of money which grew upon him as he otherwise improved in morals, so that his iniquities were not abandoned but retired on a pension: ostentatious, bragging of imaginary estates, and clothing himself in scarlet and fine linen, though his wife should go bare; marked by a credulity which made his mind sway like a leaf in the wind before every breath of the superstitious; it is thus he presents himself before us, and it is in the light of these disclosures he is convicted of being a very sorry individual.

When the facts of his life are summoned from the past, the awful shade of an injured wife moves solemnly among them. Remembering, however, that Mrs. Pepys avenged herself of her wrongs as only a woman can, we may dismiss that phantom. If he deceived and played the niggard with her, if he laid his hand upon her in wrath, she pulled his hair, and on a memorable occasion scared him from the covert of his midnight blankets with the terrors of a heated poker. Having found him out in his infidelities, she considered no usage too ill for him. Thereafter, until the touch of Death relaxed the tyranny, he remained a submissive and henpecked man. Yet, between these two love was not a-wanting. If, after their quarrels, one of them would always leave the other for ever, the dawning of the day seldom found them unreconciled.

But we turn to the Samuel Pepys who claims and deserves our respect. After all, it is probable that his faults were largely the blemishes of an early and exuberant manhood, and that with the growth of years and reputation there came that steadiness of character which earned for him the confidence of the nation and the friendship of Evelyn and Dryden and Sir Isaac Newton. Let us recall how many signs he gave of a true contrition, and of a desire to walk humbly before his Maker; how, remembering that God has an altar in every man's dwelling, he gathered his household around him for daily devotions; how Sunday by Sunday he studied his good resolves upon his knees; how loyal to his friends; how generous he could be in his gifts; his courage during the Plague when he remained at his post among the faithful few; his love of the ennobling arts; his delight in the converse of good men; his concern for his country; his splendid devotion to the duties of his office; his refusal to enrich himself through the baser channels of official gain. To remember all these things is to be aware that when Pepys is weighed in the balance he is not found wanting in many of the elements of a noble character. As he lived, so he died. Dr. Hickes, whose sincerity may not be gainsaid, had known him long

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and closely, and when he laid down the burden of this life, and passed on his way down the Valley of the Shadow, the Dean said of his conduct in that solemn hour: 'I never attended any sick person that dyed with so much Christian greatness of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality.'

That Pepys considered himself a competent judge of preaching is indicated by many of his entries. In some respects he was well equipped. He was a scholar and man of letters, quick to detect false quantities and a lack of good taste. He had laboured with current theology such as Ussher's *Divinity*, and Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, while the ecclesiastical problems of the day found in him an eager student. He could estimate not only the matter but the manner of a discourse; for it is on record that he himself excelled as a speaker, and had offered a remarkable vindication of his department in Parliament.

But his judgment has been called in question by some Church historians as that of a man with a prejudice against the clergy. The fact is, Pepys was never a good Churchman. The old leaven of the Puritanism in which he was cradled continued to work in him. On one side he was bitter against Nonconformity. He sneers at its preaching and manners. He observes with disdain the symptoms (grown in our day into a formidable disease) of 'tender consciences.' He ridicules the exaggerated genuflections at Court of that Presbyterian knee which Calamy had sworn should never bow to Baal. When a boat-load of dissenting divines are drenched off Schevling he hugs himself with delight.

But at heart Pepys remained a Puritan. Ruffle it as he will with the roaring, dissolute courtiers, he cannot carry his frolics with the true Cavalier air. He is more true to himself in his repentances than in his cups. Rome remains to him the Scarlet Woman of the Apocalypse, whilst there is no doubt he thoroughly deserves the Protestant reputation which his wife gave him in a tender description of his merits as a spiritual director. Ignorant of the ordinary ceremonial of his Church, a surplice is to him at first a fearsome object, and he requires to be led up to it as gently as a shying steed.

Puritan, too, is the quality which made him that most pleasing of all personages, the unconscious humourist. The Commonwealth had endeavoured to suppress the gayest, happiest side of things, turning festivals into fasts, and frowning on innocent joys, but that flavour of character which we call humour refused to be extinguished. Only it grew slyer in expression, and learned to say droll things with the old family face. The humour of Pepys is involuntary or Puritanic. Who but he could have written down with unwinking eye the words with which King Charles acknowledged the gift of a Bible, or have recorded 'the great satisfaction given to all' by the

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same monarch's 'Proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery'? Who but he could have confessed so quaintly his relief at the death of his annuitant, or defended his drinking an intoxicating liquor when under vow of total abstinence? Nay, who but he could have reserved his most magnificent apostrophe to the Almighty for the occasion of a larger balance at the bank?

It is not the least of the Diary's merits that in it we behold the religious life of the seventeenth century lifted out of its darkness, and made visible as on the screen of a magic lantern. We behold it, moreover, with the eager eye of Pepys. It was a time of transition and revolt. Puritanism had in turn become a persecutor. Her sympathies lay not with her brethren at home, but with the Reformers on the Continent. She read from a Geneva Bible, her only authority; she preached in a Geneva gown, her only ritual. Sympathising with the views of Luther and Zwingli, who had, so to speak, cantonised Christianity, and regarding Anglicanism as the handmaiden of Rome, she had treated the rules and ceremonies and teaching of the Church of England as betrayals and acts of treason. She had scattered the clergy, usurped their parishes, banished the Liturgy from houses of prayer and private dwellings. To her a 'scandalous schoolmaster' was one who, amongst other such offences as dicing and duelling, 'publicly and frequently read or used the Common Prayer Book.' Religious men and women were no longer Church people, but 'professing Christians,' a title which after all seemed to promise a paucity of performance. Nor had her fury been spent on the clergy alone, but on their buildings. The intemperance of zeal had smitten the decency and comeliness of so many churches that they had become houses of mourning rather than praise.

From this unendurable tyranny there was now to be an indignant reaction. The clergy had gladly returned (on the whole with restraint) to beloved customs and traditions, but the nation, in 'the wildest outbreak of moral revolution that this country has ever witnessed,' whirled away in the current of its hate all that was noblest and best in Puritanism. Intolerance was again met with intolerance, so that the flower of dissent, the thinkers and theologians like Howe and Baxter, whose presence at this juncture would have meant much to the well-being of England, were driven out into the wilderness. Many who remained behind—Independents, Presbyterians, and even Baptists who had become rectors or vicars during the Commonwealth—remained only at the expense of their scruples, or to become mere traffickers in holy things. Within the Church itself, in this time of unrest and upheaval, the scum of its ecclesiastical life rose to the surface. Younger sons, hangers-on to the skirts of nobility, social derelicts, and the purely professional parson now came to the front, and clamoured for livings. At this period it

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must be confessed that the voice that summoned many of the labourers into the vineyard had a distinctly metallic ring. Men drew their revenue without caring for their flocks—and presented a terrible departure from the theory that a clergyman's object is essentially to minister to the needs of the world, and not to be paid for his ministry.

But as against this view of the matter there remained the great mass of an earnest, devoted priesthood to whom much injustice had been done. In the cry which rose up against those to whom was committed the restoration of the due order and teaching of the Church, Pepys is tempted to join. In 1661 he finds the clergy 'so high that all people do protest against their practice.' He witnessed the consecration of an Archbishop, and is moved to the reflection that 'people did most of them look upon them (the bishops) as strange creatures, and few with any love or respect'! Stillingfleet incurs his strong displeasure for telling the truth about the death of one of the diarist's relatives, a truth which Pepys argues might well have been delayed for purposes of probate. On the 5th of October, 1662, he records: 'this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is of any of his coate.' Surely enough this Machiavellian plot passed on to its dénouement on the 26th inst. when he 'saw Mr. Mills in a surplice for the first time.' In 1666 he 'heard a young man play the foole upon the doctrine of Purgatory,' from which state of indignation he was happily recovered by espying Betty Howlett, 'who is indeed mighty pretty and struck me mightily.' He has a holy horror of confession. Mr. Mills's advice 'to confess their sins when they had any weight upon their consciences, did vex me to hear.' He even discerns the cloven hoof in the innocent practice of catechising.

It is interesting to notice in Pepys the shock of surprise which still attacks the ordinary citizen when he beholds the friend of his youth in Holy Orders. Few can bear with equanimity the change from a suit of uproarious tweeds to a clerical collar and wide-brimmed hat, from the voice that once cried aloud for soda water to the decent tones of a proper pulpit delivery. At Cambridge he sits under Mr. Nicholas, whom he knew at college as a sort of Lord of Misrule, and has a poor opinion of the sermon. He finds in the pulpit of a City church 'my old schoolfellow Elborough, a simple rogue, and yet I find him preaching a very good sermon and in as right a parson-like manner as I have heard anybody.'

Before we consider the sermons to which Pepys listened, we may with advantage recall the conditions of them. As an official of the Admiralty, he had his place in St. Olave's, Hart Street. Early in his career we find him 'demanding a pew' from the churchwardens, who built for him a sort of chamber in the South gallery approached

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by a staircase from without. In this abominable place of distinction in a house where all are equal he passed a great many hours to greater or less advantage. St. Olave's lies now with London pressing upon it from every side. Then it could breathe. Green trees and pleasant fields were its neighbours; the sunshine came in freely where now the huddle of high walls bars it out. It is easy to picture one of those drowsy summer days which so often seem reflected in the diarist's description of his Sundays: the sleepy stillness: the soothing hum of Mr. Mills's voice: the restless children, writhing on their benches: the placid congregation: the long psalm during which the rattle of money is heard as the sexton carries round his box: the sunbeams streaming through the open windows and creeping along the walls, bringing out of their gloom the brasses of bygone worthies, the later memorials of London Aldermen and the Florentine Capponus, and the effigies of James Dean, his wife and ten daughters all lifting up praying hands.

Sometimes the rector preaches—sometimes his reader or a lecturer. The reader was an inferior kind of curate, often serving two churches. It was his duty to read the service, that portion of the prayer and praise of the Sanctuary which in some circles is still known as 'the preliminaries,' retiring at the supreme moment to give place to the orator who had reserved his energies for the pulpit. Pepys refers only once to a sermon of the reader, describing it as 'boyish and young,' but seems to have been diverted when this assistant priest 'could not find the place in the Service Book for churching women, but was fain to change with the clerk.' This functionary, too, was destined to furnish amusement by a performance which his successors have often repeated—'mighty sport to hear the clerk sing out of tune.'

As for the lecturer, Pepys derived little comfort from him. 'A dull sermon of our young lecturer, too bad.' 'Our lecturer made a silly, sorry sermon.' In many places parishioners of Calvinistic beliefs who were opposed to the teaching of the regular incumbent had been permitted, in defiance of constituted authority, to nominate to a lectureship and maintain any one whose teaching was more in accordance with their own views. And with such a cuckoo in the nest, one can imagine the sparrows had rather a bad time of it.

Once a year the sexton of St. Olave's went his round of tax gathering. 'Before sermon there was a long Psalm and half another sung while the sexton gathered what the Church would give him for the last year.' Pepys seems to have disliked the publicity of this collection, for he mentions his own five-shilling contribution in a way which indicates he would have preferred the secretive alms-bag of our day to the open plate of his own. Another source of annoyance lay in the impromptu orisons before and after the sermon. In the lieutenant's cabin of the *Nazeby* man-of-war, we

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find him disputing with the naval chaplain—'the parson for and I against extemporary prayers.' This contention was justified on at least one occasion when 'a vain fellow with a periwigg preached, and chaplain (as by his prayer appeared) to the Earle of Carlisle.'

As in other churches, so in St. Olave's, we find the comfortable habit of wearing the hat during service still in vogue. So common was this custom, so unintentional in its irreverence, that Pepys is genuinely surprised at the displeasure of 'a simple fellow who preached against wearing of hats in church;' 'but,' adds Pepys, 'I slept part of the sermon, till latter prayer and blessing.' This was a solace which seems seldom to have been denied him. Time and again we find the rigours of the sermon melting away in a dream of fair women.

His slumbers bring us to an important consideration in regard to his criticisms. It is manifest that at times he is wanting in fairness of judgment, that the opinions which he commits to paper are often hasty and unconsidered. After the custom, not unknown in our own day, he came to church not so much to be edified as to criticise: he 'suffered the word of exhortation' in a sense never intended by St. Paul, or gave to it only a languid, imperfect hearing. Moreover the motives which brought him into the sacred precincts of God's House were sometimes of the unworthiest. The curiosity which led him with a truly Athenian spirit into several churches in the course of a morning may be dismissed, but what shall we say for the frame of mind which brought him to matins during the intervals of an assignation where 'much against my will stayed out the whole church in pain' (it was so crowded he could not get out) 'whilst she expected me at home'? Or of his visit to Clerkenwell Church 'only to see the two fayre Botelers'—or to St. Dunstan's, where he heard 'an able sermon of the minister of the place' and at the same time laboured to corrupt 'a pretty, modest maid' who stood by him? The fact is the majority of his destructive criticisms belong to the period in which his own life was at its lewdest. For several years his morals were thoroughly undermined, and no man's religion survives his morals. Of 171 sermons to which he had listened, or through which he slept, ninety fail to merit his approval. The thermometer of his opinion ranges from 'poor,' 'simple,' 'indifferent,' 'tedious,' to the point below zero which 'like a fool,' 'impertinent,' 'full of nonsense,' 'nothing worth hearing' may be supposed to indicate.

But inquiry reveals the interesting fact that the afternoon sermon is often the delinquent. So normal are the slumbers of Pepys, one might suppose he came to church with the single intention of snatching an hour's repose from all earthly and heavenly cares, mistaking his capacious pew for a four-poster, and his clergyman (especially the robustious Scot 'to whose voice I am never to be reconciled') for a theological Macbeth who murders sleep. He must

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be acquitted, however, of a deliberate surrender to an infirmity which has assailed most people—an infirmity due rather to the weakness of the flesh than to the perversity of the spirit. The afternoon is in many instances a time of weariness and dreariness, of doleful waste of effort on the part of the preacher, of repletion and suspended animation on the part of the congregation. Pepys' bill of fare for his mid-day meal often supplies the key to his afternoon repose. More fortunate than that little Eutychus, the boy who 'being asleep fell from his high seat to the ground, and got no hurt,' the annalist slumbered in the safe recesses of his gallery pew. The rector may declaim his most eloquent periods, 'but I know not how, I slept most of the sermon:' a stranger may 'preach like a fool:' 'a simple, bawling, young Scot' hold forth, or 'a vain, pragmatical fellow preach a ridiculous, affected sermon:' the storm still passes harmlessly over his head: not even the dead in the churchyard without could sleep deeper.

Further extenuation may be found in the length of the sermon, to which there are frequent references. 'A Presbyterian made a sad and long sermon which vexed me,' 'a stranger preached a dry and long tedious sermon.' When it is remembered that the Puritan sermons knew no criterion of length save the hour-glass, and that the minister was judged to be wanting in zeal and devotion who should not keep going for sixty minutes at least, it will be confessed that Pepys had some excuse for his annoyance. The sermons he evidently preferred were, 'like music, sweetest in the close.' He complains that at Whitehall 'little Dr. Duport of Cambridge made a most flat, dead sermon, both for matter and manner of delivery, and very long beyond his hour, which made it worse.' Yet Barrow preached on one occasion for three and a half hours, whilst Burnet was invited by his delighted hearers to reverse his glass, and continue until its sands had again slipped through their course.

He disliked, as we have seen, the extemporary prayers of the Puritans, nevertheless he discovers a liking for their more unconventional and spontaneous speech in the pulpit. In an examination of writings by representative Churchmen and Dissenters he is inclined to award the palm to the latter on the ground that 'ordinary capacities are more taken with cloak and laymen's preaching than that of the gown.' Yet never has the pulpit eloquence of the Church stood so high as in the Caroline era. It was the age which gave birth to the golden sentences of Jeremy Taylor, the profound thought and high ethical tone of Isaac Barrow, the mordant wit and home truths driven home in a business-like manner of Robert South, the close reasoning of Tillotson, the impassioned oratory and splendid imagery of Stillingfleet. If there were a danger on the part of the famous ecclesiastics of that day it was, perhaps, to regard their sermons less as a Divine message, which it

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is a matter of life or death to refuse, than as human compositions. They seemed to behold them, one may imagine, in all the majesty of sheepskin and vellum rather than in the lives of their contemporaries. As authors they were too voluminous, not waiting beside the waters for the Angel of Inspiration to come down and trouble them, but taking a dip every day on principle, often without benefit. If these holy and gifted men failed to touch the masses of their countrymen, the reason is not far to seek.

Pedantry was still appreciated, and scraps of the learned languages, the hall-mark of a cultured divine as opposed to the illiterate tub-thumper, found a place in most pulpit utterances. Pepys delights to prick the bubble of this affectation. 'Our navy chaplain preached a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin.' At Chatham he heard another 'poor sermon, with a good deal of false Latin in it.'

Politics pressed upon the people in the earlier days of the Diary, and imparted their own heated atmosphere to the pulpit. There came a time when people complained that, instead of a peaceful sermon, the quiet seeker after righteousness was in danger of having 'a political pamphlet thrust down his throat, labelled with a pious text from Scripture.' But in the reign of the second Charles this was the kind of thing that church-goers expected and welcomed. Mr. Mills made 'a most excellent sermon,' or 'a very good and pungent sermon' on the evils of the Protectorate, and Dr. Pierce 'with much natural eloquence preached against the Papists,' with the approval of at least one of their hearers. At Whitehall Dr. Creighton 'railed bitterly against John Calvin, and his brood the Presbyterians, and against the present term now in use of "tender consciences." He ripped up Hugh Peters (calling him an execrable skellum),' and this diatribe is recorded as 'a most admirable, learned, honest, and severe sermon, yet comicall.'

Something must be forgiven Dr. Creighton, whose sermons seem ever tottering on the verge of laughter or Billingsgate, for his courage in charging King Charles to the face with his sins. The sycophancy of previous reigns had left its trail behind it. Burnet, we know, was guilty of gross servility; his sermons at Court seem to have been simply one stream of oily accommodating doctrine flowing gently in the direction of the select pews. Pepys tells 'how the Bishop of Chichester preached before the King, and made a great, flattering sermon.' Smaller men than these fawned with their superiors. In the country, when the Secretary to the Admiralty and his friends made their appearance in church, the parson began the service with: 'Right Worshipful and dearly beloved.'

But there was no want of courage in many in high places. Bishop Ken, 'the little black man' of King Charles, was so

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notoriously given to plain speech that the King was wont to say: 'I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults.' In the year of the Great Fire Stillingfleet made a very noble protest before the mocking Court at Whitehall on the words 'Fools make a mock of sin,' whilst Pepys was impressed with the daring of a Canon of Christ Church who preached 'a very honest sermon' in which 'among other things he did much insist upon the sin of adultery, which methought might touch the King.' Bishop Morley on a Christmas Day denounced the excesses of those about his Majesty in 'playes and gaming,' 'upon which it was worth observing how far they are from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, that they all laughed in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses.' Pepys condemns this ill-conditioned merriment, but he shows himself ready to resent any preaching which treads upon his own toes. Parsimonious, he is willing to be taxed with any number of sins in the gross, but not with this one in particular. Hence the entry, when liberality is the topic: 'An Oxford man gave us a most impertinent sermon upon "Cast your bread on the waters."' As the heads of a great War Department, 'Sir William Batten and I very much angry with the parson,' an Irish doctor who preached 'a most tedious, unreasonable and impertinent sermon. His text was: "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in war."' Some sermons, however, touching his own favourite infirmity, leave him unmoved. 'Mr. Mills made an excellent sermon in the morning against drunkenness as ever I heard in my life.' Was ever comment more true to the disposition of human nature? A few days previously he had bewailed himself in the Diary as 'so foxed with drink' that he dared not 'face his domestics at the customary evening prayer,' whilst aching heads and nauseating excesses are common in his record.

The rector of St. Olave's, of whom frequent mention is made, affords us a very excellent illustration of the gradual way in which many of the new clergy emancipated themselves from high Calvinistic doctrines. Put in his place not improbably by Cromwell's Triers, he retained, for some years at least, the distinctive attitude of the Puritan in his teaching. 'To church where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon original sin, neither understood by himself nor the people.' This topic was quite in keeping with the severity of the Puritan times, and with that preaching which was almost invariably concerned with the burden of the Lord. It lifted up its voice only to make the judgments of the Apocalypse start in almost visible procession before the eyes of its hearers: it raised its hand only to draw aside the curtain which shrouded the unknown future and reveal the dark grandeur of future retribution. It proclaimed the dogmas dedicated to despair, the reprobation and damnation which the pitiless thinking of the great Genevan held to be the necessary com-

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plement of the doctrine of salvation. From this masterful logic of Calvin, which enslaved not alone the mind of his own century, but broke the hearts or destroyed the reason of thousands of men and women through succeeding generations, came the theology of Isaac Watts, and those hymns which have done more to turn the home of childhood into a house of tears, and bring terror to little innocent souls, than any other writing in the English language. In the recoil from Roman extravagance and superstition Puritanism, with all those fine qualities which have entered like particles of iron into the life-blood of England, had fallen into a singularly arrogant attitude of its own. It had bound the truth of God, and even Omnipotence itself, in the fetters of syllogism, and revealed them not so much by the lamp of love as by torches kindled at the nether pit. At first Mr. Mills remains the Presbyterian and Puritan—he preaches predestination, and other tenets of the Calvinistic faith. Pepys describes 'a lazy simple sermon' of his 'upon the devil's having no right to anything in the world.' Truly if the devil could have been terrified by phrases, the Puritan ministry alone would have put him to flight. The tone of menace and foreboding is apparent in many of the writings of Howe and Baxter and other of the finest spirits of the age: we turn over page after page, looking in vain for the tender strain which is the most moving and effective element in the Gospel. The number of the beast was then, as now, a matter of the deepest interest to many, and we hear of Pepys' study of a 'Discourse of the number 666.' But he arrives at no conclusion whether or not the end of all things was at hand. He says of the argument 'whether it be right or wrong, (it) is mighty ingenious.' This is pretty much the criticism passed by the world on later predictions—those of Bengel to take effect in 1836—and the catastrophes—still delayed—announced by Dr. Cumming.

Pepys was often out of town on a Sunday. Wherever he went, he appears to have followed his custom of putting in an appearance at church.

But, however far a-field he may be, he cannot escape the discourses which deal with the Divine decree, human inability to aid in its own salvation, and other of the painful problems against which the thoughtful people of the seventeenth century were bruising their hearts.

As we have recoiled from such theology (already beginning to relax its hold upon deeper thinkers even on the Puritan side), so we have receded from the idea of the sermon's paramount importance. The days are happily passing away when it can be considered the principal service, and the prayers and praises of the congregation a mere preface. It is said—have we not heard it with these ears?—that the public still demands some sort of a preachment, that being dismissed without this usual sacrifice to the proprieties, it leaves

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behind it traces of resentment in a neglected alms-bag, or an angry remonstrance. This indignation would be gratifying indeed were we not aware that the sermon chiefly in request is a luxury rather than a necessary. Its very popularity shows its tendency to fall into disrepute. What people want is not such instruction as will build up their most holy faith, but sermonettes touching in a brisk and airy fashion on passing topics and making little demand either on thought or on devotion.

Forgetful of the fact that it takes a week to think out what takes only a few minutes to say, they insist upon two sermons on a Sunday. Their demand is unreasonable. They may have twenty minutes of painful platitudes; verbiage which slays its slain three times and drags them nine times round the city walls; poverty of teaching eked out with the gramophone and dissolving views; curious cases of parallel inspiration in which the preacher and some standard author are mentally and verbally in accord; they may have all these, and many other varieties of how not to do it, but not two good sermons.

Some day it will be understood that the preacher, like the musician and artist, belongs to a distinct order. He, too, is born, not made. If the divine afflatus has been denied him, nothing can supply it. That the average parson should be thrillingly eloquent twice a week is not to be expected, but can he always be thoughtful and interesting and sensible in his talk?

'Dull' is the epithet with which the annalist damned many of the pulpit exercises of his time; if he were alive, he would still be using it. To ask from the man with no natural gift for preaching, driven from point to point in a constant round of engagements, harassed by domestic cares and the anxieties financial and moral of his work, with little time for meditation and study at his disposal, to ask from such a man two sermons on a Sunday, as well as addresses of one kind or another during the week, is to repeat the Egyptian tyranny of the tale of bricks. The want of preaching capacity has been recognised by the laity in immemorial gibes—from the conceit of Ben Jonson, 'two lips wagging, and never a wise word,' to the lamentation of the late Augustus Hare, that it was a terrible penalty to pay for one's religion to hear it worried and tangled by the person to whom 'one would never dream of listening in ordinary conversation for a quarter of an hour.' Yet, in spite of all that is implied in such criticisms, and the increasing tendency to go out of church before the clergyman enters the pulpit, people still insist on two sermons, and look upon themselves as defrauded if they be omitted.

We venture to predict that in the future there will be fewer sermons. First of all, the deacon newly ordained to his office will be more severely restricted in what is commercially known as his

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'output.' Unnecessary burdens will no longer be laid on his own strength—and his hearers will be spared deliverances that are often callow and unweighed. Pepys complains of the performances of 'a confident young coxcomb,' and 'of a young man who had never preached before.' Nothing perhaps is more irritating to churchgoers than the sight of young men fresh from the universities, placed in a pulpit to lecture their elders about emotions they have themselves never felt, and upon spiritual experiences of which they are as ignorant as that well-known metaphorical personage, the babe unborn.

Nor will necessity be placed on the ordinary clergy to preach as often as they do now. 'Brilliant flashes of silence' will be as much appreciated in them as in Lord Macaulay. Services, especially in the afternoon, will be held to be complete, without one word of exhortation. After all, the crown of their ministry does not lie in the attractiveness of their speech, but in 'the holiness and usefulness of their lives.' They may not be shepherds like Tityrus, warbling on his pipe beneath the spreading beech tree, but they can be the true 'pastor in parochia,' caring for the bodies of their flocks as well as their souls, visiting the sick and sorrowful, gathering the little ones of the Church around them, dispensing the Holy Sacraments, making themselves the friends and helpers of unhappy men and women, and entering into every phase of the life of which they are the centre. It is enough if they live on week-days the Gospel of which they may be no eloquent expounders on the Sunday. Already the Church is regaining some of her lost ground, not because she is renewing the traditions of splendid preachers, but because she is restoring the ideal of the parish priest.

It happens, not infrequently, that a vicar or curate has no time for original sermons. Why should he be debarred from using publicly the writings of the Church's greatest divines? These exist at present only to nourish the student or to while away the solitary hours of the recluse. It is true that, generally speaking, people would rather hear a poor, imperfect word from a living tongue, than the noblest eloquence of a book; but it is possible that the use from time to time of those monuments of piety and learning which belong to the past would not only be a source of relief to the clergy, but of the highest advantage to those who have to listen to them. Against a loose or indiscriminate selection the bishops could guard by a collection of theological writings set forth under their own authority.

Finally, we hold that a Preaching Order should be restored to the Church. The race of the great preachers is dead: the sermons of the ordinary cleric still miss their mark as in the day when Pepys set down his impressions of them. But history may repeat itself. When devotion was at its lowest in England, the coming of the

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Friars was a signal for a re-kindling of religion. The spiritual inertia and deadness of the times gave birth to them: the hurry and abounding vitality of our own century are like to do the same by us. Our parishes need to be visited by the men with whom preaching is not a profession deliberately chosen so much as a summons which may not be resisted—men with the Divine fervour and gifts of utterance. We need the prophets and the sons of the prophets, those who without fear or favour shall speak because the inspiration rings within their hearts and stirs their tongues to willing utterances. Fitted for their task by natural endowments, by retirement, by prayer and meditation, they will fan the cold embers of spiritual life in many a parish into a glowing flame, inspiring the lay members of the Church with their 'winged words' —and lifting the ministers and stewards of God's mysteries out of ever-deepening ruts of formal routine and stated duties into the purer, fresher atmosphere of their sacred calling.

It is sometimes contended that preaching has fallen so greatly into decay that never again will it recover its hold upon the heart and conscience of those who meet together for worship. We are not of this mind. The signs of the times are not really discouraging. The man with a message and the power to utter it still finds no lack of hearers. Amid the diversity of topics at the recent Church Congress it was the subject of sermons which secured the most crowded meeting. Moreover, the measure of criticism is not necessarily the touchstone of truth. Pepys girded at the men of God around him, and sprinkled his uncomplimentary epithets with unsparing hand, yet he lived in what is admitted by general consent to be the golden age of Anglican theology. That he derived more good from what he heard in church than he was willing to allow may be seen from one of the few eulogies his book contains: 'To my joy find Mr. Frampton in the pulpit: and I think the best sermon, for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an Apostle than ever I heard man: and it was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church.' The age of Bishop Frampton has gone for ever; the eloquence of that incomparable brotherhood to which he belonged is mute. But with the renewal of zeal and devotion, with a better use of the means at her disposal, there is room for hope that the Church may be raised to a position of power and authority far higher than she held when Samuel Pepys confided to his journal his frank impressions of the parsons and preachings of his day.

D. WALLACE DUTHIE.

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THE SCHOOLS OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS

THE first act of the Royal Academy after its foundation in 1768 was the establishment of a 'well-regulated School or Academy of Design for the use of Students in the Arts,' which had been put forward in the memorial addressed to George the Third by the seceding members of the Incorporated Society of Artists as one of the two primary reasons for the creation of a 'Society for promoting the Arts of Design.' The other reason was an 'Annual Exhibition, open for all artists of distinguished merit,' the profit arising from which would, it was thought, pay all the expenses of the school, and even leave something over for charity—an expectation which has been amply fulfilled.

Of the twenty-seven clauses in the 'Instrument' which defined the constitution and government of the Academy, signed by George the Third on the 10th of December, 1768, no fewer than eleven refer to the schools. At the first two meetings of the members held on the 14th and 17th of December, the various officers—keeper, visitors, and professors—who were to have charge of the instruction and discipline in the schools were elected; and the first subjects taken into consideration by the Council or Executive body were by-laws for their regulation and arrangements for their early opening. Little time was lost over these preliminaries, and on the 2nd of January, 1769, the schools were opened in a house in Pall Mall, a little eastward of the site now occupied by the United Service Club. It was on this occasion that Sir Joshua Reynolds delivered the first of his 'Discourses,' termed in the vote of thanks afterwards passed to him by the members 'an ingenious, useful, and elegant speech.'

Many previous efforts had been made, beginning in the reign of Charles the First, to establish an art school, but they all sooner or later fell through, owing chiefly to lack of means. That these means could be supplied by charging for admission to an exhibition of pictures was first suggested by the crowds that flocked to the Foundling Hospital to see the works which Hogarth and some other artists had presented for the adornment of its walls. The idea thus started was soon given practical effect to, and the financial success attending the exhibitions started in 1760 by the Society of Artists furnished

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the memorialists who approached George the Third with a scheme for the establishment of an Academy with good grounds for believing that they had solved the problem of how to find funds for the support of an art school. It must not be forgotten that the intention was to provide everything free of cost to the student; no fees of any kind were to be charged. And this intention has been carried out and always strictly adhered to.

The schools as first constituted consisted of an 'antique' or 'plaister academy' and an 'academy of living models.' Instruction in the former was given by the keeper, in the latter by the 'visitors,' of whom nine were to be elected annually from among the Academicians, 'painters of history, able sculptors, or other persons properly qualified.' Each visitor was to attend one month in the year by rotation, 'to set the figures, to examine the performances of the students, to advise and instruct them, to endeavour to form their taste, and turn their attention towards that branch of the arts for which they shall seem to have the aptest disposition.' Here was the keynote of the method of instruction, maintained in its essential principles down to the present day, viz. to give students the opportunity of profiting by the instruction and example not of one able artist, but of many. The aim, as has been well said, was to encourage individuality, not to promote uniformity. The first keeper was G. M. Moser, the first visitors A. Carlini, C. Catton, G. B. Cipriani, N. Dance, F. Hayman, P. Toms, B. West, R. Wilson, F. Zuccarelli.

The tests for admission were the presentation of a drawing, or model, from a plaster cast, to the keeper, who, if satisfied with this proof of the candidate's proficiency, allowed him to make a drawing, or model, from a cast in the Academy; this was submitted to the Council, and on their approval the candidate was admitted as a student, and drew from the antique till such time as he was thought fitted to draw from the living model.

The period of studentship was fixed at six years. Three gold and nine silver medals were given, also a travelling studentship of 60*l.* for three years open to gold medal students. Sixty-seven students were admitted in the first year, among them being John Bacon, Thomas Banks, Richard Cosway, John Flaxman, and Francis Wheatley.

In 1771 George the Third gave the Academy rooms in his palace of Somerset House, and the schools and offices were transferred there, the exhibition being still held in Pall Mall. When his Majesty soon afterwards surrendered the building to the Government, he stipulated that a part of the new building which Chambers was to erect should be appropriated to the Academy, and in 1780 it took possession of its apartments in New Somerset House, which included a large exhibition room at the top of the building. Here the Academy remained for fifty-seven years. During this period

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many changes were made in the rules and regulations. The term of studentship was in 1792 increased to seven years, and in 1800 to ten years, with the privilege of renewal from year to year on certain conditions. In 1815 a school of painting was instituted, with visitors on the same principle as in the life school, and a curator appointed to take charge of it. The value of the travelling studentship had been increased from 60*l.* to 100*l.*, then to 130*l.*, and in 1832 to 160*l.*, and many additions made to the prize list. All these changes had raised the average yearly cost of the schools from under 1000*l.*, at which they started, to over 2000*l.* The tests for admission remained much the same, but the probationer, as he was now called, after passing the first test, was allowed three months for doing his drawing or model in the schools, and had also to make some anatomical drawings before becoming a student. Subsequent admission to the life school also carried with it permission to draw in the newly established painting school.

Among those who had taken advantage of this gratuitous education during this period are to be found the names of Northcote, Stothard, Lawrence, Hoppner, Moreland, Shee, Flaxman, Turner, Soane, Callcott, Haydon, Linnell, Wilkie, Mulready, Hilton, Leslie, Etty, Constable, Eastlake, Edwin Landseer, Boxall, Maclise, and Foley.

In 1837 the Academy moved to Trafalgar Square and took possession of that portion of the new building erected there for the National Gallery which had been allotted to it in exchange for the apartments it vacated at Somerset House. Among the names of students admitted just at this time are those of J. C. Hook, W. P. Frith, and J. E. Millais. Here the Academy remained for thirty-two years. The term of studentship was in 1853 reduced to seven years, students who obtained medals being granted the privilege of life studentship; curators were appointed in the antique school and the life school, and more money prizes and medals were given, including a travelling studentship of 160*l.* for architects. The mode of gaining admission remained much the same as before. As the result of these and other changes in the direction of increased efficiency the yearly average cost was raised to 3000*l.*

Female students were first admitted in 1860. Their admission was brought about in a curious way. All candidates had to fill up a printed form giving their name, age, residence, &c. One of these, either by accident or design, had only the initials of the Christian name given. The drawings submitted were passed as satisfactory, and 'A. L. Herford' duly informed of the fact. On the appearance of the candidate it was revealed that 'A. L.' stood for Anne Laura. The then keeper, Charles Landseer, aghast at such an apparition in precincts hitherto sacred to the male sex, referred the matter to the Council, but as there was no law against the admission of female students, though it is believed that many members at the time wished there had been such a law, the innovation was allowed to

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pass, the Council contenting themselves with a resolution recommending the 'young women students' (the particular one in question was twenty-nine) to the care of the housekeeper, and requesting the keeper to 'see that the strictest propriety be observed in the antique school,' to which their studies were to be confined.

In 1863 the Academy was sat upon by a Royal Commission, which asked 5142 questions of a variety of people. Some of the Academy's critics are fond of resorting to the answers given to many of those questions for sticks wherewith to belabour it, but an impartial one must admit that the evidence on which they chiefly rely was in most cases that of persons who had their own, to them sufficient, reasons for disliking the Academy, or of faddists. The commissioners themselves were not misled by this class of evidence, and their report was a moderate and on the whole a sensible document, only disfigured by a few fantastic recommendations which no professional artist could consider as either practical or practicable.

Three years after the report of this Commission, in which the opinion was expressed that 'the Royal Academy have no legal, but that they have a moral, right to apartments at the public expense,' a bargain was concluded by which the Government handed over to the Academy old Burlington House and a portion of the garden behind it, and the Academy undertook to erect out of its own funds all the necessary additional buildings. These were begun in 1867, and completed in 1869, when the schools and the exhibition were both transferred to the new quarters. One important benefit which resulted from this increased accommodation was that the students were able to work uninterruptedly throughout the year, with the exception of two months' vacation, in rooms specially constructed and used for no other purpose, instead of, as had been the case both at Somerset House and Trafalgar Square, having their studies wholly or partially interrupted by the exhibitions, which were held in the same rooms as the schools.

The changes that followed on this expansion were considerable. A preliminary school of painting was established, in which the students were taught the purely technical details of painting before being allowed to paint from the living model. An evening school of architecture was instituted with a special teacher, the architectural students after their admission having hitherto been merely obliged to attend the lectures and frequent the library, and visitors were elected to serve in it as in the other schools. Many improvements were introduced into the internal conduct and discipline of the schools, and numerous alterations and additions made in the prizes, among them being the Turner gold medal for landscape, and the reduction of the time allowed to the travelling student to two years. One important change made in 1868, which should have been mentioned before, was that associates were made eligible to serve as visitors.

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Soon after Lord Leighton became president, a special committee was appointed which, after a long and careful inquiry, drew up a revised set of regulations which contained many new and important changes. The period of studentship was reduced to six years and divided into two terms of three years each, the second term being gained only after a qualifying examination to test the progress made by the student during the first. Life studentships were abolished. A separate school for students in sculpture was established, open in the evening, under the charge of a curator, in which modelling from the life was taught, visitors being elected for this as in the other schools. Also a class of modelling for architects with a special teacher. The alterations under the heading of 'Prizes and Medals' were numerous and important. The travelling studentships in painting, sculpture, and architecture were attached to the gold medals and were all given every two years, the value being increased to 200*l.*, but the tenure reduced to one year. An architectural travelling studentship for travel and study in England of 60*l.* for one year was also given in alternate years. A scholarship of 50*l.* was added to the Turner gold medal. Encouragement to the study of mural painting was sought to be given by the institution of a prize of 40*l.* for a design for the decoration of a public building, with a further allowance of 200*l.* for carrying out the design if of sufficient merit; while to the study of drapery was allotted a prize of 25*l.* Drawings from the life were rewarded by 100*l.* in four prizes, and models from the life by 75*l.* in two prizes. In addition numerous smaller prizes and medals were given for different subjects of competition in painting, drawing, sculpture, and architecture. Besides these there were the Creswick prize of 30*l.* for a landscape in oil, the proceeds of a legacy left for the purpose by Miss Creswick, the sister of Thomas Creswick, R.A.; the Armitage prizes of 30*l.* and 10*l.* for a monochrome sketch in oil for a design for a figure picture, the gift of Edward Armitage, R.A.; and scholarships of 40*l.* awarded half-yearly to the students in painting and sculpture who pass the best examination for entering the second term of studentship, derived from the munificent bequest of 10,000*l.* left to the Academy for the purpose of founding prizes in the schools by Charles Landseer, R.A., who had held the office of keeper for twenty-three years. All these changes, which came into effect in 1881, raised the annual cost of the schools to from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* They were also found to necessitate many alterations and additions to the school buildings, which were carried out and completed in 1885 at a cost of over 8000*l.*

Matters, however, were not allowed to rest here, and in 1889, soon after the appointment of the late Mr. Calderon as keeper, some very important modifications of the rules were introduced. Foremost among them was a limitation of the age at which students were to be admitted. This was fixed at twenty-three years, though it was afterwards extended in the case of students in sculpture and archi-

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tecture to twenty-five years. Then the test for admission was no longer to be one of *bona fides* or verification, but of merit. Hitherto the candidates admitted as probationers had been allowed two or three months in the schools to do drawings similar to those which had gained them probationership, and the two sets were then compared. Now they were, after admission as probationers, to attend in the schools for from ten days to a fortnight and undergo a special examination. The second term of studentship was reduced to two years, making the total term five years. A day school of sculpture was instituted; and students in painting, instead of being kept at first in the antique school, were allowed to study in that school and the preliminary painting school concurrently. Some of the existing prizes were abolished and others substituted, and regulations were made for securing more regular and punctual attendance on the part of the students.

The next few years saw no changes of any importance, but in 1900 some members who, as visitors, had taken an active part in the teaching addressed a memorandum to the Council containing many suggestions for the amendment of the course of study. In their preamble they stated that they did 'not approach the subject in any revolutionary spirit,' being 'conscious that the system which has for so many generations educated artists of such individuality as have adorned the English school, has claims on our highest respect, and must be retained; and it is to perfect, or make better, the existing methods, and preserve all that tends for good, that has been one of the chief objects of our deliberations.' They added that the conviction was 'entertained by many deeply interested in the success of the schools of the Royal Academy of Arts, that the schools should more fittingly meet the requirements of those who wish to study art in England, and that they should maintain the prestige and repute as of a great University of Art.'

The suggestions, numerous, and some of them far reaching, made in this memorandum were carefully considered by the Council at several meetings in 1901, and at the beginning of 1902 they laid before the General Assembly the alterations in the existing laws which, based chiefly on the proposals contained in the memorandum, but also containing other matters, they considered desirable should be made, accompanied by an explanatory report. These alterations were debated at many meetings during 1902, and most of them had been practically accepted, when near the end of the discussion the startling suggestion was made that the proposed changes, though containing much that was commendable, did not touch the vital point in which reform was really wanted, this vital point being the abolition of all preliminary teaching in the schools. It was argued that though, when the Academy was founded, and for some hundred years or so afterwards, there was no other school in the United Kingdom in which a knowledge of drawing and painting could be

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acquired, that had for some time been no longer the case, and there were now many art schools in the Metropolis and in every chief town in the kingdom in which the preliminary training of the art student was satisfactorily carried out. What the Academy therefore should do was to concentrate its efforts on developing the higher branches of art education, for which it had unrivalled advantages, inasmuch as it was the one school where, by the system of visitors, the art student was put in direct relation with the most eminent members of the profession for the purposes of the completion of his studies. At present much time and money were spent on students who would never go beyond, if they ever reached, mediocrity, and their presence in the schools only served to lower the standard of excellence which should prevail and to keep away those of greater ability. The logical result of this argument, if accepted, could only be the abolition of all preliminary teaching and the adoption of a higher standard for admission; and this was resolved on, it being referred to the Council to give effect to the decision, and to modify and adapt the laws in accordance with it, and with such of the changes which had already been decided on as were compatible with it.

No time was lost in passing the new laws, which were assented to by the General Assembly, and came into effect on the reopening of the schools in October last year after the vacation. It will be sufficient to enumerate the chief points of the present system.

The limit of age for admission has been abolished, but no student over twenty-eight years of age, when admitted, can compete for any of the prizes. The works required from a painter candidate are a drawing of an antique statue, a drawing of a figure from the life, a painting of a head from the life, and a design for a composition; from a sculptor candidate, a model of an antique statue, a model and a drawing of a figure from the life, and a model of a composition. The age and sex of candidates have to be stated, and the place at which they have studied, for the information of the Council, who are the examiners. Those who are successful in passing this test have then to attend at the Academy—the painters to do a painting of a head from the life in six days of three and a half hours each day, a drawing of a figure from the life in six evenings of two hours each evening, and a sketch of a design in one day of six hours from a subject set on the morning of the day; the sculptors a similar drawing in the same time, a model of a figure from the life in eleven days of three and a half hours each, and a model of a design under the same conditions as the painters. Both painters and sculptors have, in addition, to pass an examination in perspective and anatomy. To the two probationers, in painting and sculpture respectively, whose work is the best, is awarded a scholarship of 40*l.* tenable for one year.

The chosen ones have now three years before them in the school of painting, the school of drawing, and the school of sculpture, with

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visitors *ad hoc* in all three schools, and the keeper in general superintendence. In addition to these three special schools, there is a newly established school for all, that of design, 'for the use of students practising composition, and for miscellaneous work of various kinds.' Visitors are to give subjects for designs in this schcol and to examine and comment on them. It is also to be used for 'lectures on landscape, and on animal painting, and for any other cognate purposes.' At the end of three years those students who desire a further extension of their studentship for two years are required to submit to the Council certain works done during the previous three months. These include: for painters, a drawing and a painting from the life, a painted sketch for a design to fill a given architectural space, and the result of a year's work in the school of design; for sculptors, a model and a drawing from the life, a model in low relief of a given subject to fill a given architectural space, a sketch composition in the round, and the year's work in the school of design. They must also have attended one course of the appointed lectures, and have passed an examination in those lectures. A scholarship of 40*l.* for one year is given to the students in painting and sculpture respectively who shall pass the best examination. Regular attendance in the schools, subject to certain exemptions, is insisted on, systematic irregularity disqualifying the student for competing for any of the prizes. Some alterations have been made in the number and value of these prizes, but the fact in connection with them chiefly worthy of note is that all intending competitors for the gold medals and travelling studentships in painting and sculpture, and for the design for a mural decoration, have to submit to a preliminary examination before being allowed to compete. The admission of students to the school of architecture is, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same lines as those which govern the schools of painting and sculpture, stress being laid especially on design; they must also pass a qualifying examination in the history of architecture.

It is of course too early yet for any opinion to be pronounced on the merits or demerits of this new departure. Experience in the working of the various changes can alone show wherein they succeed and wherein they fail. But whatever may prove to be the measure of success or failure in this particular instance, the account here given of its schools, incomplete as it is, will perhaps serve to show to all unprejudiced persons that the Academy, now and in the past, has always striven to do its best for the art student both in its corporate capacity and through the individual exertions of its members.

The account does not pretend to be more than a dry recital of facts; but at any rate they are facts, which is more than can be said of some of the statements that have recently been made about the Royal Academy.

FRED. A. EATON.

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THE STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES

ALTHOUGH many careers have been thrown open to women during the last half-century, and although the proportion of those pressing into clerical and office life is increasing, yet nursing remains one of the leading professions for educated women—whether regarded from the point of view of the numbers engaged in it, or from that of its suitability as a field for the exercise of their special gifts and capabilities.

It is also unique in being perhaps the only profession unreservedly assigned to women—in which their pre-eminent fitness is not disputed, and in which they occupy all the higher positions. In every other line of life women either struggle in ineffectual competition with men or occupy the subordinate and less well-paid posts.

The nursing profession has practically been created in our own day; it dates from after the Crimean War, when Miss Nightingale organised the first training school in St. Thomas's Hospital. She herself, and Miss Agnes Jones, the pioneer of Poorhouse Nursing, had to find their training in the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Home on the Rhine, where the care of the insane and the teaching of children alternated with attendance on the sick. The training organised by Miss Nightingale was more strictly professional in character, and lasted for one year, a period which has subsequently been extended to meet hospital necessities and the growing demands on nurses' skill and knowledge, till to-day no fully trained nurse has had less than two years in a general hospital.

Meanwhile the scope of the profession has enormously increased, and some of its latest developments, which bring it into direct contact with the homes of the people, have converted it into a potent instrument of social progress. Mr. Charles Booth states in his book on London that 'it is almost true to say that wherever a nurse enters the standard of life is raised;' and he speaks of the advance in this direction as 'perhaps the best fruit of the past half-century.' The public has not been behind the scientific inquirer in fully appreciating the value of district nursing, and there will soon be scarcely a country town or village without its Queen's or parish nurse, while the quality of the services employed has been considerably raised through the impetus given to the movement by Queen Victoria, when she dedi-

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cated her Jubilee Gift to the training of highly skilled nurses for the poor. Continuous efforts are being made to secure trained nurses for our poorhouses and workhouse infirmaries. Certain London schools now employ visiting nurses to inspect and attend ailing pupils, and it may be expected that the Scottish Report on the physical condition of children will lead to further employment of nurses in connection with our elementary schools. In other directions new spheres of usefulness are opening before them. The imperialist wave has swept them into the service of the Empire, and newly formed societies have organised Nursing Associations for India, South Africa, and the Crown Colonies. While on the one hand, therefore, the sensitiveness of the public to political and social questions is encouraging the development of nursing, we find, on the other, that the progress of scientific surgery and the increasing numbers of special treatments and curative processes are entailing fresh calls upon the profession and necessitating a rising standard of skill and knowledge.

But though in so many ways this great profession is growing so rapidly and daily occupying a wider and more important field of work—though the typical nurse has evolved in our own day from the 'Mrs. Gamp' or religious deaconess to the highly trained and scientific sister of our large hospital wards; yet on the other hand the profession is, as regards its internal organisation, in a state of chaos and confusion. It has no governing body; no standard of training; no corporate existence. Every hospital—whatever its size and standing—is a self-constituted training school. Each works as a separate unit, carries out its own theories of training, and confers its own certificate. A woman who has been two years in a small cottage hospital, six months in a lying-in hospital, or some such specialised institution, will emerge from it as legitimately a 'nurse' as a woman who to her three years in a general hospital has added experience in fever and obstetric wards, and passed through the courses of theoretical instruction in bacteriology, physiology, and sanitary science, which form part of the training in many of our large institutions.

In these latter hospitals the period and character of the training are more or less assimilated; but even in their case the terms and conditions of service are very varied. Everything depends on the matron. She can curtail or lengthen the period of probation; she can so arrange the work that her nurses will pass successively through the medical, surgical, and other wards, gathering all kinds of experience; or she may so legislate that her nurses will leave the hospital having seen but one department of work, and remain therefore practically untrained in every other important direction. The certificate earned in either case will be of precisely the same value, will carry the same consideration, and entitle its recipient to the same remuneration. As a result, the prizes of the profession are distributed haphazard among the fully trained and partially trained. Private

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nursing institutions, from which the general public draw their nurses, are staffed with nurses of every kind and degree of training, the one point of similarity being reserved for the fees they demand.

This state of matters is not only unfair to the nurses themselves, but unfair to the public. The latter have no means of judging of the quality of the article supplied to them. They generally accept the uniform and the appellation of 'Nurse' or 'Sister' as proof positive of the fitness of the individual for the duties undertaken, and they cheerfully pay down their 2*l.* 2*s.* a week in blissful ignorance of the fact that the nurse they have called in for a typhoid case has never seen or attended a single fever patient. During the late war, when the supply of Army Nurses and their reserves had become exhausted and a call came for volunteers, the absence of a register and the impossibility of discriminating between the qualifications of applicants was a serious handicap, and resulted in the employment of many partially trained nurses, to the exclusion of those who were equally willing and more efficient.

From another point of view the employing public may be considered to suffer injury, for, thanks to there being no stimulus in the shape of hope of promotion and financial reward for those who have striven hard to acquire the highest professional skill, the average standard is lower than it would be otherwise, and even the best trained nurses are apt to be stunted in mind and character for want of that wider outlook and those diversified interests which come from an all-round well-balanced training, based on a good secondary education. This aspect of the question acquires special importance through the peculiar conditions of a nurse's life, which bring her professionally into close and intimate contact with those she serves, thus enabling her to exert an influence on the home-life, and even on the character of her patients. And though this by-product of nursing is more apparent in the homes of the poor, it is a constant accompaniment of a nurse's work, whether carried on in a private house, hospital, or workhouse. In few other walks of life is the worthiness as well as the fitness of the individual so professionally important, and yet it is the one calling without a recognised standard of capacity, and without the means of enforcing discipline.

The legal and medical professions can, through their Councils, insist on a certain level of attainment, and they have the power of enacting disciplinary measures. Neither lawyers, doctors, chartered accountants, nor chemists and druggists can enter the fold except by the legitimate door; once within they must accept and adopt the professional ethics of their order.

Nurses alone are perfectly irresponsible to any authority, their professional skill is vouched for by no recognised certificate, and though the scope of their influence for good or ill is far greater than that of any medical attendant, there is no Council behind them to

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safeguard the interests of the public, and no fear of professional shipwreck to deter them from unprofessional conduct.

But this state of affairs, if unfair to the public, is equally injurious to the prospects of a fully trained nurse, whose career is hampered by a competition founded on the absence of all tests which the public can understand, and who must therefore compete in the same market, for the same remuneration, with nurses who have had a minimum of training and experience. These difficulties are increased by the existence in the public mind of a vague impression that a good nurse is 'born and not made,' and that the former being cheaper has decidedly the advantage. This general impression makes it easy for nursing institutions to put an inferior article on the market, and greatly facilitates the competition of the untrained, while it also leads local committees and county associations to employ a growing number of six months' trained nurses, a tendency which culminated lately in the attempt of the Local Government Board to create an order of so-called 'qualified nurses' to staff our workhouses, who were to earn this comprehensive title by a year's service in any kind of hospital.

The object of registration, however, is not to hinder the employment of such nurses—for there is ample room for the work of every grade of nurse, from the invaluable mother's help to the fully trained and scientific sister—but merely to insist that it shall be made perfectly clear that the former stand on a totally different professional footing from the fully trained and experienced nurse, and to make it impossible for them to compete on exactly the same terms with their better equipped sister. As it now stands, the moment the short engagement of a village nurse is ended she enters the ranks of the nursing profession, and becomes indistinguishable from every other type of nurse.

Both types are needed in different spheres of work; but their departments should be clearly defined and easily distinguished. The one should not overlap the other, and employers should be able to select between the qualities of service offered them.

This can only be secured by establishing a register for the fully trained nurses, and by according to those on the register a definite and distinguishing title. Such a register need not arrest the supply of a cheap order of home helps, capable of nursing chronic cases, while undertaking the household duties of their patients, but should rather tend to open up new spheres of usefulness for such women.

Throughout the community there are cases which do not demand a very high order of nursing skill and experience, and for Queen's nurses to undertake such cases, in addition to those of more serious illness, is to bring about a certain waste and misdirection of energy which a better sub-division of labour would obviate while tending to promote a more effectual occupation of the whole field of work.

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The classification of nurses through the registration of the higher order would force the untrained or partially trained competitor out of the upper ranks of the profession, and in seeking an outlet for their energies they would form a different class of sick attendants, who would necessarily demand a lower remuneration for their services, and be available for all those innumerable cases of chronic disease or special infirmity in which the patient only asks to be made comfortable and to be given a helping hand in the work of the household. There is room outside the profession, and working perhaps in co-operation with it, for the good motherly 'knowledgeable' soul who can perform many humble but welcome offices in the sick room. But at a moment when the profession is confronted with such splendid opportunities of usefulness—when it is asked to co-operate in social work at home or in a political mission such as it undertook in the Concentration Camps of South Africa, when it is called upon to serve the Empire in distant colonies or with the armies in war time—it is not to the adjustment of work among its lower orders that we should look, but rather to the reinforcement of the higher ranks of the profession with a strong type of educated and efficient woman capable of adequately responding to every call. And it is only by regulating competition, by hedging off the untrained, by legalising the position of the fully trained, that nursing will attract the university graduate and the well-educated daughter of the professional classes, who is now deterred from entering the nursing ranks because the special qualities and the superior education she can bring to it will receive no recognition, and avail her nothing in the open and unrestricted competition of the heterogeneous crowd of which the profession is composed.

The trend of modern development in medicine and surgery has been to increase the importance of the nurse's part, and to demand a closer co-operation between her and the physician or surgeon. As a consequence the modern nurse needs a better trained intelligence and a quicker and more scientific appreciation of the value of symptoms. The struggle has grown keener between science and disease; operations once unattempted are now every-day occurrences; illnesses hitherto regarded as incurable are successfully combated; unknown bacilli are hunted down and annihilated; but in this hand-to-hand battle the day is often turned by the skill or want of skill of the nurse. As a community, therefore, we cannot afford to look with indifference on the disorganisation of the profession, and on its consequent inability to enlist the best available material. The public need the best, and if it can only be obtained through State registration, we should co-operate with nurses in securing such a measure as will place the profession on a better and more stable foundation.

No doubt, other professions have enforced registration, and have devised their own system of government, without reference to the

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State; but these are of older date; their organisation has its roots in the past, and is the result of gradual growth, keeping pace with the progress and evolution of the profession itself.

With nursing it is otherwise, and it is impossible to expect the same well-devised organisation in a calling which has sprung up in a day, and whose enormous expansion was not contemplated from the first. There are besides other inherent difficulties. It is a profession which consists practically entirely of women, few of whom have had any elaborate education or mental training, and, as might be expected, it exhibits tendencies and failings peculiar to a society formed entirely of one sex, all living the same life, occupied with the same interests, and prone, on account of the absorbing nature of their vocation, to isolate themselves from the larger world and all its more varied interests. The natural jealousies, inherent in such a society, are accentuated by the fact that there are no recognised heads to the profession, no special reason why one matron more than another should form part of a Nursing Council, whose edicts should be binding on the whole profession; and added to these difficulties there is the fact that, though the working life of a nurse is short, it is extremely arduous, and there are few members of the profession who have the leisure or the energy to devote to the campaign that would be necessary to carry through a scheme of internal government. Therefore, if registration is to be obtained, it must come from without, and could only be successfully established through some system of State registration. The State has lately appointed a Central Midwifery Board whose duty it will be to lay down conditions of service and authorise a definite training for midwives. What is now required is a central Board which will do the same for the general body of nurses, and afterwards keep up a register of those who have complied with its regulations and passed its examinations. Nurses entered on this State register would be known as registered or certificated nurses, and their continuance on the roll would be a guarantee to the public of their professional efficiency and general fitness for employment. The Board would retain full power to enforce disciplinary measures when necessary, and to remove from the roll any nurse who had been proved guilty of unprofessional conduct.

Incidentally the existence of such a central Board would benefit nurses at an early stage in their career, for it would insure their having a better all-round training, and would level up the conditions under which they serve in hospital through the supervision which the Board would naturally exercise over the training schools of the country. Over-work would tend to cease; night-work would be better regulated; time would be allotted to theoretical study, and one may hope that hospitals would no longer be able to supplement subscriptions by exacting undue and unprofessional labour from their nurses. The dissimilarity in training which now exists would disappear once the

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Board had laid down their minimum scheme of training, and all nurses would have an equal opportunity of fitting themselves for general work, while ambitious souls would have a chance of 'going special' by adding certain branches of knowledge or specified courses of study to their regular training. This would be duly notified in the register, and thus a higher class of nurses would emerge, from whom the candidates for the matronships of hospitals would come to be selected. The intellectual level of nurses would be raised, for a central Board would almost certainly insist on a preliminary examination, showing that candidates possessed a good average secondary education, while, if the Board came to the conclusion that a preliminary training in domestic economy, such as is now given by the London Hospital and the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, was necessary, they would probably recognise the diploma of some central polytechnic or technical school, which would relieve individual hospitals of the expense of maintaining separate establishments for the same purpose. This course might also be adopted with regard to the theoretical instruction now given in the larger hospitals, but which might equally well be arranged for at suitable centres. This would tend to economy and efficiency, while restraining wasteful competition between hospitals.

In some of our colonies and in several States of America the principle of State registration has already been adopted; it is too soon yet to judge of the results, but it may be noted that in these States a very complete training for nurses has already been organised, which includes in some cases special university courses.

The composition of the central Board would be a matter for discussion, but it would necessarily include representatives of the medical profession and of the general public, as well as a larger proportion of nurses themselves. To such a Board must be relegated all questions regarding the nature and scope of a nurse's training, together with the solution of more technical questions, such as whether a short course in one department of nursing really fits an individual to undertake such work, or whether special training should only be given, as in the medical profession, to those who have previously acquired general experience. The Board would also have to settle the claims of the different types of hospitals and workhouse infirmaries to be accepted as training schools, and it would have to devise a scheme by which fever and similar special hospitals would contribute to the training of nurses without monopolising all their time or depriving them of opportunities for more general training.

The establishment of such a scheme would, no doubt, be difficult of attainment. As a nation we dislike organisation and any interference with the natural course of things; we have not yet brought ourselves to accept the necessity for the organisation of our educational system, and we have lately been supplied with painful evidence

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of our national inability to enforce good administration even in our public departments. The registration of midwives was only won after a long struggle with the prejudices of a portion of the medical profession and the indifference of the public. To obtain the registration of nurses the same battle will have to be fought, though on this occasion we may probably expect more sympathetic support from the medical profession; for the object of this scheme is not to fit nurses to perform any of the duties of a doctor, but rather to make them more efficient subordinates, so that the forward strides now being made by medicine and surgery may not be hampered and retarded by want of skill and knowledge in those to whom the observation of illness, the enforcement of scientific cleanliness, and the superintendence of remedial processes are so largely entrusted.

HELEN MUNRO FERGUSON.

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RELIGIOUS APOLOGETICS

THERE is an old saying about 'slaying the slain.'

It was scarcely worth while to expend so many pages of clever argument and so many quotations from bishops and others to prove that the standpoint in theology (as in all departments of thought) is not the same in England now as it was sixty years ago. How can it be? Every succeeding generation presents to itself its thoughts about things invisible with a different environment, as the waves of advancing knowledge overtake one another. We are not at the end of the process yet. After all, if that which is essential and vital remains, the environment matters not very much. Indeed it is gain, if, as is the law in the evolution of things, the standpoint shifts continually more and more from the innocent wonderment of childhood to a more intelligent appreciation. The able disputant about *religious apologetics* in these pages[1] proves easily enough that the authority of Paley and Butler is not what it was in their own period. Has he shown, or does he wish to show, that Christianity is therefore exploded?

Let me in passing observe that it would be, to say the least, a rather hasty way of generalising to class Butler with Paley as an 'Old Bailey advocate' for Christianity. Butler's reasoning is built too much on 'natural religion,' which is certainly an insecure foundation, although not so regarded by Butler's opponents, the Deists. Still, with this limitation, Butler's is quite another kind of argument than Paley's way of putting the Apostles into the witness-box and cross-examining them, in order to extract the truth from their lips. Perhaps there is rather too much of the 'Old Bailey advocacy' in the peremptory demand for eyewitness of the Resurrection and the Incarnation.

The truth, that is what every honest thinker wants to find. But there are two meanings of the word, and it is of importance not to confuse them nor to put the lower before the higher. I am not speaking of the subjective meaning of the word, which is what we call 'sincerity,' but of truth objective so far as man can grasp it. There is truth concrete, and there is truth ideal. We want Plato

[1] Walter R. Cassells—October 1903.

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again among us, to remind us which of these two aspects of truth is to take precedence.[2] The mere archæologist will probably say, Give me facts, figures, names. Those with a deeper insight and a wider survey of man and his capacities know that the truths which transcend others are not ponderable nor measurable, nor can be tested by the fallacious, treacherous experience of the senses. Try to ascertain precisely what took place on any occasion, in private life or public, and even from trustworthy witnesses you get statements conflicting one with another. But the fundamental laws of right and wrong have a general, if not a universal, consent, which even a Pyrrhonist cannot put aside as of no account. To know the exact distance of our planet from the sun is like the answer to an amusing riddle. To know that it is worse to cheat than to be cheated is a step onward in the growth of a race or of an individual. Unless the controversies about religion start from ethical principles, they are merely 'beating the air.'

Before taking for granted that 'miracles are discredited' and that the 'supernatural' must be ruled out of court, it is well to define what is meant by these terms. Probably there are very few educated persons now who regard an alleged 'miracle' as an arbitrary interruption of a law of nature. The word itself tells its own story; it is something wonderful. The same phenomenon which nowadays is clearly explained by physical causes may be a wonder, a sign, a portent to men in other ages or in other countries. It served its purpose if it startled the careless and fixed their attention on what might otherwise have been disregarded. So far as a 'miracle' is the outcome of an extraordinary combination and adjustment of ordinary forces—as when in an emergency the east wind drives back the waters—it is objectively as well as subjectively a miracle, for to effect this combination and adjustment is beyond the power of man. But obviously the thing is quite as truly 'miracle' if at the time and in given circumstances it seems inexplicable, although it shall be resolved into the operation of natural laws as physical science moves on.

In this sense it would be rash to say that miracles are 'discredited,' or to prophesy that they ever will be. 'Wonders never cease.' The horizon recedes as science advances. That the miracle no longer holds so prominent a place in the thoughts of believers in Christianity as in patristic, mediæval, post-Reformation periods—is a truism. When a missionary lands on a far-away island, hitherto unvisited by Europeans, the fact that he comes across the ocean in a ship commands the reverence of savages. He seems miraculous, and they are predisposed to hear him. But this is only the preface to the book. What he has to tell them must appeal to the conscience, which responds, however faintly, in everyone to such an appeal. So

[2] Those who prefer it can read Plato now in Jowett's translation.

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it is, so it has been in the history of the world. It is the Message itself that concerns mankind. The credentials of the messenger are merely prefatory.

An intelligent Christian accepts what is incomprehensible to him in Christianity because he has ethical reasons for giving credence to Christ, for trusting Him. He does not base his faith in Christ on miracles alleged of Him, though these may have helped to gain a hearing for the Gospel in the first promulgation of it. Satisfied reasonably of the trustworthiness of the Person who claims his allegiance, he is content to take on trust what he cannot explain. He believes in Christ's miracles, because he believes in Him.

The real question then is, Are the moral credentials of the Christ adequate? Do they justify the surrender of self to Him? By this test Christianity must stand or fall. This is a question which modern criticism even of the New Testament does not touch. The personality of Jesus is unique. It cannot have been invented. 'L'inventeur en serait plus étonnant que le héros.' Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the names and dates of the writers or compilers of the several narratives, whatever inaccuracies may be detected in this or that paragraph, the ethical character of the Teacher and of His teaching stands above these minutiæ. Of none else in the world's history could it be truly predicated, 'He hath done nothing amiss,' 'He hath done all things well,' 'No man ever spake like this Man.'

The objection, that we have only a portion, a fragment of His life, is hardly to be considered. As Owen or Cuvier could construct the extinct mammal from the foot only, or the thigh, so from what has been preserved in the record of Christ it is easy to see the rest. Indeed, the silence of the life preparatory to the ministry and the self-effacement in Nazareth, some thirty years, are more eloquent than words. Had He come into the world to assert Himself, it might have been otherwise. He came to save.

The old objection is repeated against the incidents of the swine in Decapolis and the barren fig-tree. The old answer might suffice, that those two incidents stand alone; that, as destructive, they are the notable exceptions to the law of beneficence exemplified in the dealings of Christ, and that by their very contrast they serve to emphasise the love which manifested itself on other occasions. It might be enough to leave these incidents unexplained and inexplicable on the ground that the confidence placed in the Christ (for valid reasons) is strong enough to justify so doing. In the case of a friend, who has proved himself in other ways worthy of our fidelity, we are not alarmed even though some things in his conduct seem inexplicable. The misgiving is outweighed and stilled by other prevailing considerations. But, surely, to those who realise what sin is, there is no need to go far in search of an explanation of this

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apparent severity. In both Gadara and Bethany there is, for those who care to see it, an object-lesson, more telling than language, of the awfulness of submission to evil.

This it is which underlies all questions of the credibility of Christianity. Leave this out, and the Gospel is not, cannot claim to be, what the word denotes; the 'good tidings' are not worth having, the whole narrative is a tissue of impossibilities. But if anyone knows the need for forgiveness, if anyone hungers and thirsts to be set free from the tyranny of evil, then the appearance on earth of a 'Son of Man' altogether sinless who comes to rescue man from an evil power too strong for him unaided, is the master-key to problems of life otherwise insoluble; and if His presence on earth brings with it much that is to finite capacity incomprehensible, this is the inevitable accompaniment and sequence of His coming. The self-sacrificing life and death of Christ, the unselfish lives and deaths of those who really surrender their wills to Him, are practical evidence for the marvels of Bethlehem, of the empty Tomb, and of Mount Olivet.

Of course it is easy to cite other instances of high ethical teaching and, what is more, of high practice from other lives. The conscience of mankind, sometimes feebly remonstrating, sometimes upbraiding boldly, is for ever making its protest for right against wrong, ever aspiring upwards, a flame that cannot be kept down. But sin is selfishness, and the perfect unalloyed unselfishness of the Christ in life as in teaching is a thing different from the self-annihilation of Buddha or the self-elaboration for self's sake of the philosophy which culminates in the lofty ethics of M. Aurelius. Let it once be realised that self-seeking, however dressed up in almost countless disguises, is the essential quality of sin, and that self-sacrifice for others' sake is the training of man for his most complete development, and the enigma of life is solved. The pain and suffering on earth which seem superficially irreconcilable with a just and kind providence are the probation for perfection.

Nor is it only within the four corners of the New Testament that this moral testimony supports the claim of the Christ to be the 'Son of God made man.' The subsequent influence of Christianity on the world, what it has done and does in every age, in every land, must be counted in. Prescription by itself is nothing: it may be cited for any and every abuse; even the permanency in the world of Christianity, its endurance through all the vicissitudes of time, in spite, too, of monstrous inconsistencies in those who have professed it, cannot be insisted on as irrefragable. But the practical fruit of Christianity in the lives, however sparse, of those who have embraced it, really is an argument which cannot be resisted, so long as the antagonism is recognised between vice and virtue. Such a career as that of Saul of Tarsus is an evidence in itself for the truth of the

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Gospel. What drew him over to the side of Christ from the front rank of opponents was the very motive which is the root of all real Christianity, a longing for perfect holiness in a world, to say the best, of a very mixed character. Men and women like Xavier and Elizabeth Fry, books like the *Imitatio*, the *Christian Year*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, will be, to the end of time, impregnable against cavillings, however ingenious, about the precise accuracy of the sacred records. Can any other teacher (I quote one[3] of the profoundest thinkers of any age) say 'Come unto Me and I will give you rest'? The inherent power of Christianity to raise the fallen is the greatest wonder in the world. 'Faith is not an assent to a proposition, but trust in a Person.'

I. GREGORY SMITH.

[3] Augustine of Hippo.

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FREE TRADE AND BRITISH SHIPPING

In the consideration of the great fiscal problem which now absorbs the attention of the whole country, there is no side of the controversy deserving of more serious thought than British shipping. We must clearly keep before us the fact that, as a nation, we cannot afford to neglect or injure this great industry, all important to us in time of peace, and vital to our security in times of emergency. When we remember that, year by year, we are relying more and more upon foreign countries for our food supplies, that we receive about two-thirds of our wheat from outside our own Empire, and that the supply of grain stored in the United Kingdom is only sufficient to feed our vast population for some six or eight weeks, then it is at once apparent to what an extent we are dependent, for our very existence, upon our mercantile marine.

The evidence given before the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies clearly proves that British shipping is very seriously handicapped in competition with foreign shipping, and a summary of this evidence provides matter for most serious reflection. It will be necessary in the course of this article to give prominence to some of the grievances complained of by British shipowners, to consider whether these disabilities may be removed by a change in our fiscal policy, and, finally, whether Mr. Chamberlain's policy of preferential trading with the Colonies is likely to prove beneficial or detrimental to British shipping.

Up to the present, our shipping owes its unique position to the continuous and untiring efforts of those engaged in the industry: it has received very little government support, and, in fact, it is freely contended that our shipping has been hampered by legislation. Ship-owners grumble at what they are pleased to call the 'grandmotherly interference of the Board of Trade,' both as regards the loading and equipment of their vessels.

These restrictions, however, have been principally enforced for the protection of life and property in what is undoubtedly one of the most dangerous of our national industries, and it is quite a moot-point whether British shipping has been subjected to a greater degree of government interference than other British industries of a dangerous character, for it is patent to all that legislation during

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the last two generations has invariably been exercised in the direction of improving the condition of labour, as regards the terms and hours of employment, precautions against accident, compensation, &c., and consequently to generally raise the standard of life among our working classes. These restrictions, imposed by Parliament, add to the cost of working, and are especially felt in times of severe depression, such as has unfortunately now overtaken this important branch of industry.

In considering this question, it is of supreme importance to remember that foreign shipping, which now competes so severely with our own, is not restricted in this precautionary manner, but on the contrary is vastly assisted by direct and indirect subsidies, exemptions, assistance by State railways, smaller registered tonnage, &c. In short, foreign governments offer every conceivable inducement to foster their shipping, with results now so clearly evident, and which are causing much uneasiness to those who have their capital locked up in our mercantile marine.

The Report of the Subsidies Committee states:

> That the granting of shipping subsidies, at considerable pecuniary cost, by foreign governments, has favoured the development of competition against British ship-owners and trade upon the principal routes of ocean communication, and has assisted in the transfer from British to Continental ports of some branches of foreign and colonial trade; but that, notwithstanding the fostering effects of subsidies upon foreign competition, British steam shipping and trade have in the main held their own, and *under fair conditions are able to maintain the maritime supremacy of this country.*

Under fair conditions the enterprise of the British ship-owner may be safely relied upon, but *the conditions now met with in competition with the foreigner are not fair.* Abuses have grown and continue to grow, in spite of protests repeatedly made by ship-owners to our Government. Our insular free trade has been an encouragement for our foreign rivals to strike a blow at our maritime supremacy, and it is doubtful if it is even now fully realised to what extent our shipping trade suffers through the continuance of this one-sided policy.

It is impossible to minimise the splendid position our shipping still holds in comparison with that of foreign nations, or to detract in the least from the credit due to the British ship-owner: to make a just comparison, it is necessary to compare our shipping with the combined tonnage of the world; comparison with any single nation would be ridiculous, but it must be remembered that it is with the whole world that we have to compete, and it is because we have the huge estimated amount of 120,000,000*l.* invested in ordinary cargo trading steamers alone, plus the capital in liners and sailing ships, that ship-owners and ship-managers should devote special attention to this very important side of a great question.

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How have the protests put forward by ship-owners been received by different British governments? How much attention has been attached to their legitimate grievances? Sir Robert Giffen told the Subsidy Committee that when he was at the Board of Trade, and ship-owners complained about foreign subsidies, it was always possible to say to those who complained, 'See what a prosperous industry you have as a whole, and how rapidly it is expanding,' or, in other words, they were always able to assure our ship-owners that there was no danger from foreign competition by pointing out the preponderance of British trade, the prosperity of the industry and its continued extension. But in dealing with national trade it is not always safe to shield ourselves behind a mass of statistics. Our policy in approaching this question is not to rely upon our achievements in the past, or even our present favourable position, but to look to the future and to take serious note of what is being done by our foreign competitors. When Sir Robert Giffen was at the Board of Trade he evidently did not consider that subsidies to foreign ships would seriously affect the prosperity of our own. What are his views to-day?

My opinion [says Sir Robert Giffen] is that during the last few years a very serious change has taken place in the relative circumstances of British shipping as compared with the shipping of other countries, especially France and Germany, so that now the question of foreign subsidies to their ships has become pressing, though I believe that it might not have been so pressing formerly.

The question of subsidies granted by foreign governments is universally considered, and undoubtedly is, the most objectionable form of competition against which British shipping has to contend. Its effects have been especially disastrous to our sailing ship tonnage. With the advent of steam it was inevitable that this class of tonnage should decrease, but there are certain long-distance trades where sailing vessels can still successfully compete against steam, and will doubtless continue to do so for an indefinite period. The position of British sailing ships in these trades is at present deplorable, owing principally to the operation of the subsidies granted by France.

During the six years from 1896 to 1901 inclusive, British sailing ships sold to foreign nations numbered no less than 1,205, of a gross register of 610,290 tons; the latest figures for 1903 show that whereas there have been added to the British register only 33,650 tons of sailing-ship tonnage, during the same period about 110,000 tons have been removed. Lord Brassey has recently stated that our sailing-ship tonnage has decreased from 2,200,000 tons in 1894 to 1,400,000 tons in 1901, and concurrently the French sailing-ship fleet has increased from 235,504 tons in 1895 to 415,029 tons in 1902.

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The object of foreign subsidies is of course apparent. Jealous of the preponderance of British shipping (upon which they have largely to rely for the carriage of their merchandise), foreign nations naturally wish to create and encourage their own mercantile marines, with a view of diverting to themselves trade at present held by Great Britain; and, in addition, France is offering every inducement in the way of bounties to further the operations of her shipbuilding industry.

The decrease in our sailing-ship tonnage gives ground for anxiety, as it is of vital importance to every nation which possesses a large and increasing navy to retain a sufficient number of sailing ships as a means of providing a training-ground for reserves of seamen in case of national danger. Lord Brassey, recognising the importance of this policy, suggests that our Government should subsidise sailing vessels under our flag on certain conditions, in the same manner that France has already subsidised her sailing ships.

Can we be surprised that the French fleet has increased so rapidly, concurrently with an enormous decrease in the same class of British tonnage, in view of the fact that France offers a subsidy of 1fr. 70c. (equal to about 1*s.* 4½*d.*) per gross ton per thousand miles navigated? To show to what an extent French subsidised sailing ships participate under the bounty system, Mr. R. W. Leyland, in giving evidence before the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies, stated that under the law of 1893 the total bounty that the French sailing-ship owners will receive in 1904 will be 740,289*l.*, and to illustrate the actual working of the system he gave the following examples:

Taking a French ship from London to Melbourne, of 2350 gross register: from London to Melbourne is 12,000 miles, and she would make 1938*l.* 15*s.* From Melbourne to San Francisco, which is a common voyage, viâ Newcastle, the distance is 6990 miles, and she would there make on the mileage an additional 1129*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* Then from San Francisco home to the United Kingdom or Continent, a distance of 13,500 miles, she would make on her mileage a further 2181*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, or a gross total on that round of 5249*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* This is for a small vessel of 2350 tons gross register.

Can we be surprised at the outcry of our sailing-ship owners who have to struggle against these adverse influences? What possible opportunity has the Britisher of a fair return upon capital invested, when a remunerative freight is practically unobtainable, owing to the cutting of rates by heavily subsidised vessels, whose main object is to sail the longest possible distances, upon which depends the amount of bounty earned? Clearly the question of the fluctuation of the freight markets, all important to the British ship-owner, becomes of secondary importance to a vessel enjoying such a substantial subsidy, and it is idle to expect British owners to invest

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further capital in sailing-ship tonnage; the natural outcome can only be the extinction of this important branch of our shipping industry.

Now let me briefly refer to the subsidies paid to steamship tonnage. In granting subsidies to our ships, the British Government has in view the importance of providing a regular, fast, and efficient postal service, and, with one or two exceptions, does not grant State aid to encourage general steamship lines in any particular direction, the exceptions being in favour of Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., on the West Indian service to Jamaica, and the subsidy recently granted under the arrangement with the Cunard Company.

Foreign governments, on the other hand, adopt a much more extreme policy.

France is paying nearly 2,000,000*l.* per annum in postal subsidies, construction and navigation bounties, with the result that she has increased her steam and sailing ship fleet from 1,094,752 tons in 1895 to 1,622,016 tons in 1902, an increase of nearly 50 per cent.

The subsidies paid by Germany to her large general lines amount to 417,525*l.* annually: these companies also benefit largely from the indirect forms of bounty granted by the German Government in the way of preferential railway rates on goods coming from inland German towns for shipment in the German liners. These preferential rates are a source of most serious competition to British trade, as they place the German export manufacturer in a position of great advantage. The fostering effect of German State aid is shown by the increase of the German steam fleet from 1,343,357 tons in 1895 to 2,794,311 tons in 1902.

Russia pays bounties to the extent of 365,000*l.* per annum, and in addition pays the Suez Canal dues on all her subsidised ships using that important waterway. Her mercantile marine has increased from 240,888 tons in 1895 to 578,343 tons in 1902.

Austria contributes to her shipping to the extent of 318,988*l.* per annum, and she has more than doubled her mercantile marine in the short space of seven years.

Italy is also increasing her fleet very considerably under the bounty system.

Japan, following the lead of the Western nations, now pays considerable subsidies, and her tonnage is increasing rapidly. The following extract from the Subsidies Report is of great interest, as showing the lavish manner in which capital is expended in order to promote the shipping interests of our Eastern ally:

In Japan, the system of subsidising has developed immensely, practically since 1897. The principal amounts authorised in 1898 for particular services included 272,959*l.* to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for the European Line, 66,765*l.*

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to the same Company for the Seattle Line, and 103,500*l.* to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha for the San Francisco Line. In addition to these, increasing annual sums are paid for construction and navigation bounties. In 1899 the total amount of subsidies was estimated at 584,696*l.*

In 1900, further sums of 29,798*l.* for the Yangtse Line, and 59,208*l.* for certain lines to North China and Korea, were provided. In 1901 a subsidy of 53,660*l.* was authorised for the Australian Line, and 18,250*l.* for the Bombay Line, and there are other large subsidies. The average subsidy paid per round voyage from Japan to London and back by the Japanese Government is stated to be about 10,000*l.*

It may be taken as certain that the Americans will sanction subsidies in the near future: it will be remembered that a Bill actually passed the Senate in March 1902, but was thrown out by the House of Representatives.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress on the 7th of December last, under the heading of the 'Merchant Marine,' recommends Congress to direct the Secretary for the Navy, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of Commerce and Labour, associated with such representation from the Senate and the House as Congress may designate, to serve as a Commission for the purpose of investigating and reporting to Congress at its next session what legislation is desirable or necessary for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce, and incidentally of a national ocean mail service, of adequate auxiliary naval cruisers and naval reserves.

Let us hope that if a Subsidy Bill is passed by the American Government, it will not be on the basis of the drastic and extraordinary terms of the two Bills which have just been introduced into the House of Representatives. One of these, the Sulzer Bill, provides

(1) That a duty of 1·25 dollars (or 5*s.* 2*d.*) a ton on the gross admeasurement, in addition to the regular duty imposed on tonnage by law, shall be levied and collected from every vessel not of the United States that shall arrive with merchandise, passengers, or mails to be landed in the United States from a country, its colony, or possession to which the said vessel does not belong.

(2) That a duty of 2 dollars (equal to about 8*s.* 3*d.*) a ton on the gross admeasurement, in addition to the regular duty imposed on tonnage by law, shall be levied and collected from every vessel not of the United States that shall arrive from one foreign country under engagement to load for another foreign country, or that shall effect such engagement after arrival, there being one or more vessels of American registry in port listed at the Custom House as ready to engage for the same or a similar voyage.

(3) That rebates of tariff duties of from 5 to 10 per cent. shall be allowed on all goods imported into the United States from other countries where these goods are brought in by vessels flying the American flag.

(4) That on all goods imported direct by vessels belonging to other countries than the country of origin or the United States, there shall be an additional duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on all such goods imported indirect an additional duty of 15 per cent.

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It is clear that we may anticipate serious competition in the near future from American shipping for the world's carrying trades, and the first attack will certainly be made upon the Atlantic trade with the help of the Morgan Combine, and it is reasonable to anticipate a determined bid for supremacy. Already, with their extremely liberal postal subsidies, the United States are indirectly subsidising some of their principal lines.

How are these attacks to be met? Certainly not by formal protest, which is presently the only weapon open to our Government. Why do we allow subsidised foreign ships to participate in our coasting trade, our colonial and intercolonial trades, while the coasting trades of the United States, Russia, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and other countries, are closed to our ships? Russia does not allow British vessels even to carry cargoes between the Russian Baltic ports and the Russian Black Sea ports, or from Cronstadt to their far eastern port of Vladivostock. France prohibits the employment of English ships on her coasts, or even between France and Algeria.

The United States reserves her coasting trade for vessels of her own nationality, and will not allow foreign tonnage to take a cargo round from New York to her Pacific ports, say to San Francisco. Trade between the United States and the Philippines will shortly be closed in the same manner.

Our present generous policy must be of considerable advantage to foreign nations, and it is safe to conclude that here we have the medium for a bargain which may help to open those trades now closed to British ships, and may at the same time remove some of the disabilities under which our shipping is at present labouring. Foreign nations enjoy free access to our markets for their merchandise, and the privilege of trading their ships between not only our home ports, but the ports of our vast Empire; and they surely cannot complain if in return for these valuable concessions we ask them to reciprocate by throwing open the whole of their coasting trade, and also to agree, when carrying cargoes to or from ports in our Empire, to observe the same regulations, and be governed by the same conditions, as our own ships.

Again, it is a common cause of complaint in shipping circles that the foreigner, not having a compulsory load-line, has a distinct advantage over his British competitor. Nothing can be said against the regulations which compel vessels to be loaded in accordance with the dictates of safety in the interest of both life and property, but it is clear that the absence of this restriction in the case of foreigners handicaps our ships in competition. The Board of Trade has power to prohibit the sailing of foreign vessels from British ports when overloaded, but it is evident that unless a vessel is provided with a load-line painted upon the side in the same manner as

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British ships are marked, cases of overloading are bound to occur, as it is impossible for Board of Trade officials to detect by casual inspection other than flagrant cases of overloading. At night, again, the difficulty must be greatly aggravated.

There is an example given of a vessel which under the British flag had a carrying capacity of 1825 tons. She was sold to the Germans, and under her new flag came to Liverpool carrying 2100 tons, a difference of 275 tons over what she carried when subject to our Board of Trade regulations.

The absence of a compulsory load-line is all in favour of the foreigner when brought into competition with British ships trading between foreign ports.

When dealing with shipping matters, we are constantly reminded of the fact that we have more than doubled our shipping during the last thirty years; but it must not be forgotten that although Great Britain still holds 52 per cent. of the world's steam tonnage, yet twelve years ago we had 62 per cent., having thus lost 10 per cent. in this short period, and the mercantile marines of our rivals, under protection, are steadily increasing, and of course correspondingly decreasing our lead. Again, if we credit the United States with the 850,000 tons of shipping at present flying our flag, but really under the control of that country, represented by the ships of the Morgan Combine, our position is still further prejudiced.

An examination of the transfer of British steam tonnage to foreign flags during the six years from 1896 to 1902 will show that no less than 1483 vessels changed nationality, representing a gross register tonnage of 2,257,723 tons, and if to this figure be added the sailing-ship tonnage sold during the same period, we have a total turnover of 2,868,013 gross tons of shipping.

What has been the effect of this enormous transfer of British ships to the foreigner? Naturally it has practically revolutionised our spheres of trade. Whereas our ships formerly preponderated in the short trades, as well as in the distant trades, now, having sold the fleets which were employed in short trades and replaced them with a larger class of steamer, we have practically abandoned the shorter trades in favour of the long-distance voyages.

It has been the opinion that in times of severe depression the second-hand boats sold to the foreigners during the last few years would not be able to continue trading; this, however, is a fallacy, as we find that the transferred vessels do continue running, and they now control practically the whole of the short Mediterranean and Continental trades; moreover, they live at freights which would spell ruin to the British shipowner.

It is evident that, by disposing of such a large proportion of our

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smaller ships to the foreigner, we have parted with the good-will of the shorter trades into the bargain.

This doubtless will account for the great increase in the growth of foreign ships trading from our home ports. An analysis of the tonnage arriving at the five great coal ports in South Wales and Monmouthshire shows that for the year 1902, as compared with 1897, there is a decrease of 13 per cent. in the number of British ships, representing a decrease of 9 per cent. in tonnage, while foreign vessels have increased 52 per cent. in number and 92 per cent. in tonnage.

The figures for the port of Swansea are so startling that they deserve special notice. If we compare 1893 with 1903, we find that 2533 British ships cleared from that port in 1893 and 2578 in 1903, while foreign vessels have risen from 237 in 1893 to 817 in 1903, or an increase in the foreign tonnage for that period from 134,015 to 557,800 tons.

The figures for the port of Blyth during 1903 are also remarkable. The number of British steamers clearing from that port amounted to 877, while the foreign vessels totalled 1591. British sailing vessels numbered 93 and foreign sailing vessels 125. The total British tonnage works out at 632,705 tons, as compared with 1,144,799 tons of foreign ships.

To show the extent of the change in the character of British shipping, it is important to contrast the relative size of British-owned steam vessels with six or seven years ago. A glance at the following tables compiled from Lloyds' Register for 1895 and 1903 will illustrate my point. It will be seen that the tendency is all in favour of larger ships. We continue to increase the number of vessels over 3,000 tons gross register, while there is a heavy decrease in ships of smaller size.

	1895–6				1903–4			
Gross tons	British	German	Norway Sweden	France	British	German	Norway Sweden	France
Above 10,000 . .	2	—	—	—	39	25	—	2
„ 7,000 . .	16	7	—	5	107	21	—	5
„ 5,000 . .	105	21	—	10	295	93	—	32
„ 3,000 . .	683	86	16	81	1,393	160	47	95
„ 2,000 . .	1,293	137	33	75	1,034	182	94	88
„ 1,000 . .	1,737	189	133	158	1,306	314	454	156
„ 400 . .	1,263	272	397	100	1,183	309	491	96

Some ship-owners, who discuss the possible effects of preferential trading with the Colonies, dread the idea of a disturbance of trade; but, as already pointed out, a transfer has actually taken place, for, having disposed of the smaller class of tonnage, English owners had to engage in more extended voyages with the vessels of much larger type which took its place, and these longer voyages have been found more profitable.

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It is, therefore, to the interest of our large vessels to undertake the distant voyages, and if, by a system of preferential tariffs, we must look for our food supplies in the future to Canada, India, Australia, and our other Colonies, we are already equipped with the right type of vessel to transport their produce.

A survey of the tonnage recently chartered to carry coal to the Far East shows that the ships are almost exclusively British, which is a clear indication that British owners are ready to engage upon voyages to the most distant parts of the world.

The fact that we so largely control these long-distance trades is another reason why we should endeavour to come to terms with the foreigner now. The advantage Great Britain possesses with her vast proportion of the carrying trades of foreign countries enables our Government to demand a cessation of the measures adopted by our rivals with the direct object of injuring our commerce, but if we delay and allow our better-class steam tonnage to be crippled in the same manner that our sailing ships and small steam vessels have suffered, or even if we hesitate until foreign nations increase the size of their vessels (which doubtless they will do by force of example), and we are confronted with a still further improved foreign mercantile navy, the possibility of redressing our grievances becomes remote.

An argument often used to combat a policy of retaliation is that the result would be counter retaliation. This contingency is however very improbable, as foreign nations are dependent to so large an extent upon our shipping for the carriage of their merchandise that even if reprisals were attempted they would probably be more injurious to our opponents than to ourselves.

In a recent speech, Mr. Winston Churchill, dealing with the efforts of the Americans to capture the Atlantic trade, stated that the Morgan Combine had become a laughing-stock for Liverpool ship-owners. This Combine, which recently came into existence and bought up some of the Liverpool-owned Atlantic Lines, caused great alarm throughout the country at the prospect of the Atlantic trade falling into the hands of Americans. The danger was pointed out to our Government, which, departing from usual custom, came to the assistance of the Cunard Company.

The Cunard Company has now undertaken to build two large steamers of higher speed than any vessels afloat. These two vessels are to cost about 2,500,000*l.*, which money the Government lends at 2¾ per cent. interest per annum for a period of twenty years, supplemented by an annual subsidy of 150,000*l.* So decisive a step on the part of our Government has apparently stopped any further dealing by the Morgan Combine with English ship-owners, and affords a striking example of the beneficial effects of judicious retaliation.

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If the British Government intimates an intention of dealing with the question of foreign subsidies in the same manner that it has dealt with the Sugar Bounties, there is no reason to doubt success. As we have levied a countervailing import duty upon bounty-fed sugar, so we should penalise all subsidised foreign vessels entering our ports, to an extent sufficient to neutralise the advantage which the subsidy affords them.

Referring again for a moment to the possible transfer of trade which would follow the imposition of preferential tariffs, there is no need for ship-owners to fear any divergence of trade; our ships can follow commerce wherever it may gravitate. As an instance: in 1891, the Russian Government prohibited the export of grain from that country, with the result that the Argentine, which until then was of secondary importance as a grain-producing country, took advantage of this opportunity to develop its export with Europe, and it is now one of the largest centres of the grain trade, finding employment for many of the larger class of English ships; and it is quite reasonable to conclude that if by a preferential tariff our Colonies are given the opportunity, they will in like manner develop their grain production. In this connection, it may be of interest to mention that during the three days, the 30th and 31st of December and the 1st of January last, no less than forty-one steamers were chartered homewards from the River Plate, with a cargo capacity of 160,700 tons. It is also instructive to note that the prohibition of grain from Russia, instead of raising the price, as was generally anticipated in the United Kingdom, was followed by a fall in price.

We are told upon the authority of experts that the time is not far distant when, owing to the great increase in their population, the Americans will not have at their disposal such large quantities of surplus grain. The United States sent us over 4,000,000 quarters less last year than in 1902.

This decrease was made up by increased shipments from Canada, British India, Argentina, and Russia. The *Daily Telegraph* of the 7th of January last, commenting upon the decrease in American shipments, says

> The points of interest are as to the ability of the Colonies to continue their large supplies. What Russia may do is always a matter of speculation, because political as well as economical considerations appear to influence her conduct in the matter.

If, however, we give our Colonies a preferential tariff, their resources will be developed even more rapidly than in recent years. The contention that grain cannot be brought from our North American Colonies during the winter months is absurd. The following extract from a letter written by Mr. William Thomson, shipowner, of Dundee,

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will be of general interest, and should remove the fallacy which has unfortunately been so freely circulated:

I would, however, allude to one special point you raise, as it comes within the scope of my own knowledge. I refer to the bogey—it is nothing else—about America making a retaliatory transit duty on Canadian goods. This statement was, I think, first made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, when he said that Canadian grain could not be shipped during the winter months except through United States ports, and that he was certain the United States would retaliate in the manner indicated. The facts are, however, that Canadian grain and other products are shipped the whole winter through from Halifax and St. John—more particularly the latter point—from both of which weekly steamers are run throughout the winter to at least Glasgow and Liverpool, with regular sailings in addition to Bristol and London. It is true that one part of the Canadian Pacific system, which carries a quantity of the stuff in question to St. John, does for a comparatively limited distance run through American territory, but on the other hand, the Canadian Pacific Company itself has a line of communication right through to St. John, New Brunswick, without running through American territory at all, and in addition the Intercolonial Railway from Quebec runs right through to Halifax and St. John without touching the States. Further, the new Grand Trunk Pacific Bill, which was passed at Ottawa the other day, provides for another line to be constructed wholly through Canadian territory to Moncton, and thence to St. John or some other new port on the Canadian coast.

The voyage to Canada is by no means short, but in case we were at war with a European Power, it would offer far less facilities for an enemy's ships to capture our food supplies on the high seas than if our supplies of grain were coming from the south, say the River Plate. The voyage from the United Kingdom to the River Plate and home covers some 12,000 miles, and means for the ordinary tramp steamer about sixty days' steaming. On this long voyage there is not a single British coaling station, so that our ships would be dependent for their renewals of supplies of bunker coals upon foreigners. If, as would be almost certain, coal was declared contraband of war, our troubles would be greatly accentuated. Our Admiralty would immediately have to face the difficulty of protecting our mercantile marine upon these extended routes, involving the withdrawal of a large number of ships from the fighting line. In any case, it is doubtful whether our transports could be adequately convoyed, as experts are of opinion that the difficulties of so doing, under modern conditions, would be practically insurmountable. We have seen the British army chasing a De Wet during the recent war in South Africa: we do not want our British fleet chasing De Wets upon the ocean.

A few fast hostile cruisers, menacing our grain-carrying vessels upon their prolonged ocean routes, would work incalculable damage, and be the source of the utmost danger and anxiety.

A policy of Tariff Reform which would reduce the importation of foreign manufactured goods would have none of the evils for shipping which are so freely predicted by those opposed to change.

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If an import duty checks the flow of finished articles into this country, then we must import the raw material to furnish our manufacturers with the wherewithal to make these commodities: this would increase to a very large extent the number of ships employed.

It may be well to remind ship-owners, who find so much consolation in attacking the Board of Trade, that, however loud their protests, they will obtain no relief in this direction. Much as the lot of the sailor has improved since the introduction of the Plimsoll reforms, it is idle to suppose that the condition of seafaring life is such that ship-owners can look forward to a period of freedom from legislative interference: the very nature of their trade precludes any such conclusion. The British Government has imposed restrictions upon our shipping in spite of the protests of those engaged in the trade, and with full knowledge of the fact that similar legislation would not be imposed upon foreign shipping, and would therefore add to the burden of the British ship-owner. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that if a policy of retaliation is sanctioned by the people of Great Britain, shipping will be greatly benefited by the new power the Government will be able to wield in their efforts to place alien tonnage trading to and from ports in our Empire under the same regulations as our own. Surely, as the first maritime Power of the world, we will no longer submit to our supremacy being filched from us, not by the legitimate competition of our rivals, but by the organised policy of foreign governments.

W. H. Renwick.

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LAST MONTH

I

It seems desirable that I should preface my remarks this month by a few words respecting the changed conditions under which I shall write in these pages for the future. For several years past I have been honoured by the Editor of this Review with a commission to write a monthly survey of political events that should be as nearly impartial as was compatible with the fact that I myself, so far from being impartial, am an old and convinced member of the Liberal Party. I have done my best since 1899 to discharge this rather difficult mission faithfully, and have always made it my business to set forth, so far as I was able, both sides of the questions that have from time to time arisen in our public life. But now that the country is engaged in a political controversy of exceptional acuteness, which is being waged on all sides with increasing vehemence, it becomes much more difficult to preserve that attitude of impartial detachment which I have hitherto striven to maintain. In these circumstances, the Editor proposes to invite, in addition to myself, a convinced member of the political party opposed to my own to comment monthly upon current public affairs, and he has kindly released me from the attempt to write from a non-partisan point of view.

The fairy who may be supposed to have presided over the entrance of Mr. Chamberlain into this world undoubtedly endowed him with many precious gifts, which have already carried him far in the race of life. But she unhappily denied to him that saving sense of humour which, valuable in any calling, is nowhere more needed than in statesmanship. If this had not been the case, the history of last month would not have furnished such amusing reading as it does to those who have not been captivated by the Birmingham politician's new fiscal policy. We should hardly, for example, have witnessed the formation of a 'Commission' composed of a number of undoubtedly respectable gentlemen, not one of whom can, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as being in the front rank of our public men. Nor should we have seen this so-

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called Commission opened with that pompous formality which has inspired our great political caricaturist with one of his happiest ideas. It was unlucky for Mr. Chamberlain that his committee of business men, who, with singular unanimity, happened—quite accidentally, we are assured—to share his views upon fiscal reform, should have been opened in so grandiose a fashion on the very day on which his new policy received the crushing blow of the Norwich election. Mr. Chamberlain's robust and unfailing belief in himself will no doubt be proof against this, as it has been against many similar disasters; but it is difficult to believe that there is nobody on his Commission who can perceive the rather farcical light in which that body has been placed. It met, with a great flourish of trumpets, to consider the details of a scheme by which, at some future date and under some Government not yet in existence, a general scheme of 'protection' for our commerce and industries is to be carried into effect. Nobody could have gathered from the manifesto delivered by Mr. Chamberlain at its first sitting that there was any doubt, in his mind, at least, that the country was about, by a popular vote, to cast aside the system of free trade to which it owes its present position at the head of the commerce of the world, and to adopt in its place a revival of the ancient fallacies of protection. It must surely have struck some, at least, among the Commissioners that the appearance in the newspapers, side by side with the manifesto of their illustrious chief, of the figures of the Norwich election made them all look more than slightly ridiculous. Norwich is not a city to which we should look in ordinary times for any definite pronouncement upon a great political question. Only once in the last eighteen years had it given a majority of Liberal votes; the majority then recorded (in 1886) standing at the modest figure of 347. But in the election of the present month the Tory votes had fallen from 8100 (in 1895) to 6756, whilst the Liberal vote had grown from 7270 to 11,020, showing a clear majority of 4264 in favour of Liberalism. Such a turnover is rarely seen in any constituency. Nor was there any ground for doubt as to the question upon which this sweeping defeat was inflicted on the Ministerial candidate. That gentleman stood avowedly as a protectionist. His two opponents were equally clear and decided in their championship of free trade. Norwich, at least, it is evident, is not to be reckoned among those constituencies which have been captivated by the alluring eloquence which Mr. Chamberlain devotes to his propaganda on behalf of the food-tax. One swallow, I need hardly say, does not make a summer, and though the Norwich election, coming at the particular moment at which it did, was extremely awkward for the new protectionists, it would hardly have possessed serious significance if it had stood alone. But it only emphasised the result of the contest earlier in the month in the Ashburton division of Devonshire, where the free trade

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candidate, although a new man, comparatively unknown in the constituency, nearly doubled the majority of his predecessor, who was, by common consent, the most popular resident in the division. In Gateshead, too, the free trade candidate was returned with a larger majority than that of his predecessor, Sir William Allan. Nor is this all. In the eleven by-elections ending with Norwich which have taken place since Mr. Chamberlain began his present campaign, whilst there has been a decrease of 1 per cent. in the Ministerial vote, that of the Opposition has been increased by not far short of 50 per cent. These are figures the significance of which cannot be misunderstood. I said some months ago in these pages, when giving my reasons for refusing to believe that Mr. Chamberlain would succeed in his ill-starred enterprise, that the issue rested, after all, with the working classes of this country, and that there was no proof that the member for West Birmingham had captured their support. When we see that in eleven by-elections they have converted a Ministerial majority of 12,906 into a Liberal majority of 3660 few will care to contest the soundness of the view which I then expressed.

Mr. Chamberlain, however, is a man not only of brilliant ability as an electioneerer, but of high courage and immense resourcefulness. I do not believe him to be one who is likely to be terrified even by such a turnover of votes as that which has led the *Standard* to cry out in anguish against a policy fomented, it declares, 'by statesmen, agitators, wire-pullers, and subservient newspapers,' which is driving the country straight to 'a Unionist defeat and an Opposition victory at the next General Election.' These words, which are not mine, but those of the ablest and most independent organ of the Conservative Party, may make an impression upon some persons, but I doubt if they will make any on Mr. Chamberlain. That gentleman has already, in his 'raging and tearing agitation,' risen superior to still more grievous disasters than the mere conversion of Ministerial majorities into minorities in the ballot-box. He was not stayed in his impetuous course when one man after another of the highest authority in the Cabinet of which he was a member, including all living ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer, publicly protested against a policy which combined the oldest heresies of Protectionism with that new spirit of Jingoism that soared to its highest point on the memorable night of Mafeking. When the Cabinet itself was broken up, and the distracted Mr. Balfour was seen rushing hither and thither, searching for new Ministers in every possible and impossible corner, Mr. Chamberlain's equanimity was not disturbed. Like a certain Irish landlord known to fame, the shooting of his agent was an incident that had no personal interest for himself. Again, when that Liberal Unionist Party of which he was once so proud, and in which he was so long a ruling spirit, was broken into fragments, the only matter that seemed to trouble him was the fear that he might

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not be able to lay hold of the cash-box, which had been notoriously filled by men who were unable to follow him in his new adventures. A man who has preserved his self-confidence and composure under so many trials can hardly be expected to lose heart merely because a seat is lost here and there to his party.

But is he really gaining ground in his attempt to convert the country to his revolutionary policy? A month ago most persons seemed to think that he was. Free-traders appeared to be almost cowed by his volcanic energy, and the audacity with which he went on repeating statements that had been not only contradicted but disproved a hundred times over; and all the less intelligent sections of the public, especially those sections to be found in the West End of London, shouted for joy, as such people always do when they think they have found 'a sure thing,' whether in politics or on the turf. But now—well, now there is a distinct subsidence of the tide which seemed to be carrying the ex-Colonial Secretary to the haven of success; and it is a subsidence which cannot be attributed merely to the evidence furnished by the by-elections. A strong disposition to hedge has been shown by not a few of his backers in the Ministerial ranks, and even the long-suffering Prime Minister has gathered courage to suggest that it is quite possible to go too fast, even in an agitation which is avowedly intended to be 'raging and tearing.' If one asks for an explanation of this undoubted change of mood on the part of those who were convinced a month ago that Mr. Chamberlain was about to 'sweep the country,' I do not think that it will be difficult to find an answer to the question. In the first place, fate has been exceptionally hard during the past few weeks on the cause of fiscal reform. That cause owed its origin, according to the oft-repeated statements of its founder, to two great reasons: first, the grave state of our trade and its ever-increasing depression; and secondly, the desire of the Colonies to establish new commercial bonds between us and them, in the shape of preferential tariffs which, in our case, would involve the taxation of food. 'If you desire to keep the British Empire in existence,' said the member for West Birmingham in effect, 'you must make some sacrifices; you must even submit to a tax upon your bread.' And in the same breath he explained that we should really be helping rather than hurting ourselves if we yielded to the appeal of the Colonies and adopted a new fiscal system, inasmuch as our trade was in such a bad way that unless something were done, and done speedily, we should be reduced to 'the rank of a fifth-rate Power'—a doom with which we have constantly been threatened ever since the appearance of Macaulay's New Zealander upon the stage of politics. Here, then, was a double basis—hard fact and high sentiment—on which Mr. Chamberlain appealed to the country; and no doubt it was upon this basis and this alone that he secured the support of no inconsiderable

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section of the public. But where is that basis now? Can even the eminent commercial gentlemen of the Tariff 'Commission' tell us how much of it remains, after the publication of the Board of Trade figures for 1903, and Mr. Chamberlain's failure to produce, in reply to the repeated challenges he has received, any evidence of those imaginary offers from the Colonies on which he based his appeal to the spirit of Imperial unity? The Board of Trade returns show that 1903 was the most prosperous year our trade has ever known, with a solid increase of fourteen and a half millions of imports and of eleven and a quarter millions of exports over the preceding year. The evidence we have had from the Colonies shows that public opinion is divided there, just as it is here, over the new policy, and that nowhere is there any apparent intention of offering any substantial concession to the commerce of Great Britain, or of demanding any sacrifices on our part in order to purchase the continued unity of the Empire. Sensible Colonials, indeed, even where they are avowed protectionists, openly scoff at the idea that the food of the British workman should be taxed for the benefit of his fellow-workmen in Australia and Canada. Lord Rosebery has not hesitated to stigmatise as 'preposterous' Mr. Chamberlain's assertion that we have received proposals on this subject from the Colonies; and I really do not see how that word can be improved upon.

'But,' say the thick-and-thin advocates of fiscal reform, 'statistics, even the statistics of the Board of Trade, cannot alter the fact that the country is just now experiencing hard times, that money is scarce and the value of securities low'; and the only cause to which they attribute this unpleasant state of affairs is that 'obsolete' system of free trade against which they have girded up their loins. That we are experiencing something in the nature of hard times is not to be denied, though any man who has lived for fifty or sixty years can recall seasons of depression infinitely more severe than that through which we are now passing. Yet can no reason but the tardily discovered defects of our present fiscal system be assigned for the relatively mild hard times of to-day? Have the fiscal reformers forgotten that we are staggering under the absolute loss—from the economic point of view—of 220 millions expended upon the South African war? Are they ignorant of that enormous increase of expenditure, with a corresponding increase of taxation, which we have now to carry on our shoulders? Successive Finance Ministers have warned us again and again of the inevitable consequences of our reckless national extravagance, and have pointed to the very consequences of that extravagance which we have now to endure. Mr. Chamberlain and his friends, with an audacity that excites one's admiration, ignore these things. They forget the hundreds of millions that have been sunk in the gulf of war and incompetent administration, and virtually insist that, after all, the only true statesmen of recent years

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have been Mr. Chaplin and Mr. James Lowther, who have never wavered in their belief that free trade and free trade alone is to be blamed not only for the big blue-bottle flies in our butchers' shops, but for any diminution of our national prosperity. Apparently, however, the 'Fiscal Reformers' have not found everybody so willing to endorse their canonisation of these respectable country gentlemen as they could wish. The recent letters and speeches of not a few Ministerial members, including some members of the Ministry itself, show that searchings of heart are being experienced even among those who not long ago seemed inclined to applaud Mr. Chamberlain as a new saviour of society.

Yet another reason that accounts for the change, slight but significant, which is creeping over the mood of the Ministerialists, is the extraordinary fact that the arch-propagandist of protection has not even begun to attempt to answer the arguments that have been urged against his proposal by his opponents. With wonderful cleverness he eludes every effort that is made to bring him to close quarters with those who denounce his policy, and who support their denunciation by facts and arguments. This feature of his tactics was specially conspicuous in his speech at the Guildhall. If he had the overwhelming weight of authority in statesmanship and in economic learning on his side, this might conceivably be a wise policy. But it is notorious that this is not the case. Without wishing to be disrespectful to the gentlemen who, in the columns of what the *Standard* bluntly calls 'subservient newspapers,' expound at prodigious length and in imposing type the weird doctrines of what is known to them as the 'new political economy,' I may at least maintain that they are not the only wise persons in existence. I might even go further and suggest that men who for the greater part of their lives have been engaged in the management of the financial and commercial affairs of the richest and greatest commercial nation in the world may conceivably know their own business better than the young journalists who dismiss their arguments with a triumphant sneer. After all, sensible people do not see why even Mr. Chamberlain should take no notice of the criticisms of such men as Lord Goschen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Sir Henry Fowler upon questions which they were studying closely and dealing with, in practice as well as in theory, long before the ex-Colonial Secretary found time to devote his meteoric attention to them. When one remembers further that two of these eminent men have made a heavy sacrifice of their political inclinations in order to enjoy the privilege of speaking their minds, their right to be treated with due respect by the apostle of the economic revolution seems undeniable. But it does not appear to be a right that is admitted by Mr. Chamberlain. That gentleman has now carried on his agitation for more than eight months. But so far as argument is concerned he has not advanced it by a single

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step. Mr. Pecksniff, as most of us remember, had a horse, the appearance of which was imposing, and which stepped in a way that impressed all who saw it. The misfortune in the case of this noble steed was that, like the farmer's claret, it did not enable its rider to 'get any forrarder.' If we turn back to Mr. Chamberlain's first declarations last May and follow him through all his subsequent speeches, we cannot fail to see that he is mounted on Mr. Pecksniff's horse. He has never even attempted to get beyond the initial declamation of his great campaign. We are still without any answer to the serious and reasoned arguments to which his proposals have been subjected. We have still no higher authority for his manifold assertions than his own *ipse dixit*. He has told us certain things which he has not attempted to prove, and he has remained stubbornly silent when challenged to furnish the evidence that is needed to establish their accuracy. Everything is to rest on his personal pledge that, if we follow his leadership, certain benefits—some of them savouring of the miraculous—are to accrue to us. Is it surprising that even some of those who were originally captivated by the boldness with which he revived the antiquated doctrines of protection are beginning to murmur at his failure to meet argument with argument? Claptrap is effective enough for the moment, but time invariably puts it in its proper place. Perhaps if Mr. Chamberlain's personal career had been different, his cause would now have been more hopeful than it is. But no one can forget that the man who is so confident to-day in announcing the benefits of protection to his fellow-countrymen was not long ago equally confident and vehement in denouncing anyone who ventured to say a word in favour of that system. 'Protection very likely might, it probably would, have this effect: it would increase the incomes of the owners of great estates, and it would swell the profits of the capitalists who were fortunate enough to engage in the best-protected industries; but it would lessen the total production of the country, it would diminish the rate of wages, and it would raise the prices of every necessary of life.' I know of no clearer or more forcible exposition of the inevitable results of protection than this, and I quote the statement from the lips of Mr. Chamberlain himself. He can hardly expect the whole body of his fellow-countrymen to change as quickly as he has done from the views he expressed in 1885 to those which he professes to day. We do not all belong to the class from which the 'lightning artists' of the music-halls are recruited.

The general political situation has undergone some noteworthy changes during the month. Mr. Balfour has made another attempt to remind the world of the fact that he is, after all, the titular Prime Minister of England. It can hardly be said to have been a very happy effort. It is impossible for fair-minded men, whatever may be their political opinions, not to feel a certain amount of

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sympathy with Mr. Balfour in his present situation. He has had to suffer, as other men have had to suffer before him, from the titanic energy of a colleague who invariably 'drives straight'—as the *Standard* says—at the object at which he is aiming, without any undue regard for the feelings or interests of those who happen to be in his way. Mr. Balfour's own position is tolerably clear. That he has been influenced by the opinions of his imperious colleague can hardly be doubted. Even if we had not the evidence of Lord George Hamilton on the subject, it would be impossible to come to any other conclusion than that last autumn he was halting between two opinions, undecided as to whether he should throw in his lot with Mr. Chamberlain or take that middle course of retaliatory tariffs which has really satisfied nobody. But over and above everything else in his mind was the thought of the unity of his party—a thought naturally uppermost in the mind of a Prime Minister. The means which he adopted in order to secure this unity have resulted in an almost tragical failure. To the genuine free-trader it must seem that they deserved to fail. A Prime Minister of England who cannot make up his mind upon such an issue as that which was set before us by the Birmingham propaganda does not represent the type of statesmanship which the people of this country have been taught to admire. But the failure of the attempt made by Mr. Balfour to devise a formula upon which all Ministerialists could agree is not altogether his own fault. No sooner did the struggle between protection and free trade become real than the hollow official shibboleth ceased to charm. Mr. Chamberlain, with the true instinct of the fighting man, refused to be satisfied with the benevolent neutrality of Ministerial candidates and members, and the caucuses of the party were pressed into requisition in order to force the pace. No man in England understands the manipulation of a caucus better than Mr. Chamberlain. Himself one of the founders of the first organisation of the kind known in this country—that out of which the National Liberal Federation sprang—he has throughout his life believed that victories on the political field require to be organised as thoroughly as those upon the field of war, and he has always attached much importance to what in America men call 'the machine.' Not unnaturally, he made it his business at the earliest possible moment to lay hands upon the 'machines' which organise the forces of Conservatism and Liberal Unionism. Apparently, he had little trouble with the Conservative organisation. Its members tendered lip-homage to the Prime Minister, but the overwhelming majority made no attempt to conceal the favour with which they regarded Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. 'Whole-hoggers' was the not very elegant name which some of these gentlemen assumed to describe their attitude towards the new protectionism. There can be little doubt that all over the country the active spirits of the

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Conservative associations have all but openly adopted the member for West Birmingham as their leader. But the case has been different with the Liberal Unionists. Among them, at all events, there remained a sturdy remnant who refused to abandon the fiscal faith which they had professed throughout their lives. They had withdrawn from their old party rather than abandon their opinions on one great question, and they who had refused to yield to Mr. Gladstone were not prepared to bow to Mr. Chamberlain. As it happened, every recognised leader of the Liberal Unionist Party with the exception of Mr. Chamberlain himself remained a free-trader. But here, again, the local members of the caucus had been won round to protectionism, and in the North of England they carried resolutions in favour of tariff reform that led to the immediate resignation of several members of Parliament and persons of influence in the Liberal Unionist ranks. The silent struggle that has been carried on for months for the possession of the party machine, culminated last month in the publication of the correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain. The Duke, as founder and president of the Liberal Unionist Association, proposed, now that its members could no longer act in agreement, that it should be dissolved. Mr. Chamberlain suggested that the members should decide for themselves whether they should continue to exist as an organised body, and on which side their support should be given in the great controversy. The Duke of Devonshire is, by common admission, one of the most honourable and high-minded of living statesmen. But he is certainly no match for Mr. Chamberlain in the manipulation of political machines and caucuses. Nor has he grasped the modern idea which leads some of our politicians to conduct a public agitation on the lines of a travelling circus. Those who read the correspondence between the two men could not fail to perceive, first, that the old Liberal Unionist Party had been destroyed; and, secondly, that Mr. Chamberlain was confident that he had obtained command of the organisation by which it had been so long carried on. It was on the day on which this remarkable correspondence appeared in the newspapers that Mr. Balfour addressed his constituents at Manchester. Yet, strange to tell, he had nothing to say upon a subject which was engaging the attention of every politician. It was the end of a great political alliance, to which the Conservative Government had owed its long spell of unbroken power, that was signalised by that correspondence, but it drew not a word of comment from the Conservative Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour contented himself with a vague remonstrance directed against those who were trying to force the pace, and precipitate divisions in the party. But his language was so general and misty that he seemed, as Sir Henry Fowler afterwards said, to be 'trying to walk down both sides of the street at once.' It may be assumed that his

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remarks did not please Mr. Chamberlain and his followers. It is difficult to understand how they can have satisfied anybody else. In face of the great party crisis in which the Unionists of both sections are now involved, with their old leaders ranged in open antagonism, and with members in scores of constituencies at variance with the local associations that have hitherto supported them, the leader of the party and the head of the Government had nothing but these mild platitudes to offer to his distracted adherents.

The approach of the session is necessarily drawing the attention of the country once more to the House of Commons. It is difficult even to attempt a forecast of the Parliamentary year, but upon one point I at least remain firmly of an opinion that I have more than once expressed in these pages. That is that the dissolution is very near to us. Even if the work to which Ministers are committed, work dealing with such questions as the establishment of a Catholic university in Dublin, and the provision of compensation for dispossessed licensed victuallers, were not of so contentious a character, it would be impossible to believe that the present Government could live long without having obtained another mandate from the country. When one remembers that, in addition to the highly contentious measures I have named, Ministers are bound to face a budget which can hardly be a pleasant one either for the Government or the country, and that must inevitably raise the fiscal controversy in a more or less acute form, as well as that question of the army which is still, next to free trade, the burning question of the hour, the chief wonder is that they should even dream of holding fast in their places. The air even now is full of rumours as to fresh resignations; and some Ministers, at least, have made it clear that any further advance of the Chamberlain agitation will meet with their strenuous opposition. Upon the whole, it is not unreasonable to expect that the appeal to the country will take place within the next three months. What the country will have to say to the Government is a speculation into which I shall not enter. The only thing that seems certain is that we shall not have a repetition of the scandal of the khaki election of 1900.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

'ONE thing seems to be certain, and that is, that the ducal manifesto must bring about the disappearance of the Liberal Unionists, as an independent organisation.' So I wrote last December. I entertain a profound distrust in all prophecies, my own included; but, on the present occasion, events seem to more than justify my prediction. The correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain, which was published in the first days of last month, throws a curious light on contemporary history. It seems that shortly after Mr. Chamberlain's return from South Africa, the Duke became perturbed in his mind by doubts as to whether the then Colonial Secretary, the real founder and leader of the Liberal Unionist party, of which the then President of the Council was the titular chief, was altogether sound in his adhesion to the dogmas of free trade. It is not stated in the correspondence whether his Grace's perturbation was removed by a meeting of the committee of management at which his colleague assisted. Be this as it may, his apprehensions, if not removed, slumbered till the end of last October. Suffice it to say that after four months of deliberation the Duke discovered it to be his duty 'to look a little more closely' than he had apparently done hitherto 'into the operations and finance of the central organisation' over which he had presided since the date of the Liberal secession. He had apparently discovered to his surprise that 'one of its [the central association's] most important functions was the distribution of grants to local Liberal Unionist associations, that these grants . . . were made from a fund which in no wise belongs to the Association, but was, to quote the Duke's words, collected by me, and entrusted to me personally, as the leader of the Liberal Unionist party, to be applied at my discretion for political purposes.' Speaking for myself I have long been sceptical as to the advantage of keeping up Liberal Unionism, as a separate political organisation distinguished from the Conservative party by some minute shade of opinion unintelligible to ordinary intellects. But I never realised till the other day that I belonged, or was supposed to belong, to a party financed by the Duke of Devonshire, and dependent upon his

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personal opinion of the views I might hold, not on the question of Home Rule, but on any political issue of which his Grace might happen to hold different ideas from my own.

On the 23rd of last October the Duke communicated his opinion, that under the above circumstances the Liberal Unionist Association ought to be dissolved, to Mr. Chamberlain, who replied by stating that he saw no necessity whatever for breaking up the Liberal Unionist organisation, and contended that such a step, if taken at all, could only be taken after the matters at issue between the Duke and himself had been submitted to the consideration of the members of the Association. The Duke, with his usual good sense when left to himself, seems to have appreciated the force of this argument, and, after admitting that the terms he had used with reference to the violent breaking up of the Liberal Unionist Association 'may have implied more than he intended,' asked for further time for consideration. This letter was written on the 31st of October, but November and December passed well-nigh away, and, as the correspondence reads, no further information was vouchsafed. After prolonged hesitation the Duke resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and then, without any previous intimation to his late colleagues, issued instructions to the Unionist electors advising them to withhold their votes from any Unionist candidate who was not prepared to repudiate Mr. Chamberlain's heresies in respect of free trade. Thereupon Mr. Chamberlain wrote on the 22nd of December reiterating his contention that it was for the Liberal Unionist party, as represented by its Council, or by a conference of delegates of the local associations—and not for their President—to decide whether conformity with the orthodox dogmas of free trade should or should not be an essential condition of their remaining members of the Unionist party. To this his Grace replied by a somewhat pompous missive complaining of Mr. Chamberlain having raised an issue never contemplated by himself when he joined the Conservative party for the defence of the Union, and declaring that he, for his part, entertained no apprehension of the Home Rule agitation being revived by the split in the Unionist party. To speak the plain truth, the Duke comes second best out of the controversy. The honours, such as they are, rest with Mr. Chamberlain.

I happened, more years ago than I care to recall, to be present in the House of Commons on the night when the then Marquis of Hartington had—for the first time as Under Secretary of State for War—to explain the military estimates. Few spectacles are more distressing to witness than the collapse of a speaker who has got a statement to make and finds himself utterly unequal to the task. Of all such collapses that of the future Duke was the most signal I have ever witnessed. He could not find his notes; he could not recollect his figures; he was manifestly at a loss to think of anything to say; and he must have broken down hopelessly if Lord Palmerston, who was sitting by his side, had

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not kept on prompting him audibly with figures and phrases. On leaving the House after the speech was over, I met an old Parliamentary reporter with whom I was acquainted, and remarked to him, 'After this fiasco there must be an end of Lord Hartington's Parliamentary career.' 'Oh, no,' my acquaintance replied, 'you are altogether wrong. A man who can make such a failure and bear it with such complete indifference is bound to get on in Parliament.' So the event has proved. In the utterances of his political career he has never risen above commonplace, but on the other hand he has never sunk below common sense. No doubt he owes much to the accident of his position. I remember hearing John Bright once say, in speaking of the House of Commons: 'It is the fairest assembly in the world. Every member is judged by his own individual capacity, irrespective of rank or wealth or party. There is only one slight exception I know of, and that is that a Duke's son and heir always commands a sort of respectful attention not accorded to ordinary members.' No one can blame the sometime titular leader of the Liberal Unionist party if he has never forgotten and never allowed others to forget that he was, or would be in the course of nature, head of the House of Cavendish. His consciousness of his family traditions, of his great wealth and of his high responsibilities, is the main cause of his success in public life, and at the same time of his failure to convert success into power. Between himself and Mr. Chamberlain there could never have been much in common. The few intimates, both political and personal, who enjoyed his confidence were persons of very different calibre from his late colleague.

I suspect myself, if these intimates could speak the truth, they would admit that the Duke never felt quite comfortable in being a member of a Conservative Ministry, and could never exactly understand why, by the logic of events, he was forced, even in the Liberal Unionist section of the Conservative party, to play second fiddle to a Minister who did not resent being known by his countrymen as 'Joe.' If this suspicion is correct it is intelligible enough that this sort of latent irritation should have been kept alive by his surroundings. In the English drama of a bygone era, the hero was always associated with a subordinate personage who listened to his soliloquies, sympathised with his grievances, and espoused his affections and his enmities. This personage in the list of characters was generally designated as 'Charles his friend.'

Be this as it may, it is well known that for some years past there have been members of the ducal circle, belonging to the 'Charles his friend' category, who have contemplated some new political combination in virtue of which the Duke might be raised to the position they considered him fully entitled to fill, that of Prime Minister of England. There have been rumours of negotiations with Lord Rosebery and others by which a party might be formed composed

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of moderate Liberals, half-hearted Liberal Unionists, and malcontent Conservatives who would join and support any Government of which the Duke was at the outset to be Premier and Lord Rosebery was to be Foreign Secretary with the reversion of the Premiership. These projects have hitherto fallen through, partly because the party was still *in nubibus*, and even more because the Duke's loyalty debarred him from taking any active step to sever his connection with the Unionists. When once, however, he had been induced to resign his seat in the Cabinet these schemes were revived, and the Duke was over-persuaded that his duty as the head of the House of Cavendish was to come forward as the champion of free trade, and in consequence as the opponent of the Unionist party, which under Mr. Chamberlain's misguided influence had committed itself to the pestilent doctrines of preferential duties and retaliatory tariffs, if not to the unpardonable sin of protection. The championship of free trade involved, as a logical consequence, opposition to the return of Unionist candidates who were not prepared to vote with the Liberals on the fiscal controversy; and from this admission it followed that Free Food Unionists must in future act in harmony with the Liberals. Given these premises the conclusion is so obvious as to justify the belief that some form of coalition between the adherents of the Duke, the partisans of Lord Rosebery, and the less advanced section of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's followers has been—if it is not still—in contemplation. It would be the height of absurdity to deny that the high personal character of the Duke, his distinguished career, his exalted position, and his conscientious sense of duty must render his secession from the Unionist party a serious loss to the cause of the Union. I am, however, inclined to think that the political importance of this secession, even if it should be carried to the length of his seeking re-admission into the Liberal tabernacle, is apt to be overrated by the clique of minor notabilities who, on the stage of politics, play the part of 'Charles his friend.' In the early days of the Secession War the then Marquis of Hartington was a visitor at New York, and was reported to have appeared at a ball in the Empire City wearing a rosette composed of the Confederate colours. The report, whether true or false, excited not unreasonable irritation throughout the North. Shortly afterwards his Lordship visited Washington and was in due course presented to the President. According to a story current at that period in Washington, the only remark made by Abraham Lincoln on hearing the name of his distinguished visitor was 'Hartington, Hartington, curious name, rhymes to Partington.' The force of the remark will suggest itself at once to those amongst my readers who remember the story of how Dame Partington proposed to push away the Atlantic with her mop and pail. I may be told of the powerful influences which support the Duke in his new departure. I may be reminded of the old French

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saying that *Ce que femme veult, Dieu le veult*, but till I see proof to the contrary, I adhere to the belief that the Duke's withdrawal from the Unionist party will leave matters very much as they were before this catastrophe occurred. I was confirmed in this belief when the other day I came across the following passage in Creevey's letters: 'There has been some talk of Lord George Cavendish. . . . The Cavendish system with the Duke of Devonshire at the head is not the thing for the present day.' This statement, which was made in 1816, and whose truth was fully justified by the event, is certainly not likely to be disproved in 1904.

The result of the recent by-elections has proved in the main what I anticipated when I wrote last month. The elections at Lewisham, Dulwich, the Ludlow division of Shropshire, and Mid Devon have resulted in the return of candidates belonging to the same party as their predecessors, and have thus left unaltered the numerical balance of parties. I read in free-trade organs that these elections have, however, materially changed the relative strength of the Ministerials and the Opposition, because the Unionist majorities in the three first-named constituencies have been reduced, while in Mid Devon the Liberal majority has been substantially increased. Again, at Norwich, the Liberals have actually gained one seat, counting two on a division. The conversion of a Unionist majority of 500 to a Radical majority of 2000 is a serious loss. Still, one swallow does not make a summer. The evidence, moreover, seems to show that the victory of the Liberals was due much more to the desire of the Norwich electors for the direct representation of labour in Parliament than to the views of the electorate on fiscal policy. The one real lesson to be learnt from these casual contests is that up to the present the fiscal changes propounded by Mr. Chamberlain have not excited the amount of popular indignation that was so confidently anticipated by his opponents. Our artisans and labourers nowadays have it in their power to control the result of every election in the vast majority of our constituencies. It is therefore utterly incredible that if they were animated by any ardent enthusiasm for free trade, or were convinced that the policy of which Mr. Chamberlain has made himself the champion was hostile to their own well-being, they would not have exerted themselves to secure not only the nominal reduction of Unionist majorities but the actual return of free-trade representatives. On the contrary, they have deliberately forfeited the opportunities afforded them for demonstrating their supposed enthusiasm for free trade by running Labour candidates whose candidatures, whether wise or unwise, are calculated to be detrimental, if not fatal, to the prospect of a free-trade representative being substituted for a partisan of protection. This being so we may take it for granted that the cry of the big loaf of free trade as compared with the little

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loaf of protection has fallen dead, in as far as our artisan constituencies are concerned.

Up to the time at which I write, the question of peace or war between Russia and Japan remains very much as it was when I wrote last month. If the two countries were European Powers war would seem absolutely inevitable. But Japan is altogether an Oriental Power, and Russia is more than half so; and in the East words bear less resemblance to facts than they do even in the West. My own personal conviction is that Russia, up to now, has never believed that Japan would seriously confront the risk of war. Acting on this belief she has reckoned confidently on carrying out her designs in the Far East by professing to be ready for war if her demands were disputed. Supposing this confidence should prove to be ill-founded, she would only be acting after Asiatic fashion in withdrawing her pretensions, or, more correctly speaking, in postponing their execution to a more convenient season. The pride of race which might preclude a Western nation from acknowledging that she stood committed to a position she was not prepared to sustain, is unknown in Russia; and in this fact I see cause to hope that war may still be averted. In politics the game of bluff is as well understood by the Muscovite as it was by the Heathen Chinee.

The Whitaker Wright trial has throughout the past month occupied more public attention than it perhaps deserved on account of its intrinsic importance. The verdict of the jury will, I think, commend itself to the approval of the public. But the terrible ending of the case precludes further comment. This much I can predict, that the decision at which the Court had arrived will do little or nothing to establish any new code of financial morality. If it were not for the spirit of speculation inherent in our race, England would never have won her commercial supremacy. So long as shareholders, allured by the promise of extravagant profits, are found ready to invest their money in speculative enterprises about which they know, and can know, nothing, promoters will trade upon the cupidity of the public. No legislation, however skilfully devised, can ever render speculation a safe and sound pursuit for persons of narrow means. The tares and the wheat will grow up together to the end of time; and all that any Government can do is to root up occasionally any plot of tares exhibiting an exceptional luxuriance of growth.

I suspect, however, that during last month the majority of newspaper readers took far less interest in commercial morals, party politics, or in the prospects of peace or war in the Far East than they did in the great cricket matches between England and Australia. To believers in Imperialism it is gratifying to note how our fellow-countrymen at the Antipodes are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The run upon the papers which published from hour to hour the scores of the matches

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must have caused the most thoughtless of readers to reflect upon the extent to which submarine telegraphy has brought England and Australia so near to each other as to remove the most formidable of the obstacles which have hitherto stood in the way of a united British Empire.

EDWARD DICEY.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

HARRIS HALL, UNIV. OF M

HARRIS HALL, UNIV. OF M

No. CCCXXV—March 1904

THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE

The unity of the Empire and Imperial rights are in everybody's mouth, yet few understand what constitutes an empire and what Imperial rights include. Again, the man in the street clamours for a closer union between the Mother Country and its dependencies; but he has only a scant notion as to what is meant by dependencies and what are the component parts of the British Empire. He discourses largely of preferential tariffs to be enacted by the Colonies, and is profoundly ignorant of the real meaning of a preferential tariff, with its complicated relations. We hear faint suggestions of the creation of an Imperial Zollverein as a step to a self-supporting Empire, and the statement that such an institution existed in Germany is deemed a sufficient proof of its feasibility. Lastly, and most absurdly of all, we are told in grandiloquent language that he who is not in favour of preferential tariffs is a Little Englander who wishes to drive our over-sea brethren into the wilderness and shatter the fabric of the Empire.

Now, this vague talk about the unity of the Empire is most mischievous and misleading in so far as it indicates a doubt of its existing solidarity, and implies a charge that the Mother Country has not done, and is not doing, all in its power to protect the Colonies and to

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secure their affections. It confuses also under the term of Colonies the vastly differing communities which constitute the British Empire. It pays no regard to the mode in which those communities have been governed, and are governed, or to the great progress that has been made in the views of British statesmen in regard to the Colonies—in short, it is the outcome of ignorance of our colonial history.

To begin with definitions, the driest and yet most essential element in a disquisition such as this—What is an empire, and what are dependencies? Burke thus describes the former:

> Perhaps I am mistaken in my idea of an empire as distinguished from a single state or kingdom, but my idea of it is that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarchy or presiding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen (and nothing but the dismal cold dead uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening) that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority the law may be extremely nice.[1]

A dependency has been defined by Sir G. C. Lewis to be 'part of an independent political community which is immediately subject to a subordinate government.'

A colony is, strictly speaking, a species of the genus dependency. It may be defined to be a portion of the population of a country which settled on distant lands with the intention of forming a political community subject to a dominant community—the Mother Country. But, in ordinary language, all our dependencies except India are called colonies, as formerly they were all called plantations. Bearing these definitions in mind, we look at the map and find that the British Empire occupies about one-fifth of the surface of the habitable globe, and consists of the United Kingdom, with its attendant islands, and about forty-three dependencies under separate and independent governments,[2] varying in size from Canada, which is thirty times the size of the United Kingdom, to Gibraltar, the area of which is two square miles and seventy-six times smaller than Rutland. These dependencies may be classified as follows for practical purposes:

(1) Self-governing colonies.
(2) India.
(3) Other dependencies.
(4) Spheres of influence and quasi dependencies.

The extent of each division in area may be approximately given as follows:

	Square miles
The United Kingdom	120,979
Self-governing colonies	7,000,000
India	1,766,000
Other dependencies	2,500,000
Spheres of influence and quasi dependencies	500,000

[1] 'Speech on Conciliation with America,' p. 191. [2] *Colonial List*, p. xxiii.

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Thus the area of the British Empire is ninety-eight times that of the United Kingdom, while the area of the self-governing colonies alone is nearly sixty times as large as that of the Mother Country.

Next let us turn to the question of population:

	Population
The United Kingdom	41,605,323
Self-governing colonies	12,000,000
India	294,000,000
Other dependencies	12,000,000

Here, then, if we omit India, which has neither part nor parcel in any scheme of colonial federation, and regard population and not area, we have the comparison completely reversed, for the United Kingdom, if in area sixty times less than that of the self-governing colonies, which are alone concerned in the scheme now before the consideration of the public, contains a population about three and a half times as large.

Construct, then, a map of the colonial world on the scale of population and Canada will be dwarfed into a space of one-eighth and Australia into a space of one-eleventh of that of the United Kingdom, and so on with the other Colonies. The Big Englander and the Little Englander may squabble to their hearts' content over their respective maps of the Empire, but the fact remains that, if men and not cattle or barren wilderness are the chief factors in government, the United Kingdom completely overshadows the Colonies.

Perhaps it would be well if the Big Englander would reflect that size is no more the characteristic of grandeur in nations than in individual men. 'The Little Corporal,' whatever may be our opinion of his moral stature, still stands out in modern history as the greatest of men. Palestine and Athens have exercised an influence on the world in comparison with which the Assyrian Empire, Babylon, and even Rome herself almost sink into insignificance. Yet Palestine proper is not as large as Wales. From Dan to Beersheba is 186 miles, and its extreme breadth is fifty miles. Attica is nine times smaller than Palestine—its greatest length is fifty miles, its breadth is thirty miles—and, as already stated, the United Kingdom is ninety-eight times smaller than its dependencies.

If we turn from the areas of the countries which make up the British Empire to considering the relative volume of trade of the Mother Country with foreign countries and with its dependencies, we again find how striking is the position of the United Kingdom. The value of her whole commerce is in round numbers 850 millions—of this 600 millions is with foreign countries and 200 millions with our dependencies. This 200 millions is divided nearly equally between the self-governing Colonies and other dependencies, the balance being slightly in favour of the self-governing Colonies. As

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the dependencies other than the self-governing Colonies, with few exceptions, deal with us on the principles of free trade, nearly half of the internal trade of the Empire is carried on under circumstances that do not admit of the introduction of preferential tariffs without imposing on them the system of protection. India, for example, a free-trade dependency, has dealings with us to the extent of 62,447,600*l.* a year, while Australia, our best self-governing customer, stands in the list at 45,448,463*l.*, and Canada at 27,571,246*l.*

The result, then, is that foreign customers, to the value of 600 millions, and customers in the British possessions, to the value of nearly 100 millions, are to be offended, disturbed, and interfered with in order that we may attract an hypothetical additional trade with customers who deal with us to the extent of a little more than 100 millions.[3]

A mere knowledge, however, of the extent and population and trade of the Empire is only a first step towards a comprehension of the problem of Imperial unity. Before we can judge of any proposals for strengthening the bond between the Mother Country and her children, we must inquire how the Empire has been built up, what have been the ties between its constituent members, and what the measures and opinions which from time to time have had a favourable or unfavourable influence on consolidation. What then was the origin of this vast community of states? Truly a very small one. The first attempt at colonial settlement was made in 1583 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, which still retains precedence as the first British Colony. Next came the acquisition by degrees of the thirteen colonies in North America, and the conquest of Canada, which together made the United Kingdom the greatest colonial power in the world except Spain. Besides these vast territories, the Empire, at the time of the revolt of the American Colonies, included certain possessions in India, some territory on the Gold Coast of Africa, Jamaica and other islands in the West Indies. In the course of the great French war, many dependencies of other countries which were wholly under absolute government came beneath our sway; but though penal settlements were founded in Australia, little progress was made in colonisation properly so called.

During the reign of Queen Victoria our Colonial Empire advanced by leaps and bounds, and made greater progress than during the centuries since the foundation-stone was laid by Gilbert in Newfoundland. Much territory in India, South and East Africa, and the Pacific Ocean was acquired; and the development of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and much of Canada belongs to the same period.

India is under a different administration from that of the Colonies, and must be considered as altogether detached from them. It has

[3] See *British Trade and the Zollverein Issue*, chap. v.; by Chiozza.

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been acquired by conquest and annexation at various times, beginning with the victory of Plassy in 1757, and not ended to-day.

In their infancy the Colonies were protected by British law. Certain fundamental maxims were laid down by the judges. A country acquired by conquest or cession retains its own laws until they are altered by the conqueror, with the exception of such as are repugnant to the essence of the British Constitution. The power of changing such laws resides in the King in Council, subject to the authority of Parliament.[4]

In the case of a colony properly so called, that is to say a territory discovered and planted by English subjects, of which Virginia, founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, is the most conspicuous example, the colonists carry with them so much of English law as is applicable to their situation, and the law of England is immediately and *ipso facto* in force in the new settlement.

The King in Council cannot legislate for such a colony; but he has the right of appointing governors and other officers for the execution of the law, of erecting courts of justice and of summoning representative assemblies for the purpose of internal legislation.[5] On the other hand, every colony, however acquired, is always subject to the legislative authority of the British Parliament, by whose power its existing laws may be repealed, new laws enacted, or a new Constitution imposed; but this theoretical omnipotence of Parliament is practically limited by the constitutional maxim that the inhabitants of a colony cannot be taxed for Imperial purposes without representation in our Parliament, and by the fact that the Colonies would not tolerate continual interference in their affairs.

The history of the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, like the history of the British Constitution itself, is an account of gradual change and of gradual progress varied by periods of reaction. In the early time of colonisation America was practically the only country open to emigration. The dominant motives of the emigrants were a desire to search for gold or a spirit of freedom seeking in another hemisphere a refuge from religious persecution at home.

Raleigh and his followers are examples of the goldseekers, and the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts and the deeds of the Pilgrim Fathers are instances never to be forgotten of the triumphs of Puritanism and religious zeal. Whatever was the exact form of government in the several colonies, liberty and freedom were the creed of the people. This spirit displayed itself when James II. tried to enforce the Royal Prerogative without the aid of Parliament. It broke into open rebellion later, and ended in a disruption of the thirteen Colonies when, acting on the theoretical maxim of the lawyers that Parliament is omnipotent, and can do everything but make a man a

[4] *Clark on Colonies Law*, pp. 5, 6. Lord Mansfield, Campbell *v.* Hall Cooper, 204.
[5] *Clark on Colonies*, p. 94.

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woman or a woman a man, the Ministers of George III. attempted to tax them by Imperial statute, forgetful that the omnipotence of Parliament is limited in the degree stated above.

It is true that from a very early period of colonial history the Colonies, though not subjected to direct taxation, were oppressed by various restrictions. With a view to injure the trade of the Dutch, then the great carriers of the world, an Act was passed in 1650 prohibiting the ships of foreign nations from trading with any British plantation without a license from the Secretary of State, and this restriction remained in force for two centuries. Still, this legislation appears to have created little discontent in the Colonies, probably because similar disabilities were created by the statutes governing the coasting trade of the Mother Country.

A long period of almost indifference to the Colonies ensued between the Proclamation of Independence of the thirteen colonies and the year 1844. The first part of this period was occupied by the great continental war with France; the second stage was taken up by the burning questions of Catholic emancipation and reform, and by the suffering and degradation of the people caused in some degree by the fall of prices on the cessation of the war. Public opinion ceased to regard the Colonies with any favour, and James Mill proved to his own satisfaction that our Colonies not only were no advantage to the Mother Country, but were an absolute detriment, for they might at any time involve her in war and costly operations for their defence without any counteracting benefit.

While public opinion was indifferent to the Colonies, the Government ceased to confer any power of legislation upon their inhabitants, and substituted for the freedom of internal government, which had prevailed, constant interference by a department of the home Government, which, after various changes, acquired the name of the Colonial Office.[6] The origin of this change is to be found in the fact that, after the revolt of the North American Colonies, no colony of British origin remained to us on the continent of America, while Canada and the numerous conquests during the French war had been wholly under absolute governments, and ruled in a manner contrary to the genius of our old colonial system as well as to the spirit of the British Constitution.[7]

A new era opened for the Colonies when Lord Durham arrived in Canada in March 1838 as Governor-General. He retained his office only six months, but during this short period he made his famous report to the British Government, in which he laid down that the existing state of things allowed the Canadians no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possessed, and no stimulus to liberty.

Few despatches ever had more influence on the destinies of an

[6] Lewis on the *Government of Dependencies*, p. 16. [7] Merivale's *Lectures*, p. 76.

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Empire. The first fruits were shown when the Imperial Parliament granted in 1846 a Constitution to the reunited provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. By this Constitution, responsible government was granted to a colony for the first time, since it was provided that if the Executive Council, or, as we should call it, the Ministry, could not command a majority in the Legislative Assembly, they must vacate their offices and a fresh Ministry be formed. The Governor's power of disallowing Bills passed by the Assembly was restricted by his instructions not to oppose the wishes of the Assembly unless the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire were deeply concerned.[8]

England had at last found out the truth of Burke's assertion that 'the fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English Colonies probably than in any other people on the earth,' but it was some time before the principle was fully established. After Lord Durham came Sir William Molesworth, Lord Norton (formerly Mr. Adderley), Lord Kimberley (Lord Wodehouse), and Mr. Roebuck, who were the great builders of the new Empire, and among them Sir William Molesworth was perhaps the chief.

In 1850 a Society for the Reform of Colonial Government was formed, of which Lord Norton became the Honorary Secretary, and men of all politics—such as Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Lord Wodehouse, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and many others, including the writer of this article—were members. The society was established, as stated in the instrument of foundation, 'to aid in obtaining for every dependency, which is a colony of England, the real and sole management of all local affairs in the colony itself,' including the disposal of the waste lands, and a right to frame and alter the local Constitution at pleasure. Sir William Molesworth, with the assistance of the present writer, prepared a scheme on the model of the American Constitution, distinguishing Imperial and local powers, vesting the Imperial powers in the Crown and leaving all local powers to the colony. An opportunity soon occurred for bringing the whole question before Parliament. When Lord John Russell in 1851 brought forward a bill for the better management of the Australian colonies, Sir William Molesworth introduced his scheme as an amendment. He supported his proposal by stating 'if we wish to frame a measure which shall remove the great and fundamental cause of colonial discontent, we must deprive the Colonial Office of the present power of interfering in the internal affairs of the Colonies,' and, again, 'The only mode of removing the cause of discontent in the Colonies is by strictly limiting the power of the Colonial Office to questions affecting Imperial interests,' and again, 'We ought to look upon our Colonies as integral portions of the British Empire inhabited by men who ought to enjoy in their own localities all the rights and privileges that Englishmen do in England, but we are entitled to reserve to our-

[8] *Short History of the Canadian People*, p. 397.

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selves the common concerns of the Empire, because Imperial power must be located somewhere for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, and because we are the richest and most powerful portion of the Empire, and have to pay for the management of two common concerns.'[9] Sir William Molesworth, though defeated by a majority of sixty, gained a victory for his principles, since Lord John Russell admitted that his colonial policy would be founded on commercial freedom and colonial self-government.

By this time public opinion had entirely veered round, and the next few years saw free Constitutions with responsible government granted to the major part of the colonies now included in the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia, as well as to Newfoundland and New Zealand.

The grant of responsible government placed the coping-stone on the structure of colonial independence, so far as is consistent with the unity of the Empire. A colonist attained all, and even more than all, the privileges of an Englishman; his local powers over the Constitution of his colony were as great as those exercised by his kinsman at home; and, if his Imperial powers were not so directly effectual, he was more than compensated by his exemption from the heavy burden of taxation for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and for other Imperial purposes. The gratitude which this grant of political emancipation elicited from our brothers beyond the seas formed a strange contrast with the indifference with which they greeted the abolition of the navigation laws and other restrictions on trade, and with the silent reception accorded to the extraordinary power conferred on them from time to time of imposing a protective tariff against the Mother Country. So little, indeed, did this latter gift attract attention, that there is difficulty in discovering when and where it was first bestowed.

These facts made it abundantly clear that the Colonies were not nations of shopkeepers, and that commercial advantages were not the lodestar by which they steered their course; still, the conviction lingered in the minds of the political economists that the colonists were too much inclined to grind their own axes, and that secession was possibly the ultimate fate to be anticipated for the Mother Country and her Colonies. In the sixties England was sickened by the expense and bloodshed of New Zealand wars, which brought neither profit nor glory; and it was felt that the local defence of the Colonies against intestine enemies must be left to the Colonies themselves. Gradually, however, the Colonies began to show signs that instead of desiring to separate from the Mother Country they were proud of the connection, and willing to share its perils as well as to inherit its glory. This feeling reached its height when the war in South Africa broke out, and the unity of the Empire became a watchword, and the extension of its limits over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was advocated by Canada,

[9] *Molesworth's Speeches*, p. 312.

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Australia, and New Zealand, as ardently as by the Big Englanders at home.

We have now accumulated ample material for forming an opinion how far, and by what means, if any, the constituent members of the Empire can be more effectually welded together. We have seen that the Empire is made up of the Mother Country, and some fifty dependencies scattered over the globe, and differing in size, government, capacity for self-government, extent of trade, race, language, religion, and in every particular in which human beings can differ. We have at the top of the tree Canada and Australia, with their vast expanse of territory, and India with her teeming population. We have at the bottom of the ladder garrisons like Malta and Gibraltar—Malta not so large as the Isle of Wight, and Gibraltar with an area of two square miles. Nobody in their senses supposes that the unity of the Empire can be secured by any general system of legislation applicable to all or to the greater part of these dependencies. We must, then, dismiss at once from our consideration and treat as a negligible quantity an enormous part of the Empire in treating of any proposals for unity, and confine ourselves to the self-governing colonies. If we inquire what the legal tie is between these colonies and the Mother Country, we find it to be the slightest possible. It consists in the sovereignty of the Crown, the power to make peace and war, the power to make treaties, and the appeal to the Privy Council. And the history of Imperial union shows that as the legal ties are slackened, the moral bonds are tightened. No sooner was the heavy hand of the Colonial Office uplifted from the Colonies than they sought to nestle under the wing of the Mother Country, to meet her wishes in peace, and to stand by her in war with their best and noblest troops. Are there, then, any signs that the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country are ripe for a change? The year 1902 was the most prosperous year that England had yet seen, and the Colonies were contented and restful. Without warning and without apparent reason, we were told that the unity of the Empire depended on our granting the Colonies a preferential tariff. A great agitator startled England by declaring that the Imperial system was rotten to the core, and that the only remedy was to offer the bribe of preferential tariffs to the self-governing Colonies.

A preferential tariff is, as its name imports, a tariff which gives a preferenceto one importing country over another in respect of Customs duties levied on one or more descriptions of goods. For example, if England levies a five-shilling duty on Canadian corn and a ten-shilling duty on Russian corn, the duty is a preferential duty as respects Canada. Such a system is necessarily a militant one, and in conciliating one state creates an enmity in all others. Moreover, in a commercial system such as obtains in England, it has a twofold aspect. In the first place, it creates a demand in every colony for

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preference—for if Canada obtains it with respect to corn, Australia requires an equal privilege for her wool, New Zealand for her meat, and so on, not only with the self-governing Colonies, but with all the dependencies of the British Empire. A preference granted to one colony involves the question of a similar grant to every other dependency, and a cause of offence to every country dealing in the article in respect of which preference has been given. Raw material is not to be taxed; no benefit, therefore, can be given to the lumberman of Canada or the wool-grower of Australia; there is nothing to show that South Africa, India or the Crown colonies will reap any advantage; indeed, this magnificent scheme for welding the Empire dwindles away, and is found, on examination, to effect nothing beyond taxing the working man at home for the benefit of wheatgrowers of parts of Canada and the sheepfarmers of New Zealand.

In the second place, what does each colony propose to give us in exchange for a boon so costly to the Mother Country? It certainly will not admit our manufactures free; at most it will differentiate between English goods and foreign goods, but this it will do not by lowering the duty on English goods, but by raising the duty on foreign goods. But if our neighbour has built a wall ten feet high, which shuts out the view from our windows, it is a poor consolation to be told that he has built it twenty feet high in front of Smith's windows next door. Moreover, any such arrangement supposes a permanent agreement between England and the Colonies; but neither the Legislature of the Colony nor of the parent country can bind its successors, even if it can make a satisfactory agreement at any particular time. For example, the natural market and the natural source of supply for Canada is the United States; and, if the latter choose to bid against us for the trade of Canada, the Colonial Ministers will find it mighty hard to resist, no matter what engagements their predecessors may have contracted with England. It follows that the idea of a preferential tariff enacted by the Mother Country in exchange for colonial concessions is not within the range of practical politics, even if restricted to the self-governing colonies, and is simply impossible of extension to India, which is a free-trade dependency, and which exceeds in commercial importance any one of the self-governing Colonies. Preferential tariffs, then, however efficacious as a means of retaliation, cannot possibly be a cementing influence between the Mother Country and its children, but must be a disintegrating and centrifugal force.

The advocates of the preferential tariff scheme propose that the Colonies shall not only modify their existing protective duties in favour of the Mother Country, but shall engage not to create any fresh industries under the shelter of protection. Such a proposal seems to be the madness of credulity. For half a century England has announced to the world that she considers free trade the essence of commercial policy, yet on a sudden we are told that all this is to be changed.

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Where, then, is the stability of legislation? What is there to prevent the doctrines of a certain impetuous and ambitious Minister being subverted by another statesman equally desirous of distinction? There evidently can be no finality in agreements between legislative bodies. The issue is, moreover, confused by the proposal to use protective tariffs as a weapon against foreign manufacturers—a proposal of the school who think that hitting hard is the true mark of a great man. It is possible that in some instances retaliation may be advisable, but this policy rests on entirely different grounds and does not come within the scope of this paper. It is obviously a hostile and disintegrating policy, and has no affinity with the use of preferential tariffs as a cement of the Empire. A scheme far more likely to promote Imperial unity would be a system of free trade between all the constituent members of the Empire with a protective hedge against foreign countries, thus making the Empire self-sustaining; but such a plan, whether its adoption would or would not be politically wise, is, we know, unacceptable to the Colonies, and may be relegated to the date of the Greek Kalends.

The author of the preferential tariff scheme asserts that the unity of the Empire depends on its acceptance by England, and at the same time shadows forth that, if adopted, it will be followed in due time by the consolidation in one compacted nation of the Mother Country with all her dependencies, or, at the least, with the self-governing colonies. Now, a little reflection will show that it is an error to hold that the Colonies look upon a commercial boon as a link in Imperial unity. A colonist regards his country as an Englishman regards England—as the first country in the world; his ambition is rather to expand his political power, say, by acquiring the right to treat independently with foreign nations than to sell his corn at a shilling more the bushel. What clearer proof can there be of the character of the aspirations of the Colonies than the fact that when, from time to time, commercial restrictions have been imposed and taken off, and preferential duties have been given and withheld, the Colonies have remained unmoved, while the attempt to restrict their liberty of taxation drove them into rebellion, and the grant of responsible government called forth an outburst of gratitude without a parallel in our history? So it is plain that the Colonies are ambitious of political freedom, rather than worshippers of the 'Almighty Dollar.'

In many minds commercial union is associated with the idea of political confederation; and political confederation is regarded as the ultimate aim of a British colonial policy, while the United States and the German Zollverein are quoted as examples to be followed. As has been already observed, a Zollverein would be an additional bond between the Mother Country and the Colonies, but it implies free trade between the constituent members of the Empire, and that, in existing circumstances, is not possible, for the Colonies

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have announced their intention not to give up their protective tariffs. But, as a matter of fact, neither preferential tariffs nor free trade have any tendency to produce a confederation, still less a federal Constitution such as that of the United States. A confederation is an association of independent states for the purpose of mutual defence, who vest certain Imperial rights of supremacy over all the members in a central body elected by the constituent members. It differs from a federal or national government in that it carries down its decrees not to individuals, but to states in a corporate capacity. A national government recognises no communities, but addresses itself solely to individuals, and makes its power felt by them through the agency of its courts of justice.

The essential difference between the two governments is most apparent in the matter of taxation. A confederate government demands a contribution from its constituent members, and enforces non-payment by force of arms. A national government has its taxing officer in every component state, and enforces its taxes by levy on individuals, and in default by judicial process. The American Constitution is a national not a confederate government. Every American has a double citizenship: he is a citizen of the United States and a citizen of his particular state. He pays federal taxes and state taxes. Accordingly, the cardinal principle of the British Constitution, that taxation must be accompanied by representation, is not violated, as each citizen has a vote not only for the State Legislature, but for the Federal Legislature as well. His privileges are co-extensive with his obligations. If all the powers of government except those of making peace and war, contracting treaties, and one or two more were conferred on the London County Council, the position of the Londoner would be similar to that of the New Yorker; he would pay local taxes under the name of rates, and federal or Imperial taxes to the central government. These forms of government, a confederate or a federal government, are the only possible modes in which the constitutional bond between free communities can be drawn more closely than that now existing between the Colonies and the Mother Country. In either case the Colonies must have adequate representation in the central legislature, in which the power of taxation resides; and it is, therefore, clear that neither form can be adopted as a means of consolidating the British Empire. Imagine an addition to the House of Commons of members from Canada and Australia. What power would they have on Imperial questions? If Ireland complains that she is practically swamped by the overwhelming wave of English members, what would be the case of a particular colony having interests antagonistic to those of other members of the Empire? If, on the other hand, we constitute a small central council, whose members should represent the Mother Country and the Colonies, and entrust it with the administration of Imperial powers, is it possible

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that England would entrust to such a body the power of taxing her 41 millions of inhabitants, while the Colonies could only be asked to contribute and not compelled except by war? We must, then, dismiss from our minds the idea that the Empire can possibly become a unity under any form of representative government. There still remains the possibility of tightening the commercial bonds of the Empire, but surely this should be done by the Colonies abolishing their protective tariffs against the Mother Country, and not by the Mother Country establishing protective tariffs for the benefit of the Colonies. It can hardly be expected that the British citizen, who pays so much to maintain the forces under the shadow of which the Colonies levy their protective tariffs, would consent to be further taxed for the benefit of his richer fellow-citizen in Canada or Australia. Why is England alone to play the unselfish part, and her children to consider nothing save their own material interests?

Are we, then, driven to the conclusion of the elder Mill? Are the Colonies merely sources of expense, and useful only as dumping grounds for our surplus population, or must we adopt the more modified form of the same doctrine, that they are communities like the Greek colonies, wholly independent and bound only by affection and common origin to the metropolis or parent state? These ideas had a certain plausibility at a time when the millennium of free trade was expected to create a millennium of peace, and a brotherhood of nations was regarded as possible; but a declaration of war would at once convert an independent colony into a neutral state, and thus create a new state of things under international law. The colony might not display its attachment to the Mother Country by conferring on it any preferential benefit; for example, the ships of war of the parent state could not reinforce their crews or obtain supplies in what was till now a colonial port, accessible for all purposes to ships of the Mother Country, could not capture hostile vessels within three miles of the colonial shore, could not enlist men within its boundaries, could not march troops through its territories, could not, in short, obtain any advantage over its enemies through the medium of the colony.

What, then, separation would mean as regards the parent country will appear from a glance at one of the many maps which depict the trade routes of Great Britain over the globe. Paint all the spots marked red with a neutral tint, and clearly the commerce of Great Britain would be crippled to a disastrous extent. But if separation would injure the Mother Country, what would be its effect on the colony? The only privileges a self-governing colony would acquire by independence would be the power of making peace and war, of making treaties, and of framing its own Constitution. In other respects a Canadian enjoys at present the same rights as an Englishman, he is a subject of the same Sovereign, can be elected to the British Parliament, can go into the Army or Navy, be called to the

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Bar; in short, can enter on any of the avenues leading to success in life which are open to a native of England. He can claim the protection of the British Ambassador and the aid of the British Consul abroad; while at home he has full power as regards local affairs. A privilege which he has not, is to be taxed to the amount of 35,000,000*l.* a year for the Navy to protect his shores, and the same sum for the Army to repel any foreign invader, besides the millions required for other Imperial Services. What would be the position of Australia, with an area of nearly three million square miles, twenty-five times as large as the United Kingdom, one-fourth less than Europe, and a population of three millions and a half, or as nearly as possible the same as that of Yorkshire, if left to itself with any of the Great Powers of Europe hovering on its shores, or landing 20,000 men on its territories? Turn to the subject of finance. A colony desiring to borrow money, if not sustained by the power of England, would be reduced to bankruptcy to-morrow.

Let us, then, briefly review the whole subject of Imperial unity. The Empire at present is bound together by common interest; for any separation of the Colonies would be injurious to the commerce of the British Empire, but ruinous to the Colonies. The Empire is also bound together by the ties of a common race and a community of sentiment; how strong these ties are all history witnesses. Ask the Pole, ask the Sclav, ask the Finlander, ask the Czech, whether there is no strength in such bonds. Centuries cannot untie them, although in all these cases sentiment is opposed to pecuniary interest. Why should they be less binding in the British Empire, where a preponderating weight of interest is combined with sentiment? No case can be made for disturbing the present condition of so many millions of people. Why should the Mother Country be asked to imperil her enormous commerce in order that a series of bargains may be struck with a group of Colonies reluctant to abandon a system of protection in favour of free trade, which has for half a century been the pride and aim of the Mother Country? The very question throws an apple of discord between Great Britain and her children. The bargaining incidental to any prosecution of the preferential tariff system must tend to separate rather than bind closer a vast group of almost independent communities, differing in their products, their interests, and ambitions. Moreover, the scheme leaves out in the cold the greater part of the Empire, which will necessarily be alienated by being differently treated from those who will be deemed by them their more fortunate brethren.

The whole substance of the proper policy to be observed in the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and the probable consequence of such policy, are contained in a speech made by Mr. Gladstone at Chester in 1855.[10] 'Govern the

[10] See Morley's *Life*, vol. i. p. 363.

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Colonies upon a principle of freedom. Defend them against aggression from without. Regulate their foreign relations. These things belong to the colonial connection. But of the duration of that connection let them be the judges, and I predict that if you leave them the freedom of judgment, it is hard to say when the day will come when they will wish to separate from the great name of England. Depend upon it, they covet a share in that great name. You will find in that feeling of theirs the greatest security for the connection. Make the name of England yet more and more an object of desire to the Colonies. Their natural disposition is to love and revere the name of England, and this reverence is by far the best security you can have for their continuing not only to be subjects of the Crown, not only to render it allegiance, but to render it that allegiance which is the most precious of all—the allegiance which proceeds from the depths of the heart of man. You have seen various colonies, some of them living at the antipodes, offering to you their contributions to assist in supporting the wives and families of your soldiers, the heroes that have fallen in the war. This I may say without exaggeration to be among the first fruits of that system, upon which within the last twelve or fifteen years you have founded a rational mode of administering the affairs of your Colonies without gratuitous interference.' These are the words of a statesman.

THRING.

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RUSSIA, JAPAN, AND OURSELVES

THE cloud which has long hung over the Far East has burst; war is declared between Russia and Japan. What will be the result, and what is our position? Those are the questions everyone asks, with an idea, dim though it may be, that the vital and permanent interests of our own race, as well as of the actual combatants, are at stake, and they are asked in an uncertain manner, as by men groping in the dark, in ignorance of conditions existing on the other side of the world. Yet those conditions are no new ones; they date back some sixty years, to the time when China, whose future is among the problems chiefly involved, was first awakened by the war of 1840, which ended with the treaty of Nanking, giving us possession of Hong Kong and opening to our trade the cities of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. That was the first blow on the wedge into the splendid isolation of China. Another, and far more heavy, blow was given twenty years later, when the Anglo-French forces penetrated to Pekin and there dictated terms. The effect of that action has hardly been sufficiently realised, especially its effect on the minds of the Japanese, who for generations had derived their culture, their civilisation, their official language, their whole ideas from the far larger and adjacent country. It was that expedition which opened their eyes to the fact that, as China had been shown to be powerless before the foreign barbarians whom they detested, and kept at a distance, as much or more than their Chinese neighbours, they too were powerless. Quicker of thought than the Chinaman, imitative in a yet higher degree, the Japanese grasped the idea that there was more to be got from adopting the methods of the West than by adhering to those of the East. For a few years the leaven of this thought worked in their minds, and the revolution of 1868, with its suppression of their old feudal system, the introduction of European vessels, of railways, of telegraphs, of those outward signs which have marked what we call our progress, was the result. In all these matters they are marvellous copyists; they have not got originality, they have not got the seed of Western civilisation, but they have stripped the fruit of it from the trees.

It is a common error to suppose that the Japanese, as a people, have Europeanised themselves. They have done nothing of the kind;

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for one thing they dislike Europeans too much, for another they like themselves too well, to attempt it. Those who come here are an exceedingly small percentage; even they, on returning to their own country, often become more anti-foreign than those who have never travelled. Taking the whole population, there may be one of them in a hundred thousand who has really assimilated Western thought; ten, in that number, who have partly done so. From these latter come the 'soshi,' partly educated on foreign lines, not sufficiently so to obtain employment; therefore, soured men and discontented, the class who cut down their own statesmen and assault foreigners in the streets.

But, while the great bulk of the people live as their fathers lived, think as they thought, till the fields as their fathers tilled them—and one has only to travel in districts beyond the reach of the globe-trotter, who writes misleading books based on his experience of a few weeks, to see this—they are very amenable to the lead given to them by the exceedingly shrewd group of statesmen at the head of affairs. These latter realised after the war of 1860 that, as a matter of business, there was a good deal to learn; and, like diligent students, they applied themselves to the task, making careful note of the fact that, as China had been shown to be vulnerable to others, she might later on be equally so to themselves.

That the control of China, the copying on their own account of the European occupation of Pekin, was for long an objective to the Japanese is proved by the existence of a detailed map covering the whole region of Korea, Manchuria, and the coasts of the Gulf of Pechili, with the roads all marked, the contours of the hills given, and an amount of detail shown which must have occupied the clandestine surveyors of the most inquisitive race on the earth for many years until it came into use by the Japanese staff in the war of 1895. A copy of that map was given to the present writer at that time, and is now in his possession. It, in itself, furnishes evidence of the long-cherished design to invade China, and disproves the assertion, then made, that Japan was forced into war on that occasion. On the contrary, it was a deliberate and carefully planned invasion, with the object of obtaining supremacy over the millions of Chinamen. Russia denounced it as a pure piece of aggression, and she was perfectly justified in so doing; backed by France and Germany, she compelled the Japanese to evacuate Manchuria and abandon Port Arthur, the key to that region. She did her best, through her then Minister in Japan, to induce us to fall into line, but our representative in Tokio had fortunately known this Russian *diplomat* elsewhere, in a little matter of the kidnapping of a Prince, and he kept us clear of participation in those proceedings. If we had been mixed up in them we should have merely played Russia's game, as France and Germany did, and incurred the latent hostility of Japan to no purpose. When the Japanese found themselves foiled

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after all their elaborate preparations—so elaborate that they had actually ascertained the resistance to projectiles of the obsolete Chinese ironclads, and arranged to have guns on their latest cruisers capable of penetrating that armour—they were furious with rage and disappointment. Served by the best spies in the world, they had found out that China, large as it loomed to the Powers of the West, was but a flabby inert mass, a bubble that could be pricked with impunity. They had hardened their hearts and pricked the bubble, only to find themselves treated by Russia with a cry of 'Stop thief!' But what is one to think of any one who raises that cry on seeing a man running off with his neighbour's clothes, and then proceeds to put the clothes on himself?

That is exactly what Russia did. She took from Japan the hint that liberties might be taken with China, and proceeded to act on it. For the last nine years she has been quietly doing so. Profiting by our hands being full in South Africa for part of the time, she has made the most of her opportunities. It was when we were so engaged that she took what she diplomatically called a lease of Port Arthur, and called on us to remove our squadron from the harbour. That our Government most foolishly did, thereby acknowledging Russian pretensions. A bolder policy on our part at that time would have probably prevented, or at all events deferred, the present crisis, for Russia's grip on Manchuria would not have been the same. Her grip has again been tightened by her construction of a system of railways, running southwards from the main line across Siberia, and on her having, for her own advantage, spent money on these undertakings she rests the least flimsy of her pretensions to a country about as large as India south of the Ganges.

While Russia has thus been busy on land, Japan has been equally so at sea. In 1895 a Japanese official said to the writer in Tokio: 'There is one thing these Russians have forgotten, and that is the intensely vindictive nature of our people. We will never forgive them for the way in which they have robbed us of the territory we have conquered. If our generation does not have revenge, our sons or our grandsons will. We would fight Russia now if we had got battleships as she has, but we have only got cruisers yet. We pitted them against the old Chinese battleships in the action off the Yalu River, and we only just won. We cannot possibly risk them against the Russian fleet; we must get battleships for that. Meanwhile, the Russians will try to get Port Arthur.' That was said on the 12th of November, 1895, and both predictions have been verified. The Russians have got Port Arthur, and Japan has a powerful squadron of six battleships which have cost her tenfold what they would us. For in Japan, to a native, the purchasing power of a yen, or dollar, worth two shillings, is as much as that of a sovereign here, and thus, mea-

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sured against commodities, a million spent by them in sterling on the Tyne in buying an ironclad is equivalent to ten millions on our part. That shows how great has been the strain on their finances to get those ships, but the burden has been cheerfully borne in view of the object. With this new weapon she confronts Russia. May it not also be the case that, by means of her ubiquitous spies, she is armed with special knowledge of that being true which many suspect—namely, that Russia, like China, may be standing on feet of clay, and be far less formidable than she appears, especially when the point of attack is a far distant extremity like Port Arthur or Vladivostok, to which the lack of coaling stations would prevent access by sea in war-time, leaving communications from the centre dependent on a single line of weakly-constructed railway more than five thousand miles long. Unless the Pekin correspondent of the *Times* has been inaccurate—and it would be an unheard-of thing on his part—in giving the whole land forces of Russia to the east of Lake Baikal at barely 150,000 men, it is on them that the brunt of the Japanese attack will fall, for it will be difficult to reinforce them, and if the sea can be cleared of the Russian fleet they can be attacked in detail. Japan ascertained the inherent weakness of China before she made her attack; she may have done the same with Russia. That country was struck by Napoleon at the heart when he marched to Moscow and brought about his own downfall; we bit her in the foot in the Crimea, and she nearly bled to death; the bite of the Japanese on a foot now extended much further may be even more deadly. Again, while Russia consists of a number of dissimilar races, such as Persians, Poles, Finlanders, and Tartars, whose only bond of union is the suzerainty of the Czar, and whose common grievance is the bureaucracy which oppresses them, Japan is inhabited by a frugal, hardy, homogeneous race, all of the same blood, full of intense patriotism, full too of a self-confidence so extreme that it is sometimes called self-conceit, led by statesmen keen, wary, and not so overburdened with scruples as to place them at any disadvantage in dealing even with a Russian *diplomat*. One hears them spoken of as a small people, but their population of nearly forty-five millions exceeds that of the United Kingdom, so there is not much in the impression that this war is a case of a little boy standing up to a giant. There is no room for sympathy on that account; there is a good deal of room for it in the way they have profited by what their last war taught them, that they could not defy Europe without getting the worst of it. So they secured our services, by means of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, to keep the ring for them this time; when our statesmen thought they were making a mutual alliance, they were really being utilised by the shrewder Japanese for that purpose. They have made use also—though not to the same extent—of the United States by establishing an interest in common in Manchurian treaty ports, getting the two treaties with China signed together. As against the

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open effrontery of Russia in ignoring her engagements in Manchuria they have behaved with perfect coolness, until the time came to back that up with equally perfect nerve in breaking off negotiations conducted, on the Russian side, with dilatoriness and insolence. And as regards the Japanese insistence on Korea being kept clear of the Russians, that is absolutely essential to them; with the coast of Korea, *vis-à-vis* to Japan, in Russian hands, Japan would live under perpetual menace, and her security would be at an end.

Very misleading impressions of Japan have been given by the superficial books written about the country by people who have spent but a few weeks or months there, spending spare cash freely, and received by the natives with the warm welcome which such expenditure usually obtains. The Japanese have thus been accepted as a light-hearted, superficial race, easy of access, and ready to take the Western man at his own valuation. Nothing can be further from the truth. A very able man, a missionary who had lived twenty years among them, and thoroughly knew their language, a very difficult one, and so a great impediment to interchange of thought, when he was asked what he thought of the Japanese character, replied: 'Between our minds and those of the Japanese there is always a curtain, which they take care is never lifted.'

They are an intensely secretive, astute, and self-contained race, very difficult to understand, because of the ineradicable racial difference between them and ourselves.

Our great misfortune in dealing with them has been that our Ministers to Japan have been men sent there in the ordinary course of their diplomatic service, which, while it had given them experiences of other Courts and other statesmen, gave no clue to the separate habits of thought which obtain in Japan. To this rule there have been two notable exceptions, the late Sir Harry Parkes, whose whole career was divided between China and Japan, and Sir Ernest Satow. When the appointment of the last-named as British Minister to their Court was announced to the Japanese Cabinet, it was met by the remark that we were sending to them the man who knew fully as much of their country as they themselves did.

Such men are of necessity rare. We are fortunate in now having Sir Ernest Satow at Pekin, but it is doubtful whether his removal there from Tokio, which is now the centre of action, has been advantageous. For the Japanese take a great deal of knowing. They are our very good friends to-day, while we are doing a great deal for them; how far their friendship may be counted on hereafter to keep an open door for us in China, when they have got the key of the door in their pocket, may prove quite another story. The real *carus belli* between Russia and Japan is the control of China and her commerce; neither country is rich, and that is enough to enrich either of them and give

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to the winner a preponderance, very great and very difficult to estimate in amount, on the Pacific.

That commerce we opened out by the war of 1840, followed by that of 1860. We have admitted all nations to share in the trade of Hong Kong—sixty years ago a barren island on the China coast, now one of the greatest ports of the world—and to free participation in the treaty ports of China herself. We have built up the whole goodwill of the China business, to a share in which we have admitted the other nations as they would never have admitted us. If any of them had had it, they would have blocked it to us, as they have blocked their own home markets, by high protective duties, and those home markets being so blocked makes this one, now very great, and capable of almost indefinite expansion, even more valuable to us now than formerly. Far from being received with any gratitude, this action of ours is met with the new doctrine of 'spheres of influence.' France in the South, Russia in the North, Germany on the North-East, have been carving slices from the joint of China. Newchwang, one of the most important of the actual treaty ports, has been practically taken over by Russia, and the customs revenues, which form part of the security for Western loans, are paid in, not to the Imperial Chinese Customs, to whom they belong, but to the Russian Bank, from which they are not likely to emerge. This we have seen done, without even any protest on our part being made. Even our supremacy on the Yangtse is disputed; the river is patrolled by German gunboats; railways running into that great valley are projected by foreign syndicates—and a railway is the first assertion of power over the district through which it runs, on the part of the nationality owning and controlling the railway. Unlike the other Powers of the West, we want no territory in China; we have enough, or too much, on our hands elsewhere; but we do want, and must have, open access to the commerce of the country. That now forms the stakes in a game in which two very wary and astute players are engaged, while we sit by with our arms folded. We are not the stake-holders but the stake-finders; whichever of them wins, we lose. It looks too much like the policy of drift which landed our fathers in the Crimean war, and ourselves in the South African war. That policy of drift seems inseparable from our system of government by party. The price we are paying for parliamentary rule is the inefficiency of the Cabinet, whose members are always looking behind them to count votes in the House, and outside it, instead of looking forward to advance national interests. We have seen lately how a man fit to rule, when he takes up a great national cause, begins by severing his connection with the Cabinet so as to be free from the trammels of party.

Let us then beware of drift, especially as the issue of this struggle involves consequences which so deeply affect us. Let us avoid undue jubilation at the first tricks in that game being scored by the one of the players with whom, in consequence of the provocation received,

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we have naturally the most sympathy; let us keep our eye carefully on the stakes, the commerce of China, and see—if it may be, with the co-operation of the United States, and that is more than possible—that those stakes are not swept off the table into the pocket of one or other of the players.

To an average Englishman, who has spent many years where that game is being played, it appears to be one which wants exceedingly careful watching.

C. A. W. Pownall.

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RUSSIA'S FINANCIAL POSITION

THOSE who follow Russia's career from afar cannot help being struck by the fact that, as far as appearances go, her financial position is one of extraordinary strength, for she spends truly gigantic sums with incredible lavishness for the most unremunerative purposes. According to Von Löbell and to Baron von Tettau, who are the best authorities on Russia's military position, her standing army consists of over 1,100,000 officers and men, with about 200,000 horses. Of this enormous host about 600,000 men, with 100,000 horses and 2,360 field guns, are massed within easy reach of the Austro-German frontier, where the maintenance of troops is far more costly than in most other parts of European Russia, while several hundred thousand men are kept at still greater expense in the wilds of East and Central Asia and in the Caucasus.

Russia's military manœuvres are on the most colossal scale, and whenever there is political ferment in Central or in Eastern Asia, she transports a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand men across two continents as if money was of no account with her.

She also possesses a huge and extremely costly navy, and we have read that she has lately ordered a number of battleships of 16,000 tons each, which even wealthy Powers such as France and Germany have declined to adopt on account of their costliness.

Furthermore, Russia not only spends enormous amounts on her armaments, but she advances money with an open hand to China, Persia, and the Balkan States, constructs in the wilderness thousands of miles of commercially unproductive, but strategically important, railways, and strategical harbours round which she builds up enormous substantially-built towns for the use of a future generation. Evidently for political and military purposes, for purposes of expansion and conquest, expense is not considered by Russia and money is never lacking.

When we now turn to Russia's annual financial statements expecting to find the traces of those vast, and apparently ruinous, expenses in huge yearly deficits, we discover that she has year after year not only no deficit but an enormous surplus. In the English books of reference we find for instance the following figures for the last financial year:

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Russia's revenue, 1902	213,136,000
" expenditure, 1902	197,838,000
Surplus	15,298,000

Russia's yearly expenditure has grown perhaps more rapidly than that of any other Power, as the following figures show:

	£
Russia's expenditure, 1885 . . .	91,314,000
" " 1902 . . .	213,136,000
Difference	+ 121,822,000 or + 133 per cent.

If we look at these truly colossal figures we cannot help wondering whether Russia is a poor country as is generally assumed, or whether she is the richest country in the world, for no other European country can boast of similarly huge Budgets and similarly enormous surpluses.

It might be expected that Russia's foreign trade should have grown *pari passu* with the increase in her national expenditure, or at least in proportion to her increasing population. As a matter of fact it has been shrinking, while her expenditure has been growing, as the following figures show:

	Russian Exports £	Russian Imports £
1883	103,723,000	91,080,000
1902	89,130,000	56,925,000
Difference	– 14,593,000	– 34,155,000

This retrogression in her foreign trade is all the more serious if we bear in mind that her population has increased by about 30,000,000 during these twenty years, and that the Government has done its utmost to stimulate foreign trade by bounties and by other means during that time.

If we compare the Budget of Russia with that of Great Britain, France, or Germany, it would appear that Russia is by far the richest of these countries, and her usual yearly surplus should excite the envy of all the Chancellors of the Exchequer and Ministers of Finance. However, Russia's budgetary surplus is an event which occurs as regularly as does a new issue of a foreign loan. Hence her national debt has grown with alarming celerity from nothing in 1843 to 690,107,000*l.* in 1902, and continues growing with ever-increasing rapidity. For instance, between 1887 and 1899, during a time of uninterrupted peace, her national debt increased by no less than 175,000,000*l.*, notwithstanding the habitual surpluses; but it is only fair to add that out of this vast sum 121,000,000*l.* was spent in the construction of railways. Whether this sum was laid out on remunerative railways or on strategical and unremunerative railways will be seen later on. The remaining 54,000,000*l.* of new debt probably assisted in creating a large number of the splendid sur-

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pluses which were thoughtfully provided in order to keep foreign holders of Russian bonds in good temper, and to loosen their purse-strings to the perennial Russian loan.

It is not easy to analyse a Russian Budget, for notwithstanding, or perhaps in spite of, the numerous items which are published, it is quite impossible to disentangle the confused mass of figures, and to find out whence the budgetary income was derived and to what objects the public expenditure was devoted. In the first place, there are many ingenious cross-entries referring to unintelligible and unexplained financial transactions between various departments of State of which no particulars are given. In the second place, the Russian Budget gives only totals, for details are secret. Thus we find in the Budget for 1900 a sum of not less than 73,732,194 roubles under the obscure headings of 'various expenses,' 'unforeseen expenses,' 'reserve,' and 'other expenses.' Of course if the national balance sheet is prepared in such a loose and mysterious way, it is impossible, not only for the public but even for Russian financial authorities themselves, to know the real state of the public income and expenditure.

The fact that, notwithstanding the recent complaints of the public, the Russian Budgets are drawn up in a manner which does not enlighten but only confuses the student of Russian finance, has naturally created a strong suspicion that not only the public income and expenditure, but even the amount of the public debt, may be incorrectly stated, and recent exposures have strengthened that impression.

Notwithstanding the most damaging criticism of the Russian Budgets in some of the foremost Continental papers, in which their correctness was called into question, the Russian Ministry of Finance has given nothing better in reply than vague assurances and denials, but has not vouchsafed an intelligible statement of Russia's finances.

After all it matters comparatively little whether the Russian Budgets are reliable or not, whether the magnificent surpluses which are periodically announced are real or fictitious, and whether Russia's public debt amounts to the enormous sum of 690,107,000*l.* or to more. These are questions of minor importance and may be safely disregarded, the chief question being: Is Russia solvent, and is she likely to remain solvent notwithstanding her war with Japan?

In order to answer this all-important question we need not try to solve the puzzles in tabular form which are provided by the Minister of Finance, and follow him through a labyrinth of figures, but had better look into the economic state of Russia, into the condition of the people, and into their ability to pay the taxes and to provide the revenue which is required in order to meet the obligations of the State.

Russia is almost entirely an agricultural country. Some manu-

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facturing industries have been started by foreign enterprise, chiefly in Russian Poland, but these have not flourished and many of them have already come to a bad end. Owing to the whole configuration of the country and to the character of the people it seems likely that agriculture will remain for a very long time Russia's most important, and almost her only, industry. Hence it is clear that the economic state of Russia can be gauged more clearly from the state of her agriculture and by the condition of her agricultural population than from the most imposing figures supplied by the Ministry of Finance.

On the whole Russia is an extremely poor country. The flourishing districts are Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, the Caucasus and Turkestan, parts which, rightly considered, are not really Russian and which are not peopled by Russians. These districts are as little Russian as India is English. The centre of the Empire, Russia proper, is decaying and starving, and if it were not for the prosperous outlying subject parts which prop up the Russian Empire, Russia would probably have been bankrupt long ago.

The yield of the Russian soil is an extremely poor one, as the following table shows :

Average yield per acre for five years previous to 1900, *in bushels.*

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats
Germany	24·17	18·54	26·70	31·71
Hungary	16·85	16·32	20·64	27·45
Sweden	24·03	21·36	24·98	29·49
European Russia, exclusive of Poland.	8·36	10·12	11·90	15·16
United Kingdom	31·31	—	34·01	39·66

From these figures it appears that the yield of the Russian soil is less than half the yield produced on the soil of her neighbouring States, and that it is equal to about one-third of the English yield.

The soil of Russia is divided in about equal parts between the Crown, the landed proprietors, and the peasants. The peasants have the worst land. Therefore they suffer severely in times of famine. During the famine year 1891, for instance, the land owned by peasants yielded on an average only 16·7 puds per dessiatine, while the land of the landed proprietors yielded 31 puds per dessiatine.

If it is considered that Russia possesses perhaps the poorest agricultural land in the world, and that the Russian peasants possess the worst part of that agricultural land, it is easy to imagine the wretched conditions under which they live, especially if we remember that they are weighed down by an extremely heavy taxation, and that they are hampered constantly by the exactions of bureaucracy and by many years of military service.

In the St. Petersburg *Viedomosti*, edited by Prince Uchtomsky,

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the friend of the Czar, we read on the 13th of November, 1901, the following terrible indictment:

> Russia is chronically starving, pauperism increases in extent and degree, and there are neither ways nor means apparent either to stop or to mitigate this evil. Expenditure is growing on all sides and in all directions without bounds, but the sources of productive labour are exhausted. . . . The people in the country, young and old, labour with all their force, but all their exertions do not suffice to satisfy the requirements of the State and of those who live on the labour of the peasants. . . . There is but one way towards a brighter future, and that is the delivery of the people from the yoke of bureaucracy.

The statement of the *Viedomosti*, 'Russia is chronically starving,' is unfortunately only too true, notwithstanding the sparseness of the population, which amounts in European Russia to only fifty-one people to the square mile, and to but fifteen people to the square mile for the whole of the Empire. The increasing frequency with which terrible famines break out in Russia has made the public only too familiar with this sad fact.

It might be expected that, owing to scientific progress and to the advent of railways, agriculture in Russia should have improved, but the contrary has been the case. The railways have, strange as it may sound, proved not a blessing but a curse to Russia, and the following is the reason why that has been the case. Russian agriculture has always been extremely primitive; scientific culture of the soil was, and is even at the present day, almost unknown. Therefore the peasants hardly knew the process of enriching the soil with manure, but left it fallow for a time after each harvest in order to allow it to recuperate. The advent of railways led to higher price for grain and to a grain boom. The grain boom lasted up to the eighties, when the disastrous fall in corn prices ended the short-lived prosperity of the grain producers and left the soil permanently impoverished.

If we turn to the official figures supplied by the Ministry of Finance, we are able to gauge to some extent the position of Russia's agriculture. Russia's harvest of grain amounted to 400,000,000 hectolitres in 1870, and to 515,000,000 hectolitres in 1894. On the surface these figures denote a satisfactory progress. But if we remember that during that period the population of Russia increased from 70,000,000 to 106,000,000, we find that Russia produced per head of population only 4·9 hectolitres in 1894, as against 5·5 hectolitres in 1870. This decrease in the quantity of grain grown is all the more serious, as the quantity of grain exported increased, while the quantity of grain harvested fell off. Thus we find that during 1890–1894, 6,708,000 tons of grain were exported against only 3,132,000 tons exported during 1870–1874.

It appears that in 1895, a year during which the grain exports were unusually large, 240 kilogrammes of grain were consumed per head of population, which is a little more than is consumed in

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Germany. But in Germany much meat, potatoes, and other vegetables are eaten, while bread and other grain foods are the staple food, and almost the only food, of the people of Russia, where extremely little meat and vegetables are consumed by the masses. It also appears that the Russian Ministry of the Interior officially estimates that the minimum of grain required for consumption is 330 kilogrammes per head of population per year. Hence it may be concluded that during 1895, which was a good year, the whole population was on an average only three-quarters nourished. As many people, no doubt, consumed their 330 kilogrammes or more, the less fortunate ones had evidently to live on considerably less than a three-quarter diet. If this happens in a good year, what happens in bad years?

In view of these facts it is not astonishing that the Russian people are habitually underfed, that famine has become chronic in Russia, that scurvy and famine typhus are constantly rampant in the rural parts, and that in time of dearth the Russian peasants have to subsist on grass, wild roots, and the bark of trees, while millions of horses and cattle die of hunger. Owing to chronic underfeeding, the death rate in Russia is, as a rule, about twice as high as the death rate in Great Britain, and the mortality figures are apt to rise by ten, fifteen, and twenty per cent. in years of famine.

In consequence of the terrible and frequent famines which of late have devastated Russia, a Commission was appointed in the spring of 1899 to inquire into the economic decay of the Central Governments of European Russia. One of its members, Mr. A. D. Poljenow, has recently published some results of that enquiry, from which it appears that the quantity of grain sown per head of population decreased by 35 per cent. between 1861–1865 and 1891–1896. The deficiency in the quantity of grain food and bread available for the population, which resulted from this state of affairs, seems not to have been set off by a corresponding increase in the consumption of vegetables and meat, for we are told 'the Russian peasant living in these Governments suffered chronically from insufficiency of food, and the terrible consequences are already apparent to a pronounced degree.' How greatly exhausted the soil has become is evident from the fact that, according to the Commission, the ground yields now 27 per cent. less than it did thirty years ago. The impoverishment of the population has been so great that, in spite of the great increase of the numbers of peasants, the number of horses has decreased by 48 per cent. between 1868 and 1895. As so many horses have died of famine, many peasants have taken their wives and children into the plough.

Notwithstanding the frightful and habitual dearth of the most necessary food, more than half of Russia's exports always consists of corn, flour, and meal. These exports of food represent a money value of from 30,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.* a year. If the Russian

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population were properly nourished, Russia could not export any grain, but would have to import it, as is evident from the official figures which have previously been given. But the peasant cannot always afford to eat his own grain. Immediately after the harvest the Government gathers the taxes, and many taxpayers are left to starve after the harvest is over. Their food has been collected by the Government in the form of taxes, and is sent out of the country in order to pay interest on the huge foreign loans which have been contracted by the Government for the furtherance of Russia's expansionist policy. Thus Russia's enormous army and navy, her strategical railways and harbours, her loans to China and Persia, her secret service, her shipping subsidies and her export bounties are paid for with the food of the peasants, and if the peasants were allowed to eat their own food Russia would speedily be bankrupt.

The St. Petersburg *Viedomosti* wrote on the 13th of March, 1902: 'Already Russia consumes one-third less bread per head than Germany, without allowing for the fact that the Germans eat more potatoes and wheat than we do. If the Russians were as well nourished as the Germans are we should not be able to export any corn.' This remark of the *Viedomosti* is perfectly correct, but that newspaper omits to say how the Government can be carried on in its present wasteful fashion, unless the interest on the foreign loans is paid for with the peasants' food. If Russia should consume her own grain her exports would fall off by one-half, the gold would leave the country, and financial ruin would be a matter of months, not of years.

How frightfully rapid the impoverishment of agricultural Russia has been, owing to the gradual impoverishment of the soil and owing to the rapid increase of direct and indirect taxation, which, after all, the peasant has to provide, may be seen from the fact that, according to Poljenow, the taxes in arrear in the Central Governments amounted to 10 per cent. during 1871–1875, while they amounted to no less than 42 per cent. during 1896–1898. According to Scharapow, the rural indebtedness has similarly risen, for it has grown by no less than 66·1 per cent. between 1892 and 1902.

Owing to the primitive and wasteful methods employed by the agricultural population, a minimum result is achieved with a maximum of exertion. According to Lochtin, 'there is no land on earth in which the yield per acre is smaller than in Russia, or, in other words, there is no country in which agriculture is worse carried on.' The proof of this assertion is found in the following figures:

	Average yield per dessiatine	Percentage of seed used
England	123·4 puds	7·3 per cent.
United States	83·2 „	5·3 „ „
India	74·0 „	4·0 „ „
Germany	74·8 „	14·0 „ „
Italy	57·5 „	10·0 „ „
Russia	38·8 „	21·9 „ „

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If the figures given by Lochtin are correct, and they seem reliable as far as they can be checked, it would follow that the soil of Russia is not only extremely poor, but that a maximum of seed and of exertion is required in order to produce these extremely poor results.

The exceedingly serious condition of the Russian peasantry is well known in the official circles of Russia, and is creating increasing alarm among the bureaucracy, which clearly recognises that economic and financial Russia leans entirely on the peasantry. We have already seen that the rural population is chronically underfed and periodically starving, that the position of agriculture is on the whole decidedly deteriorating, that at the same time taxation is increasing, that the arrears of taxation are accumulating. The arrears of annual payments by the peasants for the land distributed among them at the time of the emancipation of the serfs are similarly increasing, and amount now to the staggering sum of 120 million roubles.

That owing to all these burdens and misfortunes dissatisfaction is growing apace, not only among the population of the towns, but also among the peasants, is only natural, and the Russian bureaucracy begins to recognise that it is impossible to wring more money by direct or indirect means from the poor moujik, who in the end has to pay for Russia's costly policy by going without his food. The Controller of the State has already declared in a recent confidential report to the Czar 'that more radical measures are necessary to relieve the peasants of taxes, which they are not in a position to bear.'

On the 30th of December, 1902, Mr. de Witte, who was then still Minister of Finance, explained the Budget before the Council of State, and said:

> . . . The Minister of Finance must confess before the Council of State assembled that the population is weighed down by direct and indirect taxation to the uttermost limit that can be borne. A further increase of taxation would not only be without purpose, but would hardly be permissible in the present condition of the country. At present a sound financial policy must strive to do everything in its power to lessen the weight of taxation.

The Council of State endorsed Mr. de Witte's views in the following manner:

> The ability of the population to pay taxes has certain limits which cannot be transgressed without damaging the economic position of the country. On it rests not only the financial strength of the State but also its actual strength and its international political prestige. Hence the Council of State agrees with the declaration of the Secretary of State, Mr. de Witte, that it is impossible to increase taxation any further in order to satisfy the growing requirements of the various departments of State.

From the foregoing it is clear that agriculture, the fundamental and almost the only industry of Russia, is in an extremely unsatis-

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factory condition, that taxation has arrived at its utmost limits, and that the enormous Budgets of Russia with their magnificent surpluses stand in a striking contrast with the growing pauperisation of the country.

We have seen what the 'new era' has done for agriculture, and it remains now to see what it has done for the other industries and for the railways. Under the guidance of the late Minister of Finance, Mr. de Witte, the Russian Government acquired the State railways at extravagant prices, and tried to create manufacturing industries in the country. Both experiments were undertaken on the most enormous scale and both attempts have lamentably failed. According to a statement made by Mr. de Witte on the 30th of December, 1902, before the Council of State, it would appear that the working of the State railways has, so far, had the following result:—

1896	11,800,000	roubles	profit
1897	?		
1898	8,800,000	"	"
1899	1,200,000	"	"
1900	2,600,000	"	loss
1901	32,900,000	"	"
1902	45,000,000	"	"

The future results would, according to Mr. de Witte, be the following:

1903	60,000,000	roubles	loss
1904	69,000,000	"	"
1905	84,500,000	"	"

These results are startling enough, but it may well be doubted whether these figures give a full and fair account of the real position of the railways. It is not clear whether due allowance has been made for the interest on the money invested in the railways, for the redemption of the railway loans, and for the depreciation of rolling stock, for renewals, &c. Various experts have tried their hand at analysing the Russian railway accounts, and they have arrived at the conclusion that these accounts are not reliable, that renewals have largely been paid for out of capital, and that the service of the loans has been treated as a separate item, not being included in the railway accounts. No reliable statistics exist which show how much money has actually been spent on the railways, but it has been estimated that the yearly interest on these loans must amount to at least 150,000,000 roubles. If this item has indeed been treated separately, it seems very probable that the loss on working the State railways amounts now to several hundred million roubles a year.

The attempt to construct a network of railways entirely on strategical grounds is evidently proving financially disastrous. Nevertheless Russia continues building strategical railways with a

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sublime disregard of the principles of sound business and finance, and she will probably continue to do so as long as the French investor will first find the money for building these railways, and afterwards provide more money for paying the interest on the loans previously contracted.

The constantly growing financial requirements of the State caused the Government to impose increasingly heavy import duties on all manufactured goods, until it was discovered that the limit had been reached, that the population became financially exhausted, and that higher duties did no longer produce an increase, but a decrease, of revenue. Naturally a large part of these duties had to be paid by the peasants, because many of the articles which came from abroad and were taxed could not be supplied at a cheaper rate by Russian factories because manufacturing industries had not yet developed in Russia.

Under the shelter of high protection it was possible to create manufacturing industries, and the Government greatly encouraged their foundation. For a time industrial enterprises, and especially the iron-works, flourished greatly—that is to say, as long as Russia was able to construct railways regardless of expense, owing to the constant influx of French capital. Almost the whole iron production of Russia was absorbed by the Government, for the poor peasants could not afford iron implements and continued to use their primitive wooden ploughs, wooden wheels, wooden axles, wooden nails, &c. Then only did it occur to Russia's leading men that Russian industries could not develop a market at home, because of the extreme poverty of the masses of the people which were unable to buy the products of those enterprises. The Controller of the State therefore reported 'an extensive industry will prove impossible until after the creation of a domestic market, which again is dependent upon a flourishing agriculture.'

Agriculture was ruined owing to the financial exigencies of the State, and the manufacturing industries, which had been promoted by the Government at the expense of agriculture, were languishing because of the poverty of the agricultural population. Therefore Mr. de Witte tried the daring experiment of creating a market for Russian manufactures abroad, and thus converting the failure of Russia as an industrial country into a success. With that object in view, steamers were subsidised, export bounties on the most lavish scale were granted, commercial commissions were appointed to develop trade, Persia and China were to be converted into outlets for the Russian industries, and were to be rigidly closed against the industries of the rest of the world. Thus Russia was rushed headlong into her Asiatic adventures in order to find the funds required by the Government.

When the activity of the Government in building railways lessened, the artificial stimulus which so far had supported Russia's

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industries was withdrawn; the huge ironworks which worked chiefly for the Government found themselves suddenly without orders, and the vast industrial fabric which had been erected during many years threatened to collapse. Therefore the Russian Minister of Finance not only endeavoured to create markets abroad for the tottering industries, but he had to try at the same time to keep these industries afloat at home by Government orders and by apparently illegal loans. The Controller of the State reported on these loans as follows:

> . . . All these advances have been made under special conditions which, properly speaking, were inadmissible under the statutes of the State Bank. Such loans not justified by the statutes amounted to about 41,000,000 roubles at the beginning of 1900, to 65,000,000 roubles in the following year, and to more than 100,000,000 in 1902. A further injurious effect of these industrial loans is that the representatives of the State Bank, entrusted with the surveillance of the enterprises for which they are made, assume a preponderant part in the management of the business, thus exercising two incompatible functions, namely, those of controllers and administrators. That proceeding led to undesirable results and much friction, especially when the subsidised enterprise, in spite of the assistance given to it, cannot be saved from bankruptcy.

If we now survey Russia's financial position by means of the facts and data given in the foregoing, it appears that the position is precarious and almost desperate, notwithstanding the enormous Budget and the splendid surpluses.

Now let us see how Russia has got into that desperate position. Owing to the geographical position of the country, Russia need fear no foreign attack. Nevertheless she chooses to maintain the largest army in the world and the third largest navy. Her alliance with France, which was concluded at a time when money was exceedingly cheap and plentiful in the money markets of the world, provided her with enormous funds at an unusually low rate of interest, and Russia, like a wasteful spendthrift, squandered the hundreds of millions which she obtained from France on unproductive objects, on objects which flattered her vanity, but which have ruined her. Thus she has during the last decade wasted her substance and mortgaged her future.

Russia's position is like that of a nobleman who has a large but utterly neglected estate and a house that is falling about his ears, who is deeply in debt, who pays one lender by borrowing from another, who sees his debts steadily mounting up towards the point at which ruin becomes unavoidable, and who desperately makes the most fantastic attempts at making money, hoping to disentangle himself. One of Russia's strange expedients for getting money was lately revealed in the *Times*. According to its extremely well-informed Pekin correspondent, Russia claimed after the Boxer rising from China an indemnity of 17,900,000*l.*, on the ground that she kept 179,000 soldiers in China at an expense of 100*l.* each. According to the Pekin correspondent of the *Times*, she kept in

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reality only 50,000 men in China, and the Russian Exchequer should thus have made a net profit of at least 12,900,000*l.* out of this transaction.

Of late years the supply of loanable money has for various reasons become scarce and dear in the various money centres of the world, and it would have been extremely difficult for Russia to provide for her ordinary peace expenditure, as she would not easily have been able to obtain those loans without which she can apparently not make both ends meet. Therefore it is not easy to see how Russia will be able to raise the funds necessary for carrying on the Japanese war, which will probably prove exceedingly costly, and how she will meet her current obligations, unless she should abandon her over-ambitious policy, which is beyond her financial strength, and disband her army and navy. However, such an event seems hardly likely.

Many of the best observers have for a long time past been of opinion that Russia is financially unable to conduct a great war. However, lack of money has never prevented a nation from going to war, for it may make up for its war expenses by repudiating its public debt. Whether Russia will meet her obligations in full remains to be seen. If she should be forced to repudiate or to compound with her foreign creditors, either because of the costliness of the present war or because the international money market can no longer supply Russia's insatiable financial requirements, it will be an evil day for the French nation. which has lent to Russia more than 300,000,000*l.*

Russia's financial collapse would probably mean the break up of the Dual Alliance, for in the first place the thrifty Frenchman is exceedingly sensitive when his pocket is touched, and in the second place Russia would have proved herself financially unable to be an efficient ally to France in case of war. Ample funds are, after all, sinews of war which are as indispensable as are armies and fleets.

O. ELTZBACHER.

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THE PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL CONCORDAT

A NONCONFORMIST REPLY

THE evidences of a growing desire on the part of all parties to effect an amicable settlement of the weary controversy over the education of our children fill the hearts of all earnest educationists with hope that, with wisdom and moderation on either side, the present deadlock may be soon removed. By none were the able articles of the Bishop of St. Asaph and Mr. Lathbury, in this Review for January, more cordially received than by the Nonconformists. They contain much with which they disagree, and the proposals are not altogether such as could be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of their grievances; but the tolerant spirit in which they were written, and the frank recognition that the present state of affairs constitutes a serious injustice, together with their valuable suggestions of a *modus vivendi*, have created the most favourable impression, and have revived their hopes that a way may yet be found to remove their grievances without inflicting any injustice on their opponents.

The universality of the opposition referred to by the Bishop of St. Asaph is the very best proof of its sincerity. It must be admitted that many have adopted a most extreme attitude in their hostility. This must, of course, be looked for among a certain section of the community in every agitation. What has surprised us, however, is the extent to which this attitude has been adopted by men who have always maintained the reputation for moderation. I have never been an advocate of the passive resistance movement in the form which it has assumed in England, because I believe that constitutional opposition is the only one worthy of the importance of the cause, and, in the long run, if carried out intelligently and wisely, the most likely to attain the object in view. I must, however, confess that the adoption of this method of opposition by so many of the leaders of the denominations—men who have always been famous for their law-abiding advocacy—and their determination to bear any penalty that the law can inflict upon them rather than bow to the unjust provisions of the Act, have come as a shock of surprise upon many of us.

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This is a strong proof that the principles involved are of greater importance than any that have been touched by any other legislative proposals in modern times.

That this position has arisen largely from the utterly irreconcilable attitude adopted by the Government and the Church party when the Bill was introduced, and during its passage through Parliament, cannot be denied. The supporters of the Bill were, as was frequently pointed out to them at the time, utterly ignorant of the deep and widespread hostility they were arousing in the country both by the nature of their proposals and their ruthless methods of procedure. The Bill itself was more reactionary in its provisions than the majority of Church people had ever thought possible. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his famous reply to a charge of inconsistency in supporting the Bill after his previous declaration that rate-aided denominational schools were impossible, admitted that he had never expected to find any Government bold enough to attempt to establish such a system. To what extent the bishops and their followers are responsible for these provisions is beside our present point, certain it is that the most sanguine among their ranks never dared to expect, a few years ago, that such proposals would ever come within the range of practical politics in this country. If, then, the Bill came as a pleasant surprise to the supporters of denominationalism, how much greater must have been the indignation of the supporters of the Board and undenominational system! Add to this the irritation caused by the refusal of the Government to give the people's representatives an opportunity of even discussing some of the most important parts of the Bill in the House of Commons, together with the doubtful methods which were adopted to stiffen its provisions, particularly in the Upper House, and the popular revolt is fully explained.

The attempts to administer the Act in those parts of the country where it has been already adopted have not tended to any modification of the popular hostility. It is not too much to say that the Board of Education have shown the most flagrant partiality in the manner in which they have used their prerogative since the Act was passed. Their attempts unduly to rush the Councils to administer the Act before they were given time to make the necessary arrangements; their insistence on altering schemes so as to include an undue proportion of co-opted members on the Education Committees; their attempts to hand over schools to the Church of England which had always been conducted as free parochial schools; their insertion of provisions in their draft final orders, for appointing clergymen *ex-officio* managers, and confining the selection of foundation managers to *bona-fide* members of the Church of England; their decisions as to endowments; and their ill-advised circulars to Voluntary Schools Associations, together with many other indiscretions, have been the means of greatly strengthening the opposition, and of driving many

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who had not previously taken a strong stand against the Act to join those who, from the outset, refused to accept it as a settlement of the question. I mention these factors not for controversial purposes, but to show how very difficult the policy of the present Government has made it to bring the opposing parties together, with a view to arriving at a settlement that might be acceptable to the most moderate section on either side. All will agree that it will be impossible, in present circumstances, to devise any scheme that will satisfy everybody. The extremists on each side will probably oppose every proposal but their own, so that if the matter is to be settled at all, it is inevitable that they must be left out of account. The difficulty, however, is that the longer the settlement is delayed the less likely are we to succeed in effecting one, and the more numerous will be the extremists of both parties. It is an undoubted fact that whilst a workable compromise might have been arrived at if both parties had met with that view eighteen months ago, the terms that would be accepted now, after all that has happened in the interim, would have to be very different.

But there are other factors in the controversy which must be considered before any successful attempt can be made to bring the parties together with a view to arriving at an acceptable agreement. It must be admitted that their experience of the compromise of 1870 is no encouragement to the Nonconformists to enter into another. As the Bishop of St. Asaph admits, the only surviving factor of that compromise at the present time is the Cowper-Temple Clause. Point after point has been dropped by the Church party during the last thirty years, and without the slightest regard to the views of the other party.

Each successive Conservative Government that has been in office since 1870 has taken a slice off the compromise. The Nonconformists as a body did not regard it with favour when it was first entered into, but they accepted it in all sincerity for the sake of peace and educational progress. The several points of the agreement were dropped so quietly and so insidiously that many of them were not conscious that this was being done. The Act of 1902, however, caused them to realise fully that they had been betrayed, for it made no pretence to safeguard their civil and religious rights. The controversy since the Bill was introduced has deepened this feeling, and I fear that it will be difficult to persuade the many of them to venture on another compromise.

The events of the last two years in connection with this question have done more: they have convinced many of those who have throughout maintained the necessity for simple Bible teaching in the schools that the only logical and workable solution of the difficulty is to banish all religious teaching from the schools. Personally, I should deplore the necessity for such a solution, and I am not without hope even now that some arrangement can be arrived at by which this can be avoided. But we must take the facts as they are. I must confess

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that I have not the same assurance as the Bishop of St. Asaph seems to have that 'the people of this country will not have a secular system of education.' I see signs around me on every hand that the feeling in favour of purely secular education is making rapid strides, and that the people are in a great number of cases becoming convinced that the Bishop's second proposition—viz. 'an efficient system of national education'—can never be obtained unless the cause of the strife which has so long retarded the achievement of this ideal is removed from the schools.

Neither does the attitude of superiority which the Church party have all along assumed in their dealings with, and their references to, Nonconformists, make for a settlement. The Bishop of St. Asaph in his article admits many of our grievances, and suggests such remedies for them as appear to him adequate. But even he, the most tolerant of his party, falls into this error—no doubt unconsciously. He speaks of the 'grievances' of Nonconformists, but of the 'claims' of the Church. We maintain that our claims for justice and fair play for our children, and civil and religious freedom for ourselves, are as much our rights as any claims that the Church can put forth. Nor can we admit that the Church has a monopoly of religion as has so frequently been implied during this controversy. We believe that we can prove that in all parts of the country the Free Church system and teaching has resulted in fostering lives as pure and as saintly as any that the Church of England can produce. Among Nonconformists as such, there is no deep-rooted intolerance towards the Church. We believe that in its Protestant purity it has in the past achieved magnificent results by its influences for good on the life of the people. But we do not believe that the Church has done all the good. We differ from Churchmen on what appear to us important points, but we concede to them the rights of their belief, and naturally expect the same concessions and respect from them in return. In other words, Nonconformists only contend for an equality in freedom of thought and privileges with members of the Church of England.

It is perfectly evident, even from the Bishop of St. Asaph's article—moderate and tolerant as it is—that the position of Nonconformists has not yet been grasped by the Church party, and until this is achieved no lasting compromise can possibly be arrived at. The Bishop attempts to defend the Nonconformists against the old sneer that they are inconsistent in their present opposition to rate-aid after so patiently and so long having tolerated tax-aided denominational schools. He gives as a reason for this that 'taxes are largely indirect, and therefore impersonal, miscellaneous in purpose, and centrally administered.' But this explanation only touches the fringe of the truth. The fact is that Nonconformists, as a body, never did agree to the system of tax-aided denominationalism in schools any more than they believe in an Established Church supported by public

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money. It is true that they accepted the Act of 1870, but it was on the clear understanding at the time that religious instruction in all State-aided schools was not to be one of the grant-earning subjects, and would therefore be outside the region of tax-aid. The absence of any child from religious instruction was not to be the means of his forfeiting the share earned by him of the Parliamentary grant, and it was a distinct part of the compromise that the Church was not only to provide the buildings and keep them in repair, but also to contribute half the cost of the secular instruction in return for the privilege of teaching its distinctive tenets to the children of parents who did not object to such teaching. This arrangement on the part of the Church only lasted six years, after which it was gradually dropped by successive legislation, until, in 1897, it completely vanished. The Nonconformists, however, observed their part of the compromise, and quietly paid, because, although they realised to some extent that they had been betrayed, they were not willing to disturb the education of the children, nor to be guilty of breaking an agreement solemnly entered into on their behalf in 1870. But since the present Act seeks to levy a direct rate upon them for the support of denominationalism, in addition to legalising the infraction of the compromise without as much as consulting them, they naturally regard themselves as being unjustly dealt with, and their long pent-up feelings of dissatisfaction assert themselves.

These being the facts, it is decidedly ungenerous on the part of the denominational party to raise this argument against the Nonconformist protest. It is also equally unfair to attempt to discriminate between rates and taxes for the purpose of showing that the cry for public control is an unreal one. The lack of appreciating the facts has led the supporters of denominational schools to assume that the public are not entitled to control in respect of the amounts contributed to the support of these schools from Imperial taxation. They admit that they have some sort of a right in proportion to the amount they contribute directly by means of local rates. This is placed by the Bishop of St. Asaph at one-twelfth of the whole, the assumption being that, since the Act of 1902 gives the public one-third of the management, they have much more than they are fairly entitled to. He further admits that the State contributes two-thirds of the cost in respect of which he denies the right to public control. We, however, refuse to accept this distinction. The taxpayers and the ratepayers are the same people. A distinction is also made between 'public control'—which is treated as the control of his Majesty's Inspectors—and 'local public control.' His Majesty's Inspector is, however, only concerned with the efficiency of the school and the secular instruction imparted therein. In no sense does he control the spending of money, neither is he responsible to the paying public for any extravagant or improper disbursements. All the public money

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that he ever sees is his salary. In practice there is no recognised distinction in this country between 'public control' and 'local public control' except in the case of denominationalism. In civil matters all Imperial money spent for local purposes is accompanied by local control. This principle is conceded in the Act of 1870, and the various Local Government Acts that have been passed since then, except in the solitary case of Voluntary schools. In the case of School Boards the grants from Imperial sources were paid to the representatives of the public in the locality in which they were to be administered, and this is the case in respect of the Whisky money and other Imperial contributions for local purposes, to County and other Councils. Why should this difference be allowed in the case of Voluntary schools? The fact that this unjust anomaly has to some extent been tolerated for more than thirty years only proves that the time has now come when it should be removed.

Assuming the correctness of the Bishop of St. Asaph's figures, then, since the public contribute three-fourths of the cost of Voluntary schools from Imperial and local sources—as a matter of fact they do contribute, on a liberal estimate, more than four-fifths, but let that pass for the moment—it follows that they are on his own showing entitled to that proportion of control. But the Act of 1902 bids them be content with one-third, and that under conditions which deny them any real voice in the management of the schools. On the other hand, it practically allows the foundation managers (under totally inadequate supervision by the Education Committee) a free hand as to the local expenditure of money which is derived from the public purse. But if *public* control of such money is unfair, *private* control must be much more so. Nonconformists do not claim public control as a favour. They simply claim that the ratepayers and taxpayers shall have complete control of the money contributed by them towards educational administration, and that on the ground of 'financial equity.'

Neither is the position of Nonconformists regarding religious tests on teachers fairly treated. The Bishop of St. Asaph quotes the figures—to his credit be it said—rather more favourably to the Nonconformist position than the facts warrant, for he includes the teachers in undenominational Voluntary schools among those on whom tests are imposed. But, though he is actuated by a laudable desire to be fair, what he admits is only what is palpable to all who have studied the question. The figures given are those of the Government Blue-books, and although the fact that nearly two out of every three of the elementary head-teacherships of the country are permanently closed to all Nonconformists has been officially announced year by year, the Church party not only acquiesced, but urged the Government by every means in their power to regard these posts as part of the Civil Service, not only without removing the tests, but accom-

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panied by additional safeguards to their perpetuation. The Bishop gives the figures without comment. The statement of the fact in that form is perhaps something to be thankful for, but a frank admission that this is not only a grievance but an intolerable injustice, which must be removed, would have done much to bring about a disposition on the part of the Nonconformists to enter into an agreement.

The fact is that this is one of the most potent weapons wielded by the Church to proselytise Nonconformist children, especially in the rural districts. There are more than 7,000 districts in England and Wales without any but denominational schools, and the headship of these is exclusively confined to teachers who adopt the religious views of the Church of England. Among the children attending them a large number are those of Nonconformist parents of the labouring classes. I know of many denominational schools in Wales where more than 95 per cent. of the children are such. Many of them are especially bright, and their parents are anxious that they should have opportunities to improve their worldly position by a better education. In these rural districts the only chance that presents itself for this is to enter the teaching profession. If taken on as pupil-teachers, they would be an acquisition to the schools, but the only condition on which this could have been possible in the past was that they gave up the faith of their fathers, and adopted that of the Established Church. Their parents conscientiously dissent from these tenets, and in many cases have adhered to their own conscientious views, even to the detriment of their worldly position. What were they to do? In some cases they gave way rather than retard the advancement of their child, and the parents and child are henceforth divided, one attending the chapel as a matter of conscience, and the other becoming a Churchman for worldly gain. The child is taught that his father is a heretic, and the father, in his heart, cannot forgive himself for allowing his boy's supposed mundane progress to override his duty towards him in a spiritual sense. The effect on the character and peace of mind of both cannot be considered satisfactory, and the religious benefit to either is a very doubtful one. In the majority of cases the parents, however, resist the pressure thus brought to bear upon them, and prefer seeing their children deprived of the possibility of entering an honourable profession to the betrayal of the principles which they regard as so precious. These principles are more dear to many Nonconformists than anything else in life, and they believe implicitly that upon their adherence to them depends their eternal welfare, and that to encourage their children to renounce them for any object would be the greatest sin. Why, then, should they be deprived of the pleasure of seeing their children rise above their own hard lot in life because of their honest adherence to their conscientious convictions? Is not this a form of the most unjust religious persecution that has ever disgraced the history of any civilised

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community? It is a denial of civil rights to law-abiding citizens who refuse to violate their conscience at the dictation of the State Church.

I am not unmindful of the provision in the Act of 1902 which gives the managers the option of appointing Nonconformists to the position of assistant teachers in denominational schools, nor of the other provision which gives the local education authorities the right of selecting pupil-teachers when there are more applicants than vacancies. But experience and a careful consideration of these supposed boons show that they are only paper concessions, and that they are of little or no value in actual practice. The first savours of a desire to allure young men and maidens to enter the profession in the vague hope that an opening may later on be found for them in a provided school where no tests are imposed. It is, however, a well-known fact that this hope cannot possibly be realised by the great majority of them. Provided schools are open to all sects, and there are quite as many Churchmen employed in them as there are Nonconformists. Moreover, preference is always given—and naturally so—to children educated in these schools when appointments are made on their staff, so that any Nonconformist teacher who may have spent his earlier years in a denominational school would be doubly handicapped and his chances for a headship would be very remote. Add to this the fact that, however bright and capable he might be, he would, in every denominational school, be marked with a perpetual brand of inferiority owing to his religious views, and the injustice will be apparent.

But there are more serious objections to this provision from a Nonconformist point of view. Experience shows that managers are very unlikely to avail themselves of the option offered them by the Act. If Church assistant teachers possessing anything approaching the necessary qualifications can be secured, we may rest assured that they will invariably be given preference over Nonconformists. This would result in convincing many that they had no alternative but to renounce their Nonconformity and accept the tests imposed upon them, or give up the teaching profession as their life-work, and this after devoting the best years of their life to training for the pursuit. They would realise that their acceptance of Church doctrines would not be a hindrance to preferment even in provided schools; on the contrary, it is notorious that many local education authorities as at present constituted would regard it as an additional qualification, whilst it is the *sine qua non* for denominational schools. This provision is, therefore, a still stronger incentive to enforced proselytisation than the old system. Under the latter parents clearly foresaw at the outset that it would be necessary for their children, in order to become teachers, to adopt the test imposed. They had the advantage of choosing between this course and placing their children in some other, if inferior, position in life. And although this was frequently a great

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hardship, they were able to choose with their eyes open. But under the new system, they are enticed to an arrangement by which their children are allowed to retain their Nonconformist principles for a few years, but when they have completed their training, and seriously handicapped themselves for any other pursuit, these principles bar their way to further progress, and the pressure of necessity is brought to bear upon them to renounce them, and reluctantly to subscribe to tests that are repugnant to their conscience.

The other provision, which gives the local education authority the right of selection when there are a multitude of candidates for pupil-teachership, requires no comment. Such cases are never likely to occur, for the obvious reason that managers will not admit that there are more than the required number of candidates eligible for the positions. On these and other grounds Nonconformists hold that they are entitled, as citizens, to an educational system under complete public control, and entirely free from denominational tests. They regard these principles as the inalienable rights of the citizens of a free country.

The Bishop of St. Asaph professes himself willing to concede these two points, and to settle this controversy on that basis. But he proceeds to insist on the imposition of conditions which completely nullify the concessions. Facilities for denominational teaching in school hours, though it be only on one day a week, are quite inconsistent with complete public control, and even more so with the abolition of tests for teachers. Their provision is nothing more or less than legalising the extension of denominational preference to all the schools of the land, and if the teachers—as he seems to imply—are to be asked to impart that instruction, it must inevitably result eventually in the imposition of tests—in practice, if not by law—in every class of schools. These provisions could never be acceptable to Nonconformists, and legislation on these bases would only prolong and embitter the controversy. Such demands are based not only on an inaccurate impression of the claims of Nonconformists, but on an exaggerated view of the claims of the Church.

The Bishop, in stating the latter, falls into the common error of confusing Voluntaryism with denominationalism in our public elementary system. It is quite correct to state that 'elementary education in this country first began with voluntary effort.' But the Voluntary schools which were the foundation of our system were undenominational. They owe their inception to the efforts of Joseph Lancaster in the early part of last century. His system of monitorial instruction developed into the British and Foreign School Society, which was established on undenominational lines in 1809. The first committee consisted of men of all religious creeds and opinions, who were actuated by the sole desire of multiplying educational facilities. No sooner was it established, however, than the sectarian spirit was

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developed, and within two years all the members of the committee who were associated with the extreme section of the Church of England withdrew, and established the 'National Society for the instruction of the children of the poor in the principles of the Established Church.' At first the objects of this Society were frankly denominational. It was a question not of general educational progress, but of capturing the children for the Church. Denominationalism came first, and the education of the children was to be used as the means of bringing them under its influence. From the very earliest times the Church has arrogated to itself the right of regulating and controlling the educational agencies of the country, and has consistently opposed all attempts on the part of the State to make adequate provisions for secular instruction. The Voluntary system would never have taken root in this country, and been allowed to retard educational progress to the extent that it has done, had the bishops not used their votes and influence to cause the House of Lords, in 1807, to reject Whitehead's Bill for rate-aided education, after it had passed through the House of Commons. The same opposition on the part of the Church has shown itself to every popularly conceived proposal brought forward since, and the growth of the Voluntary system can only be attributed to the intense desire that has existed in this country throughout the last century for educational facilities, and the fact that denominational schools were the only agencies which were allowed to hold the field and enable that end to be attained. Even the Act of 1870 was marred by this preferential treatment. Opportunities and encouragements were offered to the Church to extend its exclusive control of education, and Board schools were only established in districts where the Church failed to accomplish this; and the Act of 1902 is an admission of the failure of the Voluntary system, and a further attempt to extend the influence of the Church at the expense of the State. On a sober consideration of the facts, it is difficult to conceive how the Church can base its claim for facilities to teach its tenets on the ground of past sacrifices on behalf of popular education. The fact is that popular education has for a whole century been sacrificed in the interests of Church aggrandisement. Has not the time come when a system which is an obvious failure should stand aside in order that national interests shall become paramount?

The other ground on which this claim is made is that of religious toleration and equality. It sounds strange to Nonconformist ears to hear themselves charged with having 'no intention of countenancing a universal toleration,' and to be told that 'nothing can satisfy them, unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's conscience, to pinch them there,' when this 'universal toleration' has all along been what they have contended, sacrificed, and suffered for. Their forefathers left the Established Church for the sake of this, and for a whole century their descendants have silently and patiently waited

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for its dawn. The educational system of this country has been marred by its absence, and the material progress of the race has been seriously retarded by the narrow intolerance of the dominant sect. 'Universal toleration' presupposes equality of rights and privileges to all classes of the community. It is inconsistent with the preferential treatment of one denomination at the expense of the others, either in respect of privileges or emoluments. It makes full allowance for the conscientious scruples of every individual, respects honest adherence to cherished beliefs, and permits complete freedom to act in accordance with such beliefs. It does not take up the position of arrogant assumptions that a particular form of creed or ritual must be right, and that, therefore, all other forms must be overpowered by force, and the misguided individuals who have adopted them be compelled to renounce them in favour of the traditional formulæ, even though their conscience rebel against such compulsion. The whole existence of Nonconformity is a protest against intolerance in every form, and our whole strength has been exerted all through our history to remove the pressure of that intolerant 'finger' from our brethren's conscience and our own, and to relieve the pinch. Hence our protest against the Education Act of 1902, which we feel to be an attempt to tighten the pressure and to make the pinch more unbearable. That our action should be described as 'intolerant' is, indeed, a strange irony of the situation.

This charge is based on the refusal of Nonconformists to consent to the payment of rates in support of the teaching of the distinctive tenets of one denomination to their own and other people's children. But this surely is not intolerance. Is not the attempt to enforce this upon us more accurately described by that term? There is no Nonconformist in the land who would deny to the Church the right to instruct its own children in its own doctrines, in its own time, at its own expense, and by means of its own machinery. What is objected to is the attempt to do this during the hours set apart for other pursuits, at the expense of the public, and by means of machinery designed for other purposes. Nonconformists have never attempted to obtain this for themselves, and it would be contrary to their principles of 'universal toleration' were they to do so. They only ask for the same privileges of equality in this matter that they are willing to give to others.

This principle was conceded to some extent by the Act of 1870 in the School Board system. These schools were not, as is frequently alleged, a gift to Nonconformists only. They were intended at first to make up the deficiency in educational facilities which the Voluntary system failed to supply, and only in those districts where such deficiency existed. No such school could be established to meet the wants of Nonconformists if the Church schools had sufficient accommodation for the children of the district, whatever their creed. The

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Cowper-Temple Clause was applied to these schools not in order to provide a religious instruction 'after the heart of the Nonconformists,' but because it was admitted that no preference should on principle be extended to any particular denomination in a school wholly supported by public funds. By granting to each district the right of regulating the religious instruction from which all denominational bias was excluded all sects were placed on an equality. It is generally conceded that the Bible is the basis of all Christian, or at all events of all Protestant, doctrine. The distinctive denominations give different interpretations to Bible truths, but that is their business, and not that of the State, in a land where opinions on these points assume such a variety of forms. The Church party accepted this view, and cheerfully sent their children to the Board schools in those districts where they were established, and there has never been a single complaint during the thirty-three years that this system was in vogue that any Church child was placed at a disadvantage in these schools. Had the Church continued to pay the share of the cost agreed upon in 1870, in return for the privilege of teaching its distinctive doctrines in the schools which it provided, Nonconformists would not complain even now. But it certainly does appear unjust that because Nonconformists claim equality of treatment in schools which are supported by public funds, they should be charged with intolerance. We deny that Board schools as such were Nonconformist schools or that the religious instruction imparted therein was Nonconformist religion.

For Nonconformity is not a denomination, but a number of sects which differ from one another in doctrine and Church government as greatly as they differ from the Church of England. The only thing they have in common is their refusal to conform to the Established Church. But each denomination refuses with as much zeal and determination to conform to the teaching of the others on points that they consider of great importance. They, however, consider that they have a common basis of Christianity, not only with one another, but also with the Church of England, in the simple teaching of the Bible. They agree that as long as the religious instruction of the day school goes no further in the direction of the views of any denominations than this accepted basis, there can be no cause for complaint. They have adhered to this arrangement as far as publicly supported schools were concerned ever since 1870. Their distinctive tenets they have assiduously taught to their own children out of school hours, at their own expense. For this purpose classes are held in connection with most chapels during the week nights, in addition to the ordinary facilities of the Sunday schools, and are attended by the children, and every denomination holds annual examinations to test the progress made in such classes. During a ten years' experience as a Nonconformist minister, I have regularly devoted three evenings a week for eight months of the year to the instruction of the young, and I can

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testify that this is done by nearly all Nonconformist ministers, and with good results. We value greatly the religious instruction given in day schools, but we realise that it is altogether inadequate for denominational purposes, and cheerfully give the necessary time to supplying the deficiency. Board school religion is described by denominationalists as inadequate, because it is negative. But it is no more negative in relation to the Church of England than it is in relation to the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Wesleyans, or the Presbyterians. They are all on the same ground, and if they want their children taught in their own positive creeds, the only fair thing for them to do is to adopt some such methods as the above. There are ample opportunities for hard-working, conscientious, and earnest clergymen and ministers of all denominations to teach 'their own children in their own faith' without encroaching on each other's rights, or extending exclusive preference to any sect. The Nonconformists are willing to abide by this principle. Why cannot the Church do the same?

But I have reasons for knowing that the Nonconformists would be willing, in order to put an end to the dispute, to go much further than this, and to agree to facilities being given for unrestricted religious teaching by the denominations at their own expense in all schools outside of school hours on one or two days a week—religious instruction on the basis of the London syllabus being given on the remaining days. This would, however, be subject to the concession of public control, abolition of tests for teachers, and adequate guarantees that these conditions would be strictly adhered to in respect of all schools. The Bishop of St. Asaph implies that the representatives of the Welsh Councils were willing in March 1903 to agree to unrestricted facilities in all schools during school hours. There is evidently a serious misapprehension on this point. Such an agreement would be totally at variance with the universal convictions of those whom they represented, and would be giving away the very principle for which they themselves had been fighting all along. I am, moreover, authorised by Mr. Lloyd-George to state positively that the utmost that the representatives of the Councils offered was facilities for unrestricted religious instruction on certain days *outside* school hours, and in this he is corroborated by every member of the committee whom I have had an opportunity of consulting. In proof of this he adduces the fact that both the Bishop of St. Asaph and himself consulted the officials of the Board of Education, and were distinctly told that this was the utmost that the law would allow; but that, in order to settle the matter, no objection would be raised by the Board to the school hours being so arranged as to enable this suggestion to be carried out without interfering with the hours of secular instruction. Although many things have happened during the past twelve months to complicate matters, and to accentuate the differences between the parties, I believe that

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a settlement on these lines would be cordially welcomed even now, by many devoted Churchmen, and by the majority of Nonconformists. No agreement which went further than this would, however, be entertained for one moment. Inside denominational facilities would be inconsistent with both public control and the abolition of tests, and all the children would be compelled to attend such instruction unless they claimed the Conscience Clause—an act which frequently places those claiming it in an invidious and unbearable position. If it is only their own children that the Church of England desire to teach in their own faith, why are they so anxious to obtain these facilities during the hours of the compulsory attendance of all children? If, on the other hand, it is the moral and religious welfare of the rising generation that they have so much at heart, why cannot they accept the religious syllabus of the London School Board for all children and supplement its denominational deficiency to meet the wants of their own children, outside school hours? They might have the reasonable use of all the school buildings for this purpose. According to the Bishop's admission this syllabus covers four-fifths of the religious instruction required even by a Church child, and the deficiency could be supplied in from half an hour to three-quarters a week. This being so the difficulty cannot be a very great one, and for the sake of peace and of the educational progress on which the future of our Empire so much depends, surely this small concession might be made by the Church party. This is the only difference between the points of agreement put forth by the Bishop of St. Asaph and those which I believe would be acceptable to Nonconformists. To the latter it is of vital importance, but is it of such importance to the Church party as to warrant them in risking the welfare of the coming generation for its sake?

To this proposal there are only two alternatives. The one is the secularisation of the schools, and much as I should deplore this I fear that, unless some settlement is arrived at soon, public opinion will have none other. The other is the Scotch system. Personally I would, as a compromise, accept its extension to England and Wales. It provides the only complete public control possible. Each locality decides for itself what the nature of the religious instruction in the schools shall be, and an effective Conscience Clause protects the minority. But the total abolition of tests would even then be difficult. Still it would be better than the present position, and in no case would an insignificant minority impose grievous burdens on the majority. The will of the people would be supreme, and democratic principles would triumph. Taxation and representation would go together, and there would be complete control by the ratepayers. This settlement could not, however, be a permanent one, because the same conditions do not exist in England as we find in Scotland.

Nonconformists are weary of this conflict. It was not they who

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initiated it, it was forced upon them against their will. They only entered the fray when they discovered that their most cherished principles were being assailed, and their inalienable rights being taken away from them. They have done everything possible to evade the conflict. In Parliament, in the country, by conferences and correspondence and offers of concordats, their desires were made known time after time, but they remained unheeded. Even now many of them cherish the hope that some method of settlement may be arrived at. Unless this is achieved, the conflict must continue, and the bitterness will increase, with what amount of loss to the country, both materially and spiritually, no man can tell.

JOHN HUGHES.

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SIR GEORGE COLLEY IN SOUTH AFRICA

MR. MORLEY'S CHAPTER ON MAJUBA

Iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur.—TACITUS.

[Most unjust is this rule of war: in success all claim the credit, in adversity one man bears the blame.]

As for his [Lord C.'s] support, I shall have it if I am successful, and if I am not, that alone will vex me so much that the displeasure of a minister more or less will be of little importance to me.—*Diary of Sir John Moore*, vol. ii. p. 273.

IN the third volume of Mr. Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (published October, 1903) will be found a chapter entitled 'Majuba.' It is written in defence of Mr. Gladstone's South African policy in 1881, and follows Mr. Gladstone's own argument in the debate in the Commons in July of the same year: that Sir George Colley's military operations were neither authorised by the Government nor rendered necessary by the Boer revolt, but were on the contrary undertaken rashly and unjustifiably by the British general. It ought to have been possible to shield Mr. Gladstone's memory without doing this injustice to Sir George Colley, and had such a course been taken the present article need not have been written. In fairness to Sir George, it has now become necessary to record briefly the course of events during his command in South Africa. In taking this step I have no present intention of trying to affect the judgment of men upon the loss of Majuba Hill.

Sir George Pomeroy-Colley was serving in India when the appointment in South Africa was offered to him by the Conservative Government of Mr. Disraeli. He succeeded Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor of Natal, High Commissioner of South East Africa, and Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Natal and the Transvaal. Before he left England to take up the post the general election of 1880 placed the Liberals in power. Mr. Gladstone's Government, however, confirmed the appointment, and Sir George sailed for South Africa at the end of May. The third paragraph of his Letter of Instructions from Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, refers to.

a commission empowering you to assume the Government of the Transvaal in the event of your finding it necessary, either as the officer commanding her Majesty's troops, or in connection with native difficulties, to make any pro-

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longed stay in that province. But in the absence of any *such special causes* it has been thought desirable to leave in the hands of Sir O. Lanyon the administration of the Transvaal which he has proved himself so well qualified to hold; and your commission to administer the Government of that province will therefore be a *dormant* one, only to be brought into operation on the occurrence of an *emergency such as I have mentioned.*[1]

It will be observed that this paragraph defines very carefully the only circumstances in which Sir George Colley was empowered to assume the control of the Transvaal, namely, in the event of finding it necessary, either as the officer commanding her Majesty's troops, or in connection with native difficulties, to make any prolonged stay in that province. Consequently, until the British rule was annulled by the outbreak of rebellion, the administration of that province remained in the hands of Sir O. Lanyon, and Sir George Colley was dependent on him for all official information on Transvaal matters.

It should be clearly understood—though this is by no means distinctly explained by Mr. Morley in describing the 'folly' and shortsightedness imputed by him to the administration of the Transvaal—that for the mistakes and omissions, whatever they may have been, of that time, Sir George Colley cannot be held responsible.

Mr. Morley considers that the Boer revolt of 1880 ought to have been foreseen. In support of his own view he quotes a warning written by Sir Garnet Wolseley in October 1879, as to the serious condition of the Transvaal. But he does not mention that a few months later, just before the 1880 elections put the Liberals in office, Sir Garnet, then on the point of leaving South Africa, wrote officially in an opposite sense (April 10):

In my despatch of the 2nd ultimo, I informed you that, in my belief, there was a growing desire among the Boers of the Transvaal for the conclusion of the agitation against British government in that province. . . . Reports from all quarters of the Transvaal sustain the opinion that the people . . . have determined to renounce all further disturbing action. Taxes are being paid, and the revenue of the country so long disturbed, and in part suspended, is flowing in steadily in its natural course.

I believe that, with the check which has thus been imposed upon the organisation of discontent, a foundation has been laid for the administration of affairs in the Transvaal, upon which there may be built, with the aid of time, a fabric of government in furtherance of the prosperity of the people, and in unison with their sympathies and their wishes.

These opinions were also held and repeated up to the very date of the outbreak by Sir O. Lanyon, who states very fair grounds for his belief that the rising was unexpected even by the people themselves.[2] No doubt Sir Garnet Wolseley's conclusions carried due weight both with the Home Government and with Sir George Colley. Yet Mr. Morley can hardly intend to include 'this eminent soldier' (as he happily calls Sir Garnet) amongst the 'blind guides' whose optimistic reports he treats with bitter contempt.

[1] Italics are mine.

[2] C. 2959, p. 26.

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Upon this reassuring information the Government proceeded to reduce their military expenses.[3] As a matter of fact only one regiment (the K.D.G.'s) was withdrawn from the command after Sir George's arrival (July 1880). This reduction was carried out under orders from home, although the despatches on the subject, acknowledged by Sir George, are not in the Blue Books. Military retrenchment was no doubt desired by the Government because it implied that the Transvaal was pacific, and thus provided an effective answer to the only political attack they feared—the attack from within their own ranks. But the change of Government at home had changed the current of affairs in the Transvaal. For the Boers had built hopes of restored independence on the protests against annexation which the Liberal leaders had made in Opposition. When, therefore, on the 20th of May, Mr. Gladstone's Government announced that the Province would be retained, the Boer Committee, though bitterly disappointed, were yet certain of sympathy from within the Government. The attitude of the Liberal Party—represented in the press by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then under the able editorship of Mr. Morley—promoted, however unintentionally, a spirit of revolt in the Transvaal, and increased the difficulties with which Sir George Colley had to contend.

Another event which was certain to foment disturbance in the Transvaal was the outbreak of the Basuto War. In all likelihood it was this conflagration in Cape Colony that consumed the last hope of peaceful arrangement.

I am afraid [writes Sir George (Nov. 29) in an unprinted letter to the Secretary of State] matters in the Transvaal are not looking as well as one could wish, though, considering the number of persons who are preaching to the Boers, directly or indirectly, that this Basuto war and rising throughout the Cape should be their opportunity, one can hardly be surprised at an access of agitation.

Sir George's apprehensions were exactly fulfilled. The Boer delegates had (as they wrote to Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., on the 26th of June) 'done their duty' at Capetown, and destroyed by 'legitimate means' the proposals for a conference on Confederation. When they got home they resolved to seize the favourable moment for actual revolt. Secret preparation was easy because there was no organised police force in the Transvaal, no means of rapid information or of protecting the more loyal population against compulsion to join the insurgents. However, about the middle of November signs of disturbance became obvious. On the 25th of November Sir O. Lanyon, who in October was still 'very confident of the attitude of the Boers,' suddenly telegraphed to Sir George for troops. This unexpected demand emphasised the difficulties with which Sir George had to contend, a fact recognised at the time by the Government at home. Lord Kimberley wrote to Mr. Childers (December 20):

[3] See *Life of Childers*, ii. p. 7.

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Colley will require all his present force to cope with the Boers; and the state of affairs in Basutoland and the Transkei territories requires that troops should be left in Natal to protect the border.

I have full confidence in Colley; but we ought to give him the means of prompt and efficient action. It will be a terrible disaster if Natal should become disturbed, and Colley's last letter to me states that there are symptoms of sympathy between the Natal natives and the Basutos. Some of the Natal natives had crossed the border to join the rebels.

A Boer mass meeting had been called for January 1881. But in the first week of December 1880, Sir George learned that it was suddenly summoned for an early date in December. In the following week the rebellion was organised and about to break out. On the 16th December the Boers, having occupied Heidelberg, formally proclaimed the republic and issued a manifesto purporting to place the country under martial law. The following day the newly elected Triumvirate (Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert) sent an ultimatum to Sir O. Lanyon at Pretoria which concluded with these words: 'We expect your answer within twice twenty-four hours.'

Suddenly therefore, and without warning, Sir George Colley found himself face to face with a serious rebellion and with no adequate force to meet it. Up to this point no emergency had arisen which, under the letter of his instructions, would have justified his interfering with Sir O. Lanyon in the Transvaal. The outbreak of revolt enlarged his responsibilities. He was thenceforward bound to regard his dormant instructions as operative.

His first object was to concentrate his small force. When the news reached Sir George (Dec. 19) the native trouble on the western border of Natal had been more or less quelled, and he had already prepared to send up most of the Natal garrison.

The bulk of these forces will accordingly march to-morrow [he writes the same day], and the whole should be assembled at Standerton about the 20th proximo. I am not yet in a position to form an opinion upon the political aspect of the situation, but your Lordship may rely upon my using every possible endeavour to avoid bloodshed.

By the same mail he writes again: 'What I am most anxious about is that no collision should be accidentally brought about.' With this view he telegraphed to Sir O. Lanyon to avoid any movement of troops 'which could possibly bring about a collision'; and he halted at Standerton the companies already sent forward. Unfortunately the Boers showed no such desire to avoid bloodshed. 'Without waiting for a reply to their communication,' writes Sir O. Lanyon, they had 'taken steps to intercept and destroy' a detachment of the 94th Regiment, under Colonel Anstruther. This detachment, believed to be already at Pretoria, had been delayed by bad roads and flooded rivers, and was still on the march from Lydenburg. It is not necessary to repeat in detail the account of the

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slaughter of this force at Bronkerspruit on the 20th of December.[4] A minute by the Administrator in Council thus sums up the affair:

> The surrounding and gradual hemming-in under a flag of truce of a force, and the selection of spots from which to direct their fire, as in the case of the unprovoked attack by the rebels upon Colonel Anstruther's force, is a proceeding of which very few like incidents can be mentioned in the annals of civilised warfare.

Mr. Morley makes no mention of this incident, except by a passing allusion (in a footnote upon another subject) to 'the news that a detachment of the 94th had been cut off'—a casual mention which altogether throws into the background the character and circumstances of the attack. To pass over in this way such prominent events, out of which the war directly arose, is hardly just or candid. As a consequence, no adequate understanding can be obtained from Mr. Morley's narrative of the predicament in which Sir George Colley was placed by the attack upon the 94th and the investment of our garrisons. The Boers, by sudden violence, had brought about inevitable war; and Sir George, in reporting the attack, recognised the fact. His telegram (Dec. 24) concludes with these words: 'This will materially alter situation, as encouraging Boers, who will now feel themselves committed.'

Having regard to the argument adopted by Mr. Morley—that Sir George Colley's measures diverged from the spirit of his instructions—the decisions of the Government upon the outbreak of rebellion must be particularly observed. They are summarised in the words of the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament on the 6th of January, 1881:

> A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives which I had been desirous to confer.

In accordance with this decision Sir George is ordered, early in January, to make use of his dormant commission, and 'assume the government of the Transvaal immediately on entering the Province, taking the oaths of allegiance and office in the most formal manner possible'; and Lord Kimberley, in an unprinted letter (Dec. 30), writes to Sir George that reinforcements have been promptly ordered out, and that 'every support which may be necessary to re-establish the Queen's authority in the Province' will be given to him. Again on the 20th of January he writes of the 'plain duty' which 'must be discharged before we can consider any future

[4] Force, 255; killed, 57; wounded, 100. The eight officers were at once picked off; four, including the colonel, died. The Boers greatly outnumbered our men. C. 2866, pp. 143–45.

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arrangements, namely, to relieve our garrisons and vindicate the Queen's authority against the armed forces which have attacked it.'

This determination to maintain the Queen's authority in the Transvaal—a determination which during Sir George Colley's life was never disavowed by the Government—must be borne in mind. Throughout the campaign it dictated the sense in which Sir George was obliged to read every instruction he received. In these circumstances he was bound to advance.

The road through Natal to the Transvaal was full of difficulty, and risks of ambush and incursion had to be guarded against. On the 20th of January, however, the little Natal garrison was successfully concentrated at Newcastle, about twenty miles from the position already occupied by the Boers at Laing's Nek within the borders of Natal. Mr. Morley describes what ensued in these words:

> Colley, on Jan. 23, had written to Joubert, calling on the Boer leaders to disperse, informing them that large forces were already arriving from England and India, and assuring them that if they would dismiss their followers he would forward to London any statement of their grievances. It would have been a great deal more sensible to wait for an answer.[5] Instead of waiting for an answer Colley attacked (Jan. 28) and was beaten back—the whole proceeding a rehearsal of a still more disastrous error a month later.

In his summary of Sir George's letter Mr. Morley omits to notice that, in calling on the Boer leaders to disperse, Sir George had required that they should 'submit to her Majesty's authority, which it is my duty to vindicate and maintain.' He, moreover, makes no allusion to the fact that the Boers were in actual occupation of Natal territory, entrenched at Laing's Nek and making it the base for further aggressive movements. Finally, he does not mention that the delay of five days was ample for a reply which might have been given in five hours. Yet it can be hardly contended that a commander confronting an enemy, which had invaded a territory entrusted to his protection, should sit indefinitely waiting for a reply while that enemy was rapidly acquiring fresh strength.

Sir George's reasons for the advance against Laing's Nek may be given in the words of his despatch (Feb. 1):

> The column thus formed was small in numbers, and somewhat heterogeneous in composition. But no further reinforcements could reach me for at least three weeks; and having regard to the effect of such delay on Pretoria, where the loyal population has had to take refuge in the camp, and is undergoing all the miseries of a close siege, and on Potchefstroom, where the garrison is scantily supplied, and can scarcely hold out much longer, I decided to move forward at once with the force at my disposal.

He had already written to Lord Kimberley in January: 'Our continued inaction is doing harm in the country.' Accordingly

[5] The answer when it did come, more than a fortnight after the action, stated that the Boers were 'unable to satisfy' Sir George Colley's demands.

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Sir George decided on attacking the Boer position. The attack failed—as so many subsequent attacks, made with far larger forces upon Boer positions, failed in the second war. The fact of that failure does not, in the opinion of many good judges, prove that the attempt was in itself an error. Lord Wolseley and Sir Frederick Maurice have always held with Sir George's decision. In support of this I give the following extracts from an unpublished paper written in 1881 by Sir Frederick Maurice. 'Sir George missed success on that occasion,' wrote General Maurice, 'by just one of those incidents which a slightly larger force would have enabled him to repair.' Further on Sir Frederick justifies the motives of the advance:

> Sir George knew that the garrison of Potchefstroom would put forward every effort and make every sacrifice, relying upon that understanding which has hitherto always subsisted among English soldiers that every nerve would be strained for their relief. . . . He never counted upon any very brilliant success, but made his move upon the sole calculation that in any case his advance would 'relieve the pressure' upon Potchefstroom and the other garrisons. That it undoubtedly did; for we now know positively that the Boers reduced to a minimum the forces besieging the several garrisons in order to meet their active assailants. The same necessity for activity in order to play the part he had chosen determined the action at the Ingogo.

There was now no question of advance till reinforcements reached the front, but the General held his position at Mount Prospect. This kept the attention of the Boer leaders engaged, and they dared not weaken seriously their force at the Nek for use in other directions. In the meantime, on the 8th of February an action occurred near the Ingogo river, midway between Mount Prospect and Newcastle. Although the action entailed serious loss it preserved Sir George's communications with his base at Newcastle, which the Boers had menaced, and freed the Colony from the danger of raids. On the 17th of February the first column of reinforcements, mainly composed of troops from India, reached Newcastle without opposition. The period of danger to our Colony was now over, the opportunity for fresh operations was approaching.[6]

Up to this point Sir George Colley's bold and energetic strategy had so effectively relieved the pressure on our garrisons that the Boers failed to take any one of our posts. His vigorous measures had checked the Boer invasion almost at the edge of Natal, and protected the Colony. At the same time his dispositions, political and military, had overawed the menace of disturbance on the native frontiers. He had accomplished all this with a miserably weak force—without cavalry and with hardly any guns. Our commanders of mounted

[6] With regard to the period now over, Mr. Childers wrote to him on the 10th of February: 'Your letters are perfectly clear and satisfactory, and show that you thoroughly appreciated the position, and the consequences of the Boers' action as then known, and of the success or failure of your contemplated proceedings.'—*Life of Childers*, ii. p. 18.

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troops in South Africa during 1901 will consider this no small achievement for an isolated column of 1,200 infantry.[7]

While Sir George, in strict conformity with his instructions, had been taking vigorous steps to cope with the rebellion, a very different policy was being pursued elsewhere.

From the time of the outbreak strenuous efforts were made on behalf of the insurgents by the Cape Dutch; by the Orange Free State through its very able President, Mr. Brand; and by a section of the Liberal party at home, which was strongly represented in the Government and in the press. A deputation of the Cape Legislature urged the appointment of a Special Commissioner. Lord Kimberley replied with decision (Dec. 30): 'We do not think the present moment' (a moment, as he explained, of successful rebellion) 'would be opportune for sending Special Commissioner to Transvaal.' But this decision was altered almost as soon as it was formed. In January we find the Government snatching eagerly at the negotiations offered by President Brand through Mr. Blyth, the Free State Consul. By the 14th of January the Special Commissioner, refused in December as 'inopportune,' was practically conceded; on the 26th of January Sir H. Robinson, the newly appointed Governor of the Cape, was instructed by telegram to promise a 'scheme framed to satisfy all enlightened friends of Transvaal community'; these concessions being, however, dependent on the condition that 'armed opposition should at once cease.'

Now of all this Sir George Colley had been left in complete ignorance, until a telegram of the 3rd of February from his old friend President Brand gave him his first inkling of the London negotiations. He thereupon telegraphed to Sir H. Robinson (Feb. 3):

> President Brand in telegram just received prays me to make known to Transvaal people contents of telegrams sent by Lord Kimberley through your Excellency. I have no knowledge of such telegrams, unless he refers to reply to Cape Deputation. Have you any others relating to Transvaal?

Sir Hercules replied by sending him copies of the two subjoined telegrams, both of the 26th of January:

> Brand to Kimberley through Blyth (Jan. 26): Is it not possible to offer to the people of the Transvaal, through the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, who is now in Cape Town, certain terms and conditions, provided they cease from armed opposition, making it clear to them how this is to be understood?

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[7] The value of the General's measures was recognised by the Colonial Secretary. 'I greatly fear,' Lord Kimberley had written in December, 'the Boers will have overpowered our scattered forces in the Transvaal before you can render them assistance.' But he was able to write later (Feb. 24, 1881): 'It seems to be at all events clear that your movements have drawn away the Boers from our beleaguered garrisons, and that although your small force was unable to work its way into the Transvaal, you have been able indirectly to greatly prolong the time for which the garrisons can hold out.'

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Kimberley to Brand through Robinson (January 26): Inform President Brand that if armed opposition should at once cease, her Majesty's Government would thereupon endeavour to frame such a scheme as, in their belief, would satisfy all enlightened friends of the Transvaal community.

This information seems to be all General Colley ever learnt officially of the January negotiations between London and Bloemfontein. He wrote next day (Feb. 4) to his wife: 'I have heard nothing from home about any Special Commissioner.'

What, then, was the situation? The General and High Commissioner, Sir George Colley, under definite instructions though with means quite inadequate for his ends, was straining every nerve to relieve the garrisons, and to restore the Queen's authority, while during this time, and without his knowledge, the Government were carrying on separate negotiations for satisfying the Boer demands.[8]

After the telegrams of the 3rd of February, between Sir George Colley and Sir H. Robinson, the conduct of the negotiations devolved upon Sir George. Mr. Brand now begged for details of the promised scheme, and for guarantees that the leaders should not be treated as rebels. Sir George, replying in the first instance 'I fear I can give no such assurance as your Honour proposes and can add nothing to Lord Kimberley's words,' telegraphed the whole proceedings to the Colonial Office the same day (the 5th of February).

Mr. Morley sees fit to sneer at what he calls the 'barrack-room rigidity' of this answer—though it is difficult to see how Sir George could have taken any other course. All his orders up to this point had directed him to re-establish the Queen's authority in the Transvaal. On the 5th of February, the very day on which he despatched the telegram objected to by Mr. Morley, Sir George received fresh instructions in exact agreement with those already sent, and these instructions were to take effect 'whenever you may succeed in re-establishing the Queen's authority.' Up to the 5th of February, therefore, every order which he had received from home bound him to make it his first duty to re-establish the Queen's authority. He had no right to negotiate until he had effected this.

It is true that Mr. Gladstone, writing to Lord Kimberley on the day on which these fresh instructions were sent to Sir George, said (and Mr. Morley adds that he said so 'truly enough'), 'Colley with a vengeance counts his chickens before they are hatched, and his curious letter throws some light backward on the proceedings in India.[9] His line is singularly wide of ours.' But this letter of

[8] Thus General Colley's letter to Joubert of the 23rd of January was treated as nugatory, the Boer leaders knowing that at that very time their cause was being successfully urged in London.

[9] Sir George's work in India had been most warmly acknowledged, and this reference to it, occurring casually in a private letter from the Prime Minister ought hardly to have been published without explanation or support. Its natural effect

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Mr. Gladstone's is almost inexplicable; Sir George's line was in exact accord with the orders which Lord Kimberley was giving him on the very day on which Mr. Gladstone was writing. And the wide divergence was not between Sir George Colley and Lord Kimberley, but between Mr. Gladstone's criticism and Lord Kimberley's instructions to Sir George.

If on the 5th of February Mr. Gladstone's language to Lord Kimberley widely diverged from Lord Kimberley's language to Sir George Colley, in the next few days the Government altered the policy which it had hitherto laid down in its communications. Telegraphing to him on the 8th of February, Lord Kimberley said:

> Inform President Brand that if Boers cease from armed opposition her Majesty's Government will be ready to give all reasonable guarantees as to their treatment after submission, and that scheme will be formed with a view to permanent friendly settlement of difficulties. Add that her Majesty's Government will be glad if President will communicate this and former messages to him to leaders of Boers.

This message constituted a distinct overture from Her Majesty's Government. Sir George, as ordered, telegraphed it to Mr. Brand forthwith. On the 12th of February Mr. Kruger wrote to Sir George. The first paragraph of his letter refused the British proposal that the Boers should cease from armed opposition, and the last phrase is one of false assertion and fierce defiance:

> We are prepared, whenever your Excellency commands that her Majesty's troops be immediately withdrawn from our country, to allow them to retire with all honours, and we ourselves will leave the positions as taken up by us. Should, however, the annexation be persevered in, and the spilling of blood proceeded with by you, we, subject to will of God, will bow to our fate and, to the last man, combat against the injustice and violence done to us, and throw entirely on your shoulders the responsibility of all the miseries which will befall this country.

This language of fierce defiance Mr. Morley, oddly enough, represents as an overture from the Boers, though it was apparently a reply to Sir George Colley's overture to Mr. Kruger through President Brand. 'An important move,' says Mr. Morley, 'took place from the other quarter. The Boers made their first overture. It came in a letter from Kruger to Colley (Feb. 12).' Mr. Morley considers the 'pith of it' to be an expression of confidence on the part of the Triumvirate in an inquiry by a Royal Commission. But the letter of the 12th of February states with perfect clearness that unless the annexation were cancelled and our garrisons withdrawn, the Boers would go on fighting to the end. And a later message from Mr. Kruger proves that this refusal to treat on any terms short of the restoration of the Republic was in

is to prejudice the reader's judgment. And it is apparently inserted to prepare the mind for the conclusion towards which Mr. Morley is working, namely, that from the time of the outbreak whatever went wrong was Sir George Colley's fault.

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his view 'the pith' of his letter. Whether, therefore, this letter be taken as a reply to the Government overture, or as an overture to the Government, its nature—a peremptory demand that England should cease hostilities and yield to armed revolt—was inconsistent with the re-establishment of the Queen's authority, on which Sir George was instructed to insist.

At this time Sir George Colley, acting on these instructions, wrote officially to Lord Kimberley (Feb. 10) upon the position of the Boer leaders:

> It appears to me that his Honour the President of the Free State in his earnest and humane desire to contribute to a peaceful solution of the present unfortunate difficulties, and to prevent further bloodshed, has overlooked the fact that the Boer leaders, for whom he asks the status of belligerents, have utilised to the utmost the advantages which rebellion gave them of surprising and attacking in detail our troops while spread in peace garrisons; and that but for the persistent agitation kept up by a few of these leaders the country would in all probability have long ago settled down to quiet and prosperity, and the evils which he so deeply deplores would never have arisen.
>
> While I have been careful, in my capacity of General, to maintain relations of official courtesy with the leaders and to avoid all language or acts which would tend to embitter the relations between her Majesty's Government and the Boers; and while I trust that her Majesty's Government will authorise me to deal leniently with the mass of those now in arms against us, I yet feel it my duty to state that I do not think any settlement hereafter come to can be permanent, unless the declared leaders of this insurrection are punished sufficiently to deter future malcontents from following their example of resorting to arms, and bringing on the country all the calamities of civil war, as a means to obtain redress of alleged grievances.

But the Government at home was, unhappily, arriving at a quite different opinion on quite different grounds. Mr. Morley says that the Cabinet, upon receiving Mr. Kruger's reply (which Mr. Morley regards as an overture from the Boers), was 'strongly inclined towards coming to terms'; and he adds the deplorable admission that 'any other decision would have broken up the Government.' I must leave my readers to determine which was in the right: the officer in South Africa, who assumed that Ministers intended to make good their public declarations and uphold the Queen's authority—or the Government at home, swaying to and fro between the alternatives of either patching up a peace or destroying the cohesion of their own Cabinet. The ambiguous wording of the instructions from this time forward reflects the irresolution of divided counsels.

On the 16th of February Sir George Colley was instructed by telegram as follows:

> Inform Kruger that, if Boers will desist from armed opposition, we shall be quite ready to appoint Commissioners with extensive powers, and who may develop the scheme referred to in my telegram to you of the 8th instant. Add that, if this proposal is accepted, you are authorised to agree to suspension of hostilities.

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On receiving this telegram, says Mr. Morley, 'Colley was puzzled.' If so, there was reason, for the first phrase 'if Boers will desist from armed opposition' is in absolute contradiction to the last clause offering suspension of hostilities on our part. Sir George cabled to the Colonial Secretary (Feb. 19) pointing out the discrepancy:

> Latter part of your telegram of 16th not understood; there can be no hostilities if no resistance is made, but am I to leave Laing's Nek in Natal territory in Boer occupation, and our garrisons isolated and short of provisions, or occupy former and relieve latter?

The Secretary of State replied on the 19th of February:

> It will be essential that garrisons should be free to provision themselves and peaceful intercourse with them allowed, but we do not mean that you should march to the relief of garrisons or occupy Laing's Nek if arrangement proceeds. Fix reasonable time within which answer must be sent by Boers.

These instructions the General embodies in a letter despatched on the 21st of February to Mr. Kruger at Laing's Nek:

> Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. In reply, I am to inform you that on the Boers now in arms against her Majesty's authority ceasing armed opposition, her Majesty's Government will be ready to appoint a Commission with large powers, who may develop the scheme referred to in Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th inst., communicated to you through his Honour President Brand.
>
> I am to add that upon this proposal being accepted within forty-eight hours I have authority to agree to a suspension of hostilities on our part.

No answer to this letter was received until after Sir George's death, when an acknowledgment from the secretary to the Triumvirate, dated Heidelberg, February 25, and stating that Mr. Kruger was away, reached the English camp. The Government, meantime, had again been making separate communications to the enemy. A copy of the instructions to Sir George Colley of the 16th of February was sent by the Government on the same day to Mr. Brand. If, as I believe, this copy was already in the hands of the Triumvirate when Sir George was writing to them on the 21st of February, it is not surprising that they treated with contemptuous delay the time limit set by his letter.

On the 16th of February, the date of Lord Kimberley's telegram authorising an armistice, the Secretary of State for War had also instructed the General:

> With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval before reply from Boers is received, we do not bind your discretion; but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid the effusion of blood.

Mr. Morley implies that Sir George's hands were tied by this telegram, and that in occupying Majuba he traversed the spirit of the instructions conveyed in it. But Mr. Childers, in this very

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telegram, had carefully preserved the General's military freedom, and Sir George Colley evidently understood his instructions in this sense. The Boers, he wrote on the 23rd of February,

> are now very busy fortifying themselves at the Nek, and they have apparently some fresh advice, for they are doing so on more of a system than formerly, and are also pushing forward and occupying more advanced ground. *I may have to seize some ground which has hitherto been practically unoccupied by either party, lying between the Nek and our camp, without waiting for Kruger's reply*, for they have become more aggressive towards this camp, and are trying to press in our vedettes, of whom they lately shot one. But I will not, without strong reason, undertake any operation likely to bring on another engagement until Kruger's reply is received.[10]

Mr. Morley quotes the last sentence of this letter, and adds that 'if he [Sir George] had only stood firm to this a tragedy would have been averted.' If Mr. Morley, however, had quoted, as he was bound in fairness to quote, the whole of the passage which I have cited, it would be plain that Sir George Colley did stand firm to the intention which he had communicated to Mr. Childers.

The view Mr. Morley wishes to present of the occupation of Majuba becomes still more evident in the following passage:

> Colley could not be technically accused of want of good faith in moving forward on the 26th, as the time that he had appointed had expired. But though Majuba is just inside Natal—some four miles over the border—his advance was, under the circumstances of the moment, essentially an aggressive movement.

The use of the word 'technically' suggests that the interval allowed for the Boer reply ought to have been treated as a kind of truce. But even on the assumption that an offer to suspend hostilities should be regarded as implying a suspension of hostilities—an absurd assumption, and opposed to the teaching of military history—it is clear that troops on one side cannot remain inactive if troops on the other side continue their activity. As Sir George himself said to President Brand (Feb. 10):

> I cannot allow any communications with Boers to affect my military operations. *Your Honour must remember that the Boers meanwhile do not cease to besiege and to endeavour to starve out our garrisons.*

Not only was this the case, but during the forty-eight hours after General Colley's letter had been despatched on the 21st of February to Mr. Kruger (and up to the date of Majuba), the enemy were every day extending their entrenchments at the Nek, and firing at our troops. Besides entrenching towards Majuba Hill on the left front of our camp at Mount Prospect, they also 'set to work to occupy a position to the right rear of our camp.' Mr. Morley can hardly

[10] *Life of Childers*, ii. p. 24. (Italics are mine.)

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mean that in these circumstances the English general was bound to sit still and do nothing.[11]

Sir George could not assume that the negotiations (by no means satisfactory as yet) would bring about peace, and after the engagement at Laing's Nek it had become clear that even with the larger force at his disposal a frontal attack on the Boer entrenchments would be a serious affair. A flank march to the east by Wakkerstroom had been talked of. But Sir George Colley knew well the difficulties and delays, with their possible consequences to the besieged garrisons, such a march involved. The defensive occupation of a point like Majuba immediately flanking the Boer position offered the prospect of turning the Boers out of the Nek practically without fighting, and of facilitating the whole course of the campaign when the main force came up. Such a step could only succeed if carried out as a surprise. And it had to be carried out at once, for it was evident that the Boers were busily extending their fortifications and would probably include Majuba, which they had already picketed, within a very few days.

Upon the military merits of the operation Mr. Morley repeats some of the comments sure to be made on an unsuccessful action, and 'military experts' could easily be quoted in a different sense. The question of the loss of the Hill is not however within the limits I have set to this article; though on the motives and plan of the occupation I may be permitted to make some remarks.

General Colley's reasons for the occupation of Majuba Hill are contained in the unpublished report of that movement by Colonel Herbert Stewart, the chief officer on General Colley's staff. He was the only officer in the General's counsels immediately before Majuba, but he was unfortunately taken prisoner there, and was thus debarred for some weeks from sending in his report. The delay, no doubt, accounts for its not having been published, but it remains the only official account which states Sir George Colley's motives and plan.

It is perhaps worth while to preface an extract from the report itself by the following sentences taken from notes made immediately after a conversation with Sir H. Stewart which took place on the 17th of May 1881.

[11] In fact the exact interval during which, if their terms were accepted, the Government would be bound to grant an armistice, is of no particular consequence. But as Mr. Morley lays stress upon this interval it is worth pointing out that his quotation from Sir G. Colley's letter (February 21) to Mr. Kruger is not accurate. General Colley added, says Mr. Morley, 'that upon this proposal being accepted *within forty-eight hours from the receipt of this letter*' he was authorised to agree to a suspension of hostilities. The italics are Mr. Morley's, but the last six words in italics (*from the receipt of this letter*) are not to be found in the letter itself. Yet they are significant from Mr. Morley's point of view, for their effect, if the letter had contained them, must have been to enable the Boers to fix their own date as to its arrival.

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General Colley did not consider occupation of Majuba to be an attack. The Boers were daily entrenching further and further, and on the Majuba side. If abstaining from attack pending Boer answer to the last peace proposals compelled absolute quiescence of English while Boers could extend their entrenchments, there was apparently nothing to prevent their entrenching all round him. In occupying Majuba pending reply he was only doing what the Boers had never ceased doing. He had no intention of attacking the hill had it been in Boer occupation; and the daily increasing probability of their occupying it doubtless influenced him in doing so on the 27th.

The first part of Colonel Stewart's report relating to the plan of the enterprise is subjoined.

Newcastle, Natal,
4th April, 1881.

Sir,—In accordance with your orders I have the honour to forward to you the accompanying report concerning the action of the 27th of February at Majuba Hill.

Some days previous to the above mentioned date, Sir George Colley informed me that he proposed to endeavour to seize and occupy Majuba Hill upon which the right of the Boer position rested. It was not, I believe, in the first instance, the General's intention to have endeavoured to obtain possession of the hill until considerable reinforcements had reached him, but upon his return to Mount Prospect from Newcastle the rapid strides that had been made by the Boers in throwing up entrenchments on the right flank of their position and the continuance of these works in the same direction upon the lower slopes of the Majuba Hill during the days subsequent to his return, induced him to believe that if the hill was to be seized before it was occupied and probably fortified by the Boers it must be done at once.

I would here mention that the most careful study of the hill, so far as it could be observed from neighbouring heights, had been made by the General on several occasions. The distance of the hill from the road and the extent of its table-topped crest had been estimated, whilst a cavalry reconnaissance was carried out upon the 24th of February to a height on the left bank of the Buffalo River with the object both of distracting the attention of the Boers from their right flank and also more especially with a view to observe the eastern face of the hill. From his previous knowledge of the country, the General was aware that the character of the hill was somewhat similar on all sides, and full inquiries had been made by him as to the northern slopes.

The hill was always held by a Boer picquet during the day and the movements of this picquet had been carefully watched and their departure from their post and disappearance from the southern slopes towards the evening had been noted for some days. Upon the evening of the 26th this picquet was seen to leave in the direction that the General had been informed led to the path by which the easiest ascent or descent of the hill could be made.

I would now endeavour to give a brief account of the plan of the operations as I understood it to be proposed by the General. The occupation by two companies of the Imqwelo Hill—these companies to be entrenched and to guard more especially the ground on the northern and eastern slopes. One company entrenched on the saddle between the Imqwelo and Majuba Hills, the above three companies maintaining the communications between Mount Prospect and Majuba. Upon the latter hill four companies of infantry entrenched together with a detachment of fifty men of the Naval Brigade. There were various contingencies which the General had, I am aware, considered. After occupying the hill, should he succeed in doing so, it was his intention to build such redoubts as might be necessary to secure the position and to return him-

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self to the camp to call up the various reinforcements then at and approaching Newcastle. Until the attempt to secure the hill, when undefended, by a night march had proved successful, the General did not deem it necessary to call up any reinforcements from Newcastle, as he felt that by so doing he might be marching the men needlessly to and fro and the seizure of the hill was doubtful.

To provide time for the arrival of reinforcements three days' rations were to be carried by the men, which were, if absolutely necessary, to be so divided as to subsist the men for six days at least. The men were to carry seventy rounds of ammunition, whilst an additional supply was to be forwarded to the post on the saddle below the Majuba to be brought up according to circumstances.

In every particular the utmost secrecy had been maintained by Sir George Colley.

. . . . . .

I have, &c. (Signed) HERBERT STEWART, Lt.-Col., A.A.G.

The General Officer Commanding Troops in Natal and Transvaal.

This official report proves that Mr. Morley's allusion to the movement as 'a rash and trivial attack' is a serious misrepresentation of facts and circumstances. There can be no question that the occupation of Majuba was not only a daring but a reasonable enterprise, the military motives strong, the main scheme carefully worked out and offering a fair chance of success.

Upon reaching the summit this chance of success seemed to exceed the hopes entertained beforehand. Though Sir George and Colonel Stewart had studied the hill from every possible point of view, there was one aspect—the aspect from Laing's Nek—at which they could only guess. When dawn arose on Majuba, it must have been something of a surprise to see the Boer laagers so close below. The scene has been described to me by an officer now high on the upward grade of fame. He cannot to this day, after the lapse of three-and-twenty years, speak without emotion of that morning in his youth, when from the edge of Majuba he caught the first sight of the Boer laagers down below, in unexpected proximity. If our troops could hold the hill—and who in that first moment doubted that they could—the Nek was ours. What then must have been the feelings of the Commander? For ten weeks the anxieties of all sorts, political and military, had been very heavy; his concern for the safety and honour of the garrisons pressed upon him continually. The tendency of the Government to yield to successful rebellion had become apparent, though it was still uncertain and vague, and it filled him with foreboding for the future of South Africa. And now as he stood on the height above Laing's Nek these troubles may have fallen from him, and for a brief moment the old feeling of success—absent so long—may have revisited him. His move had, so it seemed, succeeded beyond all forecast, and might bring a happy solution to political entanglements, a bloodless ending to the war he had hated from the first. Had the sequel been propitious it is probable that the trend of history in South Africa for a whole generation would

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have taken a different turn. Mr. Morley may say again and again that Sir George Colley's defeat and death—the death of a British General and High Commissioner fighting against insurgents on British territory—was no reason for interrupting negotiations that had been begun. But who will believe that the course of those negotiations would have been the same if Majuba had been a victory and the Boers had dispersed?

Before concluding there is a word to be said about the relations between the Home Government and Sir George Colley. The correspondence with his immediate chiefs, Lord Kimberley and Mr. Childers, shows undeniably their confidence and esteem; and they were delighted with his arrangements and administration. The reflections on Sir George Colley's measures, which Mr. Morley's chapter renews, were not thrown out by any minister in the debates immediately after the Majuba defeat. On the contrary, when suggested from outside, they were gainsaid by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Lords on the 11th of March, 1881. His statement puts out of court the suggestion that Sir George traversed either the letter or the spirit of his instructions. The concluding words of Lord Kimberley's admission of Sir George Colley's right of action leave nothing to be desired:

> I believe (said Lord Kimberley) that Sir George Colley acted with perfect straightforwardness in the matter. Now, with regard to the armistice, Sir George Colley's instructions were that if he received a favourable answer to the communication sent to Mr. Kruger, he might agree to a suspension of hostilities. That was the instruction given to Sir George Colley.

After the peace, however, the Government were severely attacked, the debate in the Commons having been deferred by them till the 25th of July. Upon this occasion Mr. Gladstone took a line unusual in English political life. He put forward as a reason for the 'loitering unwisdom' (to use Mr. Morley's expression) of the Government with regard to Transvaal affairs, that ministers 'could not venture to proceed in South Africa, where we had no confidential agents of our own, upon a matter so delicate and difficult as that of granting free institutions to the Boers until we knew who were the men who were to conduct this difficult task.'

But this was a distinct contradiction of the conditions of Sir George Colley's appointment. He was selected on the very ground that he was singularly qualified to conduct the difficult matters to which Mr. Gladstone refers. It was well known that his appointment was particularly acceptable to the Boers themselves, and he held a dormant commission as Governor of the Transvaal, to be used when Ministers had made up their minds what they intended to do. And in fact they did ultimately, in January 1881, instruct him to use this commission upon entering the Transvaal. He had not taken

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up his post when the Liberal Government came into office, and if they ratified his appointment and sent him out, it was because they were as much alive to his qualifications as were their predecessors. Upon Sir Hercules Robinson's appointment to the Cape, Lord Kimberley, in October 1880, informed Sir George that there was no intention of making any change in the existing arrangements. Yet after Sir George's death Mr. Gladstone declared in the House that Sir Hercules Robinson had been sent to South Africa 'for the purpose of taking this important business in hand'! [12]

Damaging facts were brought out in the course of the July debate. It was shown that the Government had treated for peace after receiving Joubert's declaration that he would 'negotiate, but not submit nor cease from armed opposition.' Notwithstanding Mr. Kruger's promise 'to make it easy for the honour of England to be indulgent (or, in plainer words, to save her face), it became known that the Boers had refused to treat except upon an understanding that the Republic would be restored. To crown all, we had submitted to the humiliating condition that our troops were not to occupy the position of Laing's Nek in our own colony of Natal. The country began to see that it was the English who had agreed to cease hostilities—the rebels maintaining their invasion and their siege till we had promised them all they hoped for. As Lord Cairns said in the House, 'Opposition, my Lords, triumphed—it was *we* who ceased.'

The Prime Minister, thrown upon his defence, found it convenient to transfer the blame to Sir George Colley. He ignored the whole circumstances of the Boer revolt. He passed in silence over the opening scene of carnage at Bronkerspruit. Referring to General Colley's engagements, the first of which occurred six weeks later, Mr. Gladstone actually stated that 'the Boers had no share whatever, except a defensive share, in those military operations.' It would never be guessed from this speech that the field of those 'unhappy movements,' as he calls them, Laing's Nek, Schoen's Hoogte, and Majuba, all lay within our colony of Natal, and that our attempt to dislodge the Boers was only an attack in the sense in which, if a foreign army occupied Dover, we should probably 'attack' that army.

Finally, Mr. Gladstone took credit for attaining without bloodshed the end the Government had in view, namely, to confer liberty

[12] Sir George had already, before the outbreak, made the proposal recorded in a letter from Mr. Escombe, afterwards Premier of Natal, whom he asked to be one of a committee of three to go to the Transvaal with a view to giving the Boers 'as free a constitution as might be consistent with continued connection with the English Crown.' But on receipt of the news of Bronkerspruit, says Mr. Escombe, 'Sir George told me that there was an end to his proposal, as he must go up to punish the Boers who have fired on the troops.' Who would have guessed that the outbreak which stopped Sir George's proposals would result in untimely concessions on the part of the Government?

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upon the Boers! 'For,' said he, 'the blood-shedding that occurred —as is well known—was due to local counsels.' And the Prime Minister listened in silence, while Sir Stafford Northcote condemned the ungenerous assertion, and called it an argument to make a man 'ashamed of himself.' Apparently, Mr. Gladstone had forgotten the Speech from the Throne, the whole body of instructions upon which Sir George Colley acted, and his own assurance to the country of the Government's intention, 'resolutely, and let me add also, as promptly as possible, to re-establish the authority of the Crown.' He forgot that if our forces were 'put in motion by Sir George Colley,' it was in obedience to the orders from the Government to repel the invasion and to suppress the revolt. He represented the military operations as acts of unprovoked aggression for which the English General was responsible. He referred to them as unfortunate miscarriages for which a Cabinet endowed with 'the moral courage,' 'high prudence,' and 'sound policy of state,' extolled by Mr. Morley, must disclaim responsibility.

This was the line taken by the leader of the Government in whose service Sir George Colley lost his life. This is the suggestion which Mr. Morley defines and amplifies, and makes the first attempt to establish in the manner which this article points out.

Nevertheless, Englishmen have always resented the weakness and inconstancy displayed by the Government of Mr. Gladstone in 1881. It is, indeed, a bitter recollection that the lives lost in the earlier Boer war were sacrificed for a cause which the Government at the first check were ready to desert. They began by proclaiming a resolute determination to vindicate the Queen's authority; they ended by conceding everything to those who were in arms against that authority. And the Nemesis—which is the essence of all tragedies—is to be found in the ultimate consequences. For the English nation was doomed to a second war, with all its bloodshed and sorrow, because the Government of 1881 exhibited none of that 'Roman pride'—the unflinching temper in misfortune, which Mr. Morley characteristically despises as 'moral cowardice'—but preferred party convenience to national honour: the cohesion of a Cabinet to the maintenance of British dominion in South Africa.

EDITH BEAUMONT.
(*Lady Pomeroy-Colley.*)

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THE
FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

It was by a happy coincidence that the young Art of Italy, when just ready to break away from the restraints of Byzantine tradition, found ready to hand a new inspiration, a new subject on which to expend her nascent powers. The familiar scenes of Old and New Testament history could offer but little scope for the exercise of the painter's imagination; their conventional mode of representation had been long since determined, and any deviation therefrom, any attempt at original treatment, would have met with but scant encouragement from the Church, or from devout patrons among the laity. Until the middle of the thirteenth century, Italian artists had been content to reproduce the typical Byzantine crucifix, Madonna, or saints—angular, staring-eyed, ferocious, with all the stiffness of figures in mosaic—such as are still to be seen in the *eikons* of the Greek Church. Of this degraded Art tradition, Margaritone d'Arezzo is one of the last exponents; from its smouldering fire rose, phœnix-like, the new Art that was to enchant the world, and be the sole rival of the bygone glories of Greece.

A great awakening had swept over Italy, and left her a people willing in the day of her power. The early years of the thirteenth century had seen the first beginnings of the Franciscan movement—so soon to overspread the world—in the little Umbrian town of Assisi. Wherefore, says Dante,

> non dica Ascesi . . . .
> ma Oriente;

and from this Orient came the illumination of the new Art. In a less measure, the story of Dominic also furnished a new inspiration, and several painters were actually members of his Order; such were Fra Angelico, and, in the fifteenth century, Fra Bartolommeo, whose contemporaries, Lorenzo di Credi and Botticelli, were, like himself, earnest followers of the great Dominican prophet, Savonarola. Thus Dr. Heinrich scarcely exaggerates when he says:[1] 'No princely

[1] 'Franz von Assisi und seine kulturhistorische Bedeutung' (*Frankfurter Zeitgemässe Broschüren*, vol. iv. p. 111).

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Mæcenas ever advanced knowledge and art so powerfully as Francis and Dominic and their Orders.'

But it was pre-eminently in St. Francis that the painters found a personality of magnetic charm, a story full of dramatic possibilities, with the added stimulus of popular enthusiasm and the encouragement of the Church. The Franciscan legends had been vividly narrated by the early biographers, but there was as yet no prescribed treatment for them, there were no conventional forms to hamper the imagination. The new life that Duccio di Buoninsegna, and, according to what tradition reports of his shadowy figure, Cimabue, had begun to infuse even into scriptural scenes, where such hampering limits did exist, might here stream in full tide unhindered.

The position of Assisi was favourable for this development, situated as it is within easy distance of both Siena and Florence, the two leading centres of painting at that day, while Perugia, destined in its turn to become the headquarters of the Umbrian school, lies within sight, on its lofty hilltop across the valley, the Tiber flowing between.

Immediately on the death of Francis in 1226, the Minister-General of the Order, Elias, took advantage of the widespread devotion to the saint to inaugurate, under papal encouragement, the building of a vast basilica in his honour. Nothing, of course, could have been more opposed to the wishes of Francis, who would not permit even a cell of rushes to be called his own. Opposition from his immediate circle of friends naturally followed, and one, his most intimate friend of all, Leo, went so far as to break the marble vase which Elias had put to receive offerings towards his building fund, and was thereupon summarily punished. Even when Elias had been deposed from office, he practically disregarded his deposition, and continued to preside over the architects and masons. Thanks to his feverish activity, and to the contributions which poured in from all parts of Europe, ten years saw the practical completion of 'the rose-hued, many-columned, marvellous invention' of San Francesco. Pope Gregory the Ninth himself came to lay the foundation-stone in 1228, and Elias was determined that its interior should be as beautiful as the exterior. One could scarcely imagine a finer scope for pictorial decoration than that afforded by the Upper Church, airy and luminous, with splendid wall-spaces; but, dark though the Lower Church is, every inch of its walls and vaulting is no less covered with frescoes.

The great church at Assisi was but the first of many built for the Franciscans. As their numbers and popularity rapidly increased, churches were erected for them in nearly every Italian town.[2] They were built for preaching, and were therefore gaunt, barnlike

[2] Cf. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfange der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, pp. 288 *sqq.*, 'Die Franciscanerkirchen.

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buildings, such as San Francesco at Siena, at Bologna, and at Perugia, or as Sta. Croce in Florence, and Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari at Venice. Incidentally, this form of structure adapted them for fresco-painting.

Of the author of this great movement, the hero of the drama, what has Art to tell us? What was St. Francis like to look upon? The early representations—making due allowances for the lingering effects of Byzantine tradition—agree in the main with the word-portrait of one of his earliest biographers, Thomas of Celano: [3]

He was rather below the middle stature, with a small round head and a long pinched face, a full but narrow forehead, and candid black eyes of medium size; his hair likewise was black,[4] the brows were straight, the nose well-proportioned, thin and straight, the ears erect but small, and the temples flat; his speech was kindly, yet ardent and incisive; his voice powerful, sweet, clear and sonorous; his teeth were regular, white, and set close; his lips thin and mobile; his beard was black and scant, his neck thin, his shoulders square; the arms were short, the hands small, with long fingers and almond-shaped nails; his legs were thin, his feet small, his skin delicate, and he was very thin.

The idea of a somewhat mean stature is corroborated by the story in the *Fioretti*,[5] which relates how, when Francis went to ask alms, 'because he was mean to look upon and small of stature, and was deemed thereby a vile beggar by whoso knew him not, he got by his begging naught save a few mouthfuls and scraps of dry bread; but to Brother Masseo, in that he was tall and fair of form, were given good pieces, large and in plenty, and of fresh bread.' A description of Francis by one 'Thomas, citizen of Spalato, and archdeacon of the cathedral church of the same city,' who heard him preach at Bologna in 1220, contrasts his insignificant appearance with the 'unheard-of power' of his words.[6]

Francis's allusion to himself as 'black' (*niger*), in a parable related by the 'Three Companions,'[7] would point to his having been black-haired, unless it were merely a description of his spiritual state as his humility might conceive it. Giotto, followed by Angelico, Gozzoli, Perugino, and the great majority of Italian painters, represents him as chestnut-haired, though sometimes with a darker beard. It is interesting, however, to note that the two most ancient pictures of Francis in the Accademia at Perugia, by Margaritone and Giunta Pisano (Room A), do give the black hair. Otherwise we rarely meet with it until the purely fancy portraits of the Spanish school, where Francis becomes a sallow unkempt fanatic, swarthy and hollow-eyed.

[3] Celano, *Vita Prima*, lib. i. cap. 10 (published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 1 p. 706). Translated in *The Story of Assisi*, p. 212 (Dent).

[4] This (*fuscus*) should rather be rendered 'dark.'

[5] Ch. xiii. (translation from the Temple Classics edition).

[6] Cf. Canon Knox-Little, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 179.

[7] Ch. xvi. 63 (Temple Classics edition).

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An interesting discussion of some of the earliest portraits is given by Westlake in his book on *The Authentic Portraiture of St. Francis of Assisi*, and Manzoni in his recent edition of the *Fioretti*[8] also reproduces and discusses some of them. These two authors agree in the belief that the portrait in the Sacro Speco, Subiaco, is authentic and contemporaneous, painted probably in 1216, when Francis visited Subiaco, and this supposition is confirmed by the fact that it has no nimbus, no 'sanctus,' or stigmata, being simply inscribed 'Frater Franciscus.' Some critics, however, like the Bollandists, deny that 'the Seraphic Father was ever painted during his lifetime.'[9]

But we have at any rate two, and probably three, portraits painted within ten years of the death of Francis—that by Giunta Pisano, painted about 1230 and now in the inner sacristy of San Francesco, Assisi; the famous portrait by Berlinghieri at Pescia, dated 1235; and that at the Portiuncula, near Assisi, painted on the saint's wooden bed. Bonghi[10] tells how Morelli himself assured him that the first of these was genuinely the work of Giunta; the other two resemble Giunta's, they are all bearded, and show the stigmata. Westlake considered that the first and third, on minute examination, revealed traces of an 'ocular defect,' such as we know did exist in the later years of Francis's life. Another portrait at the Portiuncula is unfortunately 'restored and repainted beyond recognition.'

In addition to the above, Manzoni reproduces the two portraits ascribed by tradition to Cimabue at Assisi, one from a tondo on the ceiling of the upper church, the other from the 'Madonna and Saints' in the right transept of the lower. The apparently awkward grouping of the figures here, which makes that of St. Francis appear an afterthought, is probably accounted for by the fact that a later artist entrenched on it for his own frescoes, obliterating the figure of St. Clare that we may suppose to have originally balanced it.[11] The portrait of St. Francis in the Bardi Chapel of Sta. Croce, Florence, attributed to Cimabue, is more probably by Margaritone, who is known to have painted one in a convent at Sargiano, near Arezzo. This last has been considered a contemporary likeness, because Vasari described it as *ritratto di naturale*, which more probably meant that it was life-size.[12] There are several other so-called portraits of Francis dating from the thirteenth century, but they are mere adaptations or copies of that by Giunta. It is to be noticed that it is only in the *ideal* pictures of the saint, such as

[8] I Fioretti di Sancto Franciescho, secondo la Lezione del Codice Fiorentino. (Rome, 1900.)

[9] *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xvii. p. 483.

[10] *San Francesco d'Assisi*. Appendix II. p. 100.

[11] Cf. 'A Critical Study at Assisi,' Basil de Sélincourt (*Monthly Review*, October 1903).

[12] Cf. Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Monastic Orders as represented in the Fine Arts*, p. 248. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 188.

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occur in Giotto's Allegories over the high altar of the Lower Church, that that painter gives a beardless type; elsewhere he follows the usual tradition.

In pictures of Francis and the Franciscan saints, we find sometimes the grey robe, sometimes the brown, grey having been the original colour of the rough habits of the Brothers, but early changed to brown. The cord round the waist is always a distinctive feature, marking them out from the Dominicans, with their leather girdle, and from all other Orders. Hence their name of Cordeliers. The rope or cord reminds us of the story[13] which tells how Dominic humbly begged Francis to bestow his own on him, by reason of the devotion he bore him, and ever wore it thereafter; it reminds us, too, how Dante describes himself as 'girt with a cord'[14] against the Leopard (luxury), probably in allusion to the fact, not yet disproved, of his having been a member of the Third Order of St. Francis.

Francis often carries a cross or crucifix, the emblem of the preacher, sometimes the Gospel open at the words, 'Si vis esse perfectus,' &c., occasionally a skull, in reference to contemplation and self-mortification. Sometimes he is accompanied by a lamb, or birds perch near him, as the greenfinches do in the picture by Gozzoli in our National Gallery. The saint is frequently represented as pointing to the wound in his side, a most inappropriate gesture for one whose humility strove ever during his life to preserve 'the holy secret of the Lord' (*sacramentum Domini*). The stigmata are sometimes represented as crimson scars, sometimes as rays of light. Alone, or with companions, Francis is often seen kneeling at the foot of the Cross, as in Angelico's great fresco in the Chapter-house of San Marco, Florence, or in the Niccolà d'Alunno possessed by our National Gallery, an indifferent example of that master's work. In a picture by Perugino in the Accademia, Perugia, we see St. Francis kneeling in prayer for that city, whose towers and citizens appear in the background; he is here coupled with San Bernardino of Siena, one of his most saintly and eloquent followers in the fourteenth century, and at Siena itself this is frequently the case. San Bernardino's story is commemorated by Pintoricchio in Ara Celi at Rome, which was given over to the Minorites in 1252. Another famous follower of St. Francis, St. Antony of Padua, is usually represented clasping the Holy Child, carrying a lily, or preaching his sermon to the fishes. The story of St. Clare was depicted by Giottino in the church named after her at Assisi.

With the painters of his native Umbria Francis is naturally a first favourite, and one very congenial to their spirit. In the pictures of Alunno, Perugino, Tiberio d'Assisi, and Lo Spagna, for example, we find his figure with its true Umbrian background of

[13] *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. xliii. (Nutt.)

[14] *Inferno*, xvi. 106.

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blue hills, wide horizons, and peaceful light. Tiberio, in the Chapel of the Roses at the Portiuncula (where he may have been assisted by Eusebio di San Giorgio), and Lo Spagna, in the infirmary cell there in which St. Francis breathed his last, have depicted some of the early 'Companions' with much sympathetic insight. Melanzio, an indifferent painter of Montefalco, and follower of Perugino, frequently introduces St. Francis in groups of saints painted in churches in or near his native place. But perhaps the painter who more than all others could reproduce the Franciscan atmosphere was no Umbrian, but Angelico da Fiesole—a painter, as Thode has pointed out, after Francis's own heart. Perhaps Angelico had learnt to love him during his early residence at Cortona, on the very borders of Umbria, but anyhow we realise the community of feeling between them, as we cannot between the painter and his own sterner patron saint, Dominic. How Francis would have delighted in his flowery fields of Paradise, where friars and angels embrace, and a glorified Dominican and Franciscan, hand in hand, float upward on a stream of golden light to the heavenly gates!

In Venetian art, as one would expect, Francis takes a less prominent place, though we do find him represented, as, for instance, in one of the Vivarinis in the National Gallery, and in the Castelfranco Giorgione. Later art, such as that of Guido Reni, sentimentalised him, and made him a mere effeminate ecstatic, while art alien alike to his time and his spirit, like that of Spain, rendered him, as we have seen, unrecognisable.

The historic representation of the Franciscan legends was determined by Giotto in his magnificent series of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Francis, in the nave of the Upper Church, Assisi. Giotto relied on the 'Legend' compiled by Bonaventura in 1263, and he in his turn had relied mainly on earlier writings, such as those of Celano and the 'Three Companions.' 'If,' says the author of *The Story of Assisi*, 'St. Francis was fortunate in having his life related by so admirable a story-teller, Giotto also owed something to the early chroniclers who, seeing, perhaps unconsciously, the extraordinary poetry and the dramatic incidents in the saint's career, had faithfully recorded them in simple and beautiful language.' In most series of the legends in Art, the scenes are practically identical with those chosen by Giotto, and there is more or less resemblance in their treatment. Giotto himself repainted some of the Assisi scenes in the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, but one feels that this more ornate rendering is less impressive than the earlier one, where figures and accessories were as few and simple as possible. The *Sermon to the Birds* is repeated on the predella of a picture ascribed to Giotto in the Louvre. After his representation of it, the most delightful is that by Benozzo Gozzoli at Montefalco, the little mountain village that looks down on Bevagna in the Umbrian plain, where this most

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poetical of sermons was actually preached. Benozzo's series of frescoes includes the only representation known to Thode [15] of the late legend of the saint's birth in a stable, invented from a desire to complete the 'Conformities' with the life of our Lord. Benozzo also included in his scheme of decoration some very characteristic likenesses of Brother Giles, John of Parma, and others. At San Fortunato, just outside Montefalco, Tiberio d'Assisi painted five scenes from the life of Francis, in distinctly Peruginesque style.

A comparatively little known Sienese painter, Sassetta, is claimed by Berenson [16] to be a better interpreter of the Franciscan spirit than Giotto, largely owing to the ethereal and poetical effect of his space-composition; his large altarpiece for the Church of San Francesco at Borgo San Sepolcro, begun in 1437, comprised eight panels, some of which are now in Mr. Berenson's own possession, others in private collections in France. The quaint story of the Wolf tamed by St. Francis is one of the scenes depicted.

Perhaps the favourite incidents, and those most often repeated, are Pope Innocent's dream of Francis supporting the tottering Church of St. John Lateran; the interview of Francis and the Pope; the proposed ordeal by fire in the presence of the Soldan; the reception of the stigmata; and the saint's death. These last four are sculptured on the beautiful pulpit of Sta. Croce by Benedetto da Maiano, together with the martyrdom of five Franciscan missionaries in Morocco. Ghirlandaio painted them in the Sassetti Chapel of Sta. Trinità, Florence, with his usual technical skill, and, unfortunately, his usual want of feeling and poetry. The scene in which a child of the Spini family is miraculously restored to life by the intercession of St. Francis, after his own death, is the best of the series; its chief interest lies in the picture of the Ponte and Piazza Sta. Trinità as they were in Ghirlandaio's day.

Some Giottesque frescoes of the Franciscan legends have been recently discovered in the Church of San Francesco al Prato at Pistoia; they had been overlaid with a coat of light green paint, from which fragments of them now peer forth pathetically. A like fate overtook the frescoes representing the Franciscan missionaries among the Moors, painted by the Lorenzetti in San Francesco, Siena. They are described by Ghiberti, but only two fragments have been recovered.[17]

In sculpture, the Della Robbia are unrivalled delineators of the Umbrian saint. Perhaps the most beautiful *motif* of all is that of the 'Assumption' altarpiece in the Church of the Osservanza, near Siena; here, standing side by side with the first Sister of his own

[15] *Op. cit.* p. 184.

[16] 'A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend' (*Burlington Magazine*, September to November 1903).

[17] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. p. 135.

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Order, St. Clare, St. Francis lays his hand tenderly on the head of the kneeling Dominican Tertiary, St. Catherine of Siena. In the Museum at Perugia is an exquisite statuette of St. Francis, which might be a study for the larger figure in the infirmary cell of the Portiuncula. Here we see the Francis of the later years, worn and sad, but with a marvellous sweetness and refinement. The Portiuncula and another great Franciscan sanctuary, La Verna, contain some of the very best examples of the Della Robbia. The famous lunette of the meeting of St. Dominic and St. Francis, over a door in the Piazza Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, where a meeting is said to have actually taken place,[18] gives a wonderful idea of two contrasted natures thus drawn into close sympathy. The features and attitude of Francis, as he bends to receive the embrace of Dominic, are full of a tender humility, while Dominic's clear-cut, ascetic face expresses in its turn love and admiration for the comrade so different from himself.

The devout affection which Francis of Assisi kindled in the hearts of his countrymen, and which so soon found expression alike in literature and art, still hallows his name, and many a humble cottage in Italy to-day is adorned with some roughly daubed fresco of his brown-frocked figure. Nor is that devotion confined to his own country. The Franciscan legends are now so widely known and loved that it is hoped this attempt, imperfect as it is, to bring together some few of the many representations of them in Italian art may interest English lovers of the Umbrian saint, and students of the 'mirabil vita del poverel di Dio.'

EMMA GURNEY SALTER.

[18] A better authenticated meeting between the two is that in Rome at the time of the Lateran Council of 1215.

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THE SNAKE-DANCERS OF MISHONGNOVI

THE pitiless August sun poured down upon us as our wagon crawled interminably across the Painted Desert. The desert deserves its name by the brightness of its colouring; the tawny yellow of the sand stretches as far as the eye can reach, and the blue-green of the sage brush plays over its surface like the shimmer of shot silk. In front the many-faceted chain of the Echo Cliffs was flung like a string of opals across the desert. Behind us a dark green ribbon of cottonwoods marked where the channel of the Little Colorado drew a wet streak through the thirsty sand. Away to the south-west the dark cones of the San Francisco mountains rose sharp against the sky; while on the furthest horizon, midway between the mountains and cliffs, three long promontories showed steplike one behind another. The great gulf below, into which they projected, was hidden from us by the earth's rim; but I could see it in imagination, for only a week before I had lain there all night on the warm sand, looking up at the narrow belt of starlit sky above, while all night long resounded in my ears the deep voice of the river that has carved out the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. That yawning chasm is to my mind the most wonderful thing in Nature, with its blazing colours, its vast rock-faces, its spires and pinnacles, and its mysterious terrors. Small wonder if the Red Men who dwelt upon its rim held it to be a place where evil spirits had power, and shrank from exploring its depths. It is a river that does not give up its dead, but rolls them along under its turbid yellow waves to meet the foam-crested eagre that rushes up from the sea 500 miles below. Even as I had reached it two more victims were added to its list—two miners, who had gone down into the chasm, to cross it, and never returned; their empty skiff was found cast up at a bend of its course, their bodies were never seen again. Twice, and twice only, has that terrific chasm been traversed from end to end by white men, aided by the best boats and the best skill that could be found, and in each case the river exacted its toll of human life. But difficulties only superable by extraordinary skill and favouring fortune are just those over which the mind of man delights to triumph by its myth-making faculty. Once upon a time, so the Red Men say, a young brave footed it alone across the immense desert, and peered over the rim, and far below he saw the roaring yellow flood that ran

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and ran into the chasm without ceasing. And he said to himself, this water has run for ages like this, and yet the pit is not full; there must be a way out at the other end. So with his father's aid he built a little ark, and he made holes in it for windows, and in this he put forth upon the unknown river. And he drifted many days, till at last the ark stopped drifting, and, lo! he had been carried to an island that lay in the middle of the sea. And there he met the Spider Woman, and she was a being of magical powers, and gave him gifts of might. By her aid he travelled on the rainbow as on a bridge, and together he and she crossed that wan water of the sea and came to a strange land. Here they found a Kiva, an underground chamber where the sacred ceremonies of the Red Men are held. She introduced him into this Kiva, which was the Kiva of the Snake people; snakeskins were hung all round its walls. The young man was bidden to look aside, and when he looked again the people had put on the snake-skins and become snakes. Then, by the magical aid of the Spider Woman, he won a Snake maiden for his bride, and after many and strange adventures he brought her again to his own home. And from that pair are descended the people of the Snake clan of the Hopi Indians, who have lived on down to the present day in the Navajo country, and by virtue of their descent can deal on familiar terms with the snakes, their brothers. This singular myth belongs to the dim ages ere history begins; already before the intruding Paleface most of the Red Men have vanished, and their religions along with them, but by a rare chance this myth and the strange ceremonies based upon it have survived.

How much longer can they last? For our devouring civilisation presses hard upon their heels. Looking back from the Painted Desert beyond the green ribbon of the Little Colorado, far on the horizon I saw a dark streak that lay across the sky, and I knew it for the smoke of a passing train upon the line of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railway. The iron monster has got as far as the edge of the Painted Desert and the Grand Cañon, though he has not yet invaded their recesses; but he brings you to the very borders of the Navajo country, and as you look out from the windows of your Pullman car you see parti-coloured flocks of spotted sheep grazing, and beside them, standing in the sage brush, the picturesque figures of their nomad shepherds. These are the Navajo Indians, a great and powerful nation, 20,000 strong, and they live in a country of their own, near 200 miles across, which the United States has allowed them to retain. Once upon a time the Navajos themselves were intruders here, an invading warrior tribe from away north, so their traditions tell; but that was a long while back, and when the Spanish conquistadores came they found them where they are to-day. But there had been an earlier folk there before them, whom these warriors from the north almost exterminated—all but a remnant, who fortified

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themselves on high hilltops, round which the encroaching waves of the Navajo sea raged in vain. These were the Hopi, and there they still survive in their seven villages, perched on three wall-sided mesas which bear the general name of Tusayan. It is there that the famous snake dance is performed year by year by the descendants of the legendary youth who won the favour of the Spider Woman and brought back a Snake bride to his Hopi home. 'Hopi,' 'the good people,' that is what they call themselves, but that is not the name by which they are most generally known; for the Navajo shepherd warriors who surround them mock at them for an unwarlike folk, and call them 'Moqui,' or 'dead.' But the Navajos found them very much alive whenever they tried to raid them in their cities of refuge on the hill. The Hopi have held their own in the midst of their enemies, and the very isolation in which they have thus lived—islands as it were in the Navajo sea—has enabled them to keep their ancient rites unchanged from prehistoric times.

To see this wonderful prehistoric snake dance of theirs was the object of my journey. Towards noon of the next day our Navajo driver, Natanie, pointed to a yellow sandstone mesa shimmering through the haze ahead, and made signs to us that that was where we were bound. He did it by signs, for he spoke no English, and neither I nor my companion, whom I may call the Churchman, knew a word of Navajo. And as we drew nearer to it we found the bed of the wash, or dry valley bed, up which we were driving, was planted with corn unlike any corn I had ever seen before. In the States the maize is grown in thick rows close together, and stands as tall as the head of a man on horseback. This Hopi corn was scarce as high as my waist, and each plant stood by itself, many feet from its neighbour, with the loose sand lying all around it. The Hopi have no living streams to irrigate their fields, and depend solely on the rains, so capricious and so slight, of their arid home. I think no other human beings would have dreamed of cultivating such a soil under so arid a sky; but the Hopi have found that there is a moist stratum beneath the sand all down the broad centre of the wash. They dibble in the precious, sacred seed—corn is a sacred plant to them—and pray that the heavens may drop water on the tender shoots; and thus they gain a hard-won sustenance from the most unhopeful soil in America.

Their labours are doubled by the fact that daily they must descend many hundreds of feet from their strongholds to till their cornfields down in the wash below, and then climb back up the steep trails that wind and zigzag through the frowning rocks to their pink and white villages on the mesa top.

There, ahead of us, the clustering houses stood out against the intense blue of the Arizona sky like those of some Italian village above the Arno or the Tiber. Heaven-kissing is the only word for them.

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One thinks of eagles and their lofty eyries, or of sea-birds that make their nests on the summits of wave-worn precipices. Up a steep road, over sandy slopes, round great fallen rocks, the straining mules pulled our wagon, till in a little cove right under the mesa we saw the Toreeba spring. Here was a rock-walled pool of clear green water, which welled out from under an overhanging crag, and in the crannies of the rock by the spring-head strange offerings were deposited. These were Bahos, or prayer-sticks—two little sticks the size of a man's finger, bound together with a feather tuft. These are the Hopi emblems of prayer, and when an Indian makes his orisons to the spirits which he believes to exist everywhere, above him, around him, and beneath, he offers at the same time the Baho as a visible symbol of his devotion. The Indian is as religious as any person upon earth; to him the supernatural world is as close and ever-present as the natural, and every action of his life is considered in relation both to the spirits that may help and to the spirits that may hurt him; to propitiate them his dances are designed, and this snake dance which we had come to see is the most important of all his ceremonies.

To the Hopi in his arid home water is the very first necessity of life; for his water he trusts solely to the rains of heaven, and it rests with the spirits whether his trust is to be in vain. Now the forked lightning is the maker of the rain, for in that dry atmosphere the rain clouds most commonly burst to the accompaniment of zigzag flashes and the long roll of the thunder. Lightning is capricious, and can strike you dead, but it is the author and giver of all that which makes the staff of life. And the snake, vivid, quick-darting, apt, too, when he strikes to deal sudden and mysterious death, is near akin to the lightning, and the best of all messengers to carry word to the spirits that lightning and fruitful rain are urgently desired. To this end did the favour of the Spider Woman provide the faithful Hopi with their invaluable snake clan, human instruments whose right and duty it is to work magic with the snakes, their brothers, and to make them the effectual bearers of their prayers.

The Churchman had been among the Hopi before, and had seen the dance in previous years at the pueblo, or village, of Oraybe. We were arriving now in time to see only the grand finale of the Mishongnovi dance, the preliminaries to which had already been transacted. For nine days the Snakes and the Antelopes—a second clan closely linked with the Snakes—had assembled in their respective Kivas and eaten sacred food, or else fasted, according as their ritual demanded; they had drunk the sacred medicine, which they believed preserves them from the venom of the snake, and had duly rehearsed the ancient drama of the bold youth and the Spider Woman. For several days the Snake priests had sallied forth, two and two, north and south and east and west, to gather snakes for the ceremony of the last day. Each pair carried a hoe and a snake whip—the heavy

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hoe which is not only the all-important instrument of corn-planting, but is also used to dig up an escaping snake from any hole where he may hide. The snake whip consists of two long eagle feathers, bound together, with a little round stick as a handle, and it is used to subdue the snake when he is overtaken in the open. Just why the feathers of an eagle's wing should have so much power over a snake is not certain, but it is believed that when an eagle swoops upon a snake in his coil he warily avoids attempting to strike him directly with his talons, and brushes him, instead, with his wing from one side. The angry reptile strikes at the wing, his venom spends itself idly on the feathers, and the next moment the terrible talons have him by the neck. When a pair of Snake priests find a snake in the open, the one with a whip advances and sprinkles him with sacred meal from his extended hand. In all their ceremonies meal made of corn ground fine and duly blessed plays a most important part. The surprised snake attempts to escape, and the priest, bending down, brushes his head rapidly with the snake whip; the effect of this is to subdue the snake instantly, and with a lightning-like dart of his hand the man seizes him by the neck, picks him up, puts him in a bag, and carries him back to the Kiva, where he is turned loose with his brethren.

Whether the priests are ever bitten during this venturous hunt is not certainly known, but if they ever are, most assuredly they do not die of it. Yet the snakes have their fangs intact. Neither when caught nor afterwards in the Kiva are they mutilated in any way, and they remain perfectly capable of inflicting a deadly bite. What seems possible, however, is that the Indians know how to render themselves immune; they collect a certain plant which grows abundantly on the slopes around their mesas, and they drink largely of a decoction of it; they themselves consider it sacred, and it remains for science to prove whether it be really an antidote or not.

Certainly the Snake priests give the snakes every chance of biting them, for during all these days they live with them in the Kiva. It is a room hewn out of the living rock, entered only down a long ladder from a trapdoor in the roof; and here in the semi-darkness a hundred snakes or more live along with the men, their brothers. Here sits the chief priest by the sacred altar, and here the others smoke and eat and recline, naked, upon the ground, and bull snakes and racers, and whip-snakes and rattlers, crawl in and out among them and over them; and snakes and men are alike fearless and unconcerned. The Mishongnovi men have the reputation of being the most fearless of all the pueblos in handling the snakes, and it may be that this perfect fearlessness is the secret of their immunity. They have faith in their Snake brethren, and their faith is justified by its results. Faith in his ancestral religion saves the Hopi to-day, as it did of old his prehistoric ancestors.

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But it is not intended that the Hopi's faith should remain for ever in the prehistoric stage. Here beside the green pool of Toreeba, with its sacred prayer-sticks, stands a brand-new building with staring white-painted casements and red-painted iron roof, as new and as incongruous as anything can be. It is the Government schoolhouse, where the rulers of the United States Indian Department propose to bring prehistoric man more up to date. But their methods I must tell by and by.

We camped by the schoolhouse, now empty, and afterwards toiled on foot up the steep trail, that wound through the fissures of the sandstone cliffs, to the village on the hilltop. There we found another friend, a science man with his camera, and there were one or two other white visitors. The dance place, which was in the middle of the village, looked to be about the size of a tennis-court. All round it stood the terraced houses, tier above tier, and the picturesque figures of those who dwelt in them stood in groups on the flat roofs or climbed up and down the steep ladders that led to them. The dance place was empty just then, for those who were to take part in the performance were making their final preparations in their dark Kivas. Meantime little brown, naked children played around before the houses; and wolf-like dogs, and chickens and donkeys, wandered round. Through the open doors of the houses we had glimpses of interiors bright with painted pottery and gaily coloured blankets. The Indians who crowded the housetops were bareheaded, but the men all had their snaky black hair bound with a red fillet, while the women wore theirs braided at the side into long locks which hung nearly to their waists; most of them were dressed in their native costume, a handsome dark woollen robe, girded with a red and green sash; but a few of them wore flimsy gowns of cheap American cotton. All were picturesque, but the most fascinating thing was the way in which the Hopi maidens dressed their hair: their long black tresses were brushed out into a great whorl or bunch on each side of the face, and tied round with a braid, so as to stand out clear from the head. It was done with exquisite neatness, and the effect is considered by the Hopi to resemble a beautiful yellow flower, which among them is the emblem of maidenhood. It is only the marriageable girls who may wear their hair thus; the little ones let their locks hang loose, and the married women have their braids; the unwedded alone have the right to adopt this singularly pleasing mode.

As the time to begin drew near, the Churchman, notebook in hand, planted himself at one side of the dance place, while the man of science and I took up our positions upon a house roof as near as possible to the Kisi. The Kisi was a sort of booth of freshly cut, green poplar branches, large enough to contain a man, and in front of it was bound a white cotton sheet; at this moment it was the only sign or symbol visible of what was to take place.

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Then, at one end of the dance place appeared a solitary figure, and all eyes were turned on him. It was a half-naked Red Man, carrying in his hand a great sack, and when one looked hard at it one could see that the contents were alive; it was full of writhing snakes. With a steady step he walked across the place to the Kisi; he lifted the white cloth which hung over the front of it, and he placed the bag of snakes inside. Then he withdrew, to all appearance absolutely unconscious of the watchers on the housetops.

And still we waited, and the man of science handled his dark slides for the camera, and looked anxiously at the sky, where the sun was fast sinking in the west. Would there be light enough for instantaneous work? It would make all the difference to him; while the Churchman, notebook in hand, waited composedly; all he needed was light enough to see.

Would they never come? Then, suddenly, all faces turned to the entrance to the place, and the Procession of the Antelopes came on. Naked to the waist, their skin painted in strange designs, gourd rattles in their hands and rattles of the hoofs of deer and of tortoise-shell bound to their knees, they advanced with prancing step in single file, and made the circuit of the place. In front of the Kisi a piece of board was let into the ground, and this board was the door to a hollow place beneath, which symbolised Shipapu, the mysterious abode of the spirits of their ancestors. Up to the door of Shipapu slowly pranced the Antelopes, men and boys; for there were boys—yes, little boys—there, all as earnest and as reverent as their elders. And as each one in his turn came to the door of the spirit world he raised his right foot and stamped loud and hard upon the board. It was a call, a summons to the spirits to bid them attend. 'We are here,' it said; 'the great yearly performance of the Hopi is begun. Do not forget that we need you. Attend, attend!' Round and round they circled, and that loud stamp, resounding again and again, struck strangely on the ear. There was no lack of insistence in the call; every time they circled the stamp seemed louder and stronger; if one of them could have broken the board, I think he would have been well pleased—he would have proved himself one to whom the spirits must listen.

And then the Antelope priests stopped their procession, and ranged themselves in a line on each side of the Kisi, facing the dancing place. And in due form entered the Procession of the Snake priests. They too were half-naked and strangely painted; their faces were blackened, but there was a ghastly white stripe drawn across the mouth, and on their backs and arms and breasts were ghostly patterns, drawn in bluish white ochre. They wore kilts of symbolical design, and behind each a foxskin dangled from the waist, and at one side a great tassel of cords hung almost to the ground. In their hands they carried bahos and snake whips. Like the Antelopes, their procession circled

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round and round the place, and each in turn with his right foot struck on the board the loud call to the spirits of the ancestors. Then they formed up in line before the Kisi, face to face with the line of Antelope men, and with ordered waving of the snake whips, and shaking of the knee-rattles, and stamping of the feet they chanted in unison a weird, unearthly song. Its words, of course, were unintelligible to us; and it may be that they were not entirely understood by themselves, for while the language of savages changes by degrees from century to century, and its archaic forms, passing out of common use, swiftly begin to be forgotten, a few still linger on in the songs devoted to the gods, and are piously chanted by priests, who can no longer interpret what they mean. Perhaps each one interprets its meaning for himself, as we may do the formless strains of the Æolian harp. And, indeed, that elemental sound had for me something of the mystery and the charm that the Æolian harp arouses, something akin to the sound of blowing wind, and flowing wave, and rain upon the mown grass.

And now the song was ended, and the long line of the Snake priests broke up and melted into groups, moving irregularly in front of the Kisi. Just what they did in that clustering movement was hard to see, but they seemed to bend down in pairs before the white cloth, and from inside the Kisi, behind the cloth, something was passed out to those outside; and, lo! a pair of priests stood up side by side, one with his arm round the other's neck; and in that other's mouth, firmly grasped in his strong jaws, was a great snake. Yes, he was carrying a great live rattlesnake in his mouth, holding it not far from the middle, and the flat, venomous head wandered inquisitively up and down his cheek, and in around his throat, and past his ear, as if seeking where to hide. His companion, the 'hugger,' who had his left arm round the carrier's shoulders, held the snake whip in his right hand, and with gentle touches of the tip played with the reptile's head; it seemed to me he guided the head away from the eyes of the carrier. And thus side by side, with slow, prancing steps, locked in this strange embrace, the pair slowly made the circuit of the dancing place. On the side opposite to the Kisi stood a little group of women bearing bowls of sacred meal, and this they sprinkled on the pair and on the writhing serpent as they passed. Behind the pair followed a third priest, snake whip in hand, attending on their steps. When the circuit had been completed, the carrier, bending forward, opened his jaws, and the writhing reptile dropped to the ground. Instantly the third priest, the gatherer, sprang to where the astonished creature was hastening to escape, and, brushing it rapidly with his snake whip to recall it to its obedience, with a lightning-like dart snatched it up in his left hand, and held it in the air. The snake accepted his fate unresistingly, and hung limply from the grasping hand, without making any visible effort to get away.

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Meantime pair after pair had followed the first, each carrier with a writhing, squirming serpent in his mouth, each hugger with his snake whip guiding the restless, inquisitive head from the undefended face of the carrier. None of the snakes appeared to make any resistance, but there was a huge bull snake, four or five feet long and as thick as a man's wrist, who certainly was an enormous mouthful. Him the carrier supported with both hands, holding up either end, while his mouth grasped as much as it could hold of the middle. And there were small snakes too, slim whip snakes and young rattlers; and here came a carrier who had got two together in his mouth, and the twin snake heads wreathing themselves round his face made one think of the pictures of the head of Medusa.

As soon as a snake was dropped at the end of the circuit, he was left to the gatherer, and the pair of Snake priests took their turn in front of the Kisi to receive a fresh one. The gatherers went on picking up snake after snake till they literally had their hands full; bunches of snakes dangled from their fingers, and the little boys, who were the most eager and the boldest—so it seemed—of them all, actually scrambled with each other for who should get the biggest handful or have the honour of carrying the largest snakes. The big bull snake in particular was a special object of contention, and in spite of the religious solemnity of the ceremony there was a burst of laughter from the spectators when he escaped from the tiny hand of one very small boy, only to be promptly recaptured by a bigger one.

And almost the strangest part of the strange scene was that I do not believe anyone was bitten; nevertheless, among the multitude of snakes and the perpetual movement of the Snake priests carrying them round, and dropping them, and gathering them up, it was perfectly impossible to say whether any of the snakes struck at them or not. Certainly I saw none of the priests removed for treatment, but I have heard it said that there have been occasions when the thing has happened. One would think that the discomfort of being rudely pinched by the strong teeth of an Indian would rouse the anger of some at least among the scores of reptiles that were carried in this strange procession. But it is possible that the constant handling to which they had been subjected in the Kiva, and the familiarity with man which they had acquired during their stay there, may have tamed them to such an extent that they would submit to anything.

When the last snake had been carried round the circle, and duly dropped on the ground, and picked up by the gatherer, the final act in the ceremony began. A line of sacred corn meal was strewn upon the ground, enclosing a space a few feet across, and all the priests hurried to this and flung their handfuls of snakes into the middle of it, and flung over them bowlfuls of the sacred meal; and when all had been thus duly besprinkled, they gathered them up once more in their hands, and hurried away with them, north and south and

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east and west, over the trails leading down from the mesa. Then at certain points, at a proper distance, the captured messengers of the spirits were set free, and prayer-sticks were deposited at the shrines where they were released, and they were bidden to go their way, and tell the spirits that Mishongnovi had done its duty, after the fashion enjoined by the gods, and hoped that a bountiful rain would be sent in answer to their prayers.

The man of science closed his camera, the shutter of which had clicked at intervals all through, the notetaker dotted down his last observation and pocketed his book, and we got down from our seats excited, half-dazed, and half-incredulous of what we had just seen. The great snake dance was over. Mishongnovi would not see another for two years. The snakes had returned, if one may say so, to their ordinary avocations; the Snake priests would do the same. But there was one final ceremony for these latter, in order to bring them down to the level of ordinary life. For the last fortnight they had been sacred, part of the time fasting, part of the time eating sacred food, and they were full of mysterious medicine. Before returning to ordinary life they must be purified, and there around the mouth of the Kiva they purified themselves. They washed the paint from their bodies with water, dexterously spirted from their mouths, and they drank a strong emetic which literally seemed to turn them inside out. I need not dwell upon this sight.

But as we looked away across the deserts from the lofty mesa's edge, seeing below us the green cornfields, for whose sake all this is done, we had a vision of long streamers of rain descending over the broad wash, and a distant rainbow. It looked as if the spirits in Shipapu were favourable.

And then from poetry and sentiment and prehistoric dreams we were brought back abruptly to modern America. During the dance I had noticed a solitary figure, a tall white man in dark blue uniform, with a pale narrow face and piercing eyes set close together, a face which it had struck me at the time would have done for a Spanish Inquisitor's. He came into the dance place during the dance, and walked about among the performers, apparently heeding the snakes as little as he did their bearers; neither did any of the Snake priests take any notice of him. He seemed alien and aloof, a strange contrast to the devotees around him. Now that it was all over, my companion spoke to him; for this was the Agent of the Indian Department, the absolute master of all these people and of the Southern Navajos; the civiliser, of whose methods report had already told us a great deal; and, for that matter, the ruler by whose permission we were there to criticise, for he has the right to forbid any white man to enter the Indian Reservation, and forcibly to put him off if found there. Yet with true American independence the Churchman boldly made his protest. The Agent has enlisted and armed a body of

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Navajos as police. The Navajos, fighting-men by nature, are willing enough to accept an office which supplies them with a handsome uniform and bright brass buttons, and allows them to walk about with a heavy revolver slung to their belt and fifty cartridges peeping from its loops. Backed by his police he has made a determined effort to convert the Hopi; himself a man of strong religious convictions, he has no scruple about the means he adopts to bring over the Indians to what he regards as a better way of thinking. Prudence at present deters him from the attempt to put a stop to their most sacred ceremony, the snake dance, but how long it will deter him remains to be seen. He has not shrunk from incurring bitter unpopularity in the matter of haircutting. Long hair is the honour of an Indian. To cut it is shame and disgrace. Now, the Department has issued an order that agents should try to cut the Indians' hair, and naturally the Indians do not like it. When the Agent proposed to cut the hair of the Navajos those merry gentlemen laughed aloud.

'Oh, yes, certainly,' they cried, 'cut away. But you must cut our throats first'—with a sweep of brown hands from ear to ear.

And, as I said before, the Navajos are 20,000, and the last Navajo war ran into millions. The hair of the Navajos is not cut yet.

Even the peace-loving Hopi have refused to become Americans to the extent of haircutting. But the Department has established schools for their children, and once the children are there their hair can be cut. When the Hopi hid their children and refused to send them, they actually were hunted through the snow with revolvers to make them obey. An Agency *employé* with a forty-five Colt is a pretty effective attendance officer. One Hopi who persistently refused to send his child to school was seized by the Agent's men, his hands bound behind him with baling wire, and his hair cut with sheep-shears as a punishment.

So the Churchman caught the opportunity of lifting up his voice. 'But, sir,' he argued, 'in your schoolhouse below there you have got pictures of Bible scenes hanging on the wall, and all the figures in the pictures are dressed in flowing robes and wear their hair long. Your teachers, when they talk about Christianity, show the children these pictures, and say they represent persons whom we hold venerable, and even sacred. Is it fair to object to the Hopi people wearing robes remarkably like those of the Bible pictures, and to insist on their wearing American clothes?'

The Agent.—'That's all very well, my dear sir, but if the originals of those figures there represented were alive and walking about among us to-day, they would have their hair cut and be dressed as we are. The important thing with these ignorant, backward people is to get them to break with all their old tribal customs. We want to make Americans of them. So long as they retain their Indian habits that is impossible. Indian dress and Indian dances must go.'

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The Churchman.—'But America is a free country. We Americans boast that we came over here for the sake of religious freedom. These dances symbolise to the Indians everything they hold sacred. Surely they have a right to practise their own religion? Of course, I am anxious to see them become Christians, but it seems to me shocking to force them to it by violence. Would it not be better to start with the faith they have as a foundation, and build up a higher faith upon that?'

The Agent (severely).—'Well, sir, I have my orders from the Department, orders with which I thoroughly agree, and I allow no outside interference. The intention of the Department is to civilise and Christianise these savages, and I propose to do it to the best of my ability. They are, of course, obstinate as well as ignorant, but we know what is for their good. Like all heathen, they hate the light, but we intend that they shall learn better. When the parents objected to their children going to school I applied compulsion, and my action has been approved by my superiors. The children now go to schools taught by Christian teachers, and learn to speak a civilised language; nothing but English is allowed to be spoken by our scholars.'

'And suppose they do slip into their mother tongue?' asked the Churchman, with apparent innocence.

'They are punished for their disobedience,' returned the Agent promptly.

'And how are they punished—with the rod?' The Churchman's eyes met mine.

'If necessary the rod can be used. I deprecate corporal punishment, but order must be maintained.'

Again I looked at the Churchman. I wanted to say, 'That's surely illegal.' But I knew the words of a wandering Englishman might do much harm and no good, and I held my peace.

The Agent went on: 'Ignorant people have complained about the people's hair being cut. The Indians themselves admit that for the children sanitary reasons demand it. The Department, very properly, wishes the Indians to dress like clean and respectable citizens; I do what I can to induce it. Of course, I have a certain discretion; I have not, as you see, enforced universal haircutting.' (No, I had seen the flower-like coils of the Hopi maidens' tresses, thank goodness!) 'But every Indian in Government employment must obey my rules; and the people are poor, they want work; so my intentions are being gradually enforced.'

'But,' cried the Churchman, 'my dear sir, you cannot believe that you give these men Christian hearts by cutting their hair! Converting them from the outside is but going back to the methods of the dark ages. What value is there in outward conformity with inward rebellion? You are taking away their ancestral rules of conduct and religion, and giving them in exchange American clothes! Grant

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that you stop the snake dance and the rest of their ceremonies. They love Christianity no better for that. And in teaching Christianity at the muzzle of the revolver, let me tell you, you corrupt the very essence of Christianity. You sin against Christianity itself when you sin against these poor creatures' liberty.'

It was very striking to me to listen to the Christian priest pleading for these poor people. It was typical of the broader-minded Christianity of our own day that he should urge so strongly on this iron-handed official that it was a crime against liberty to force upon any people a religion they did not want. Standing there on the edge of the mesa, the simple, kindly, industrious Indian folk coming and going around us, looking forth over the great tawny yellow plains, across which centuries ago the Spaniards had advanced to the attack, the sword in one hand the crucifix in the other, one felt the contrast. Now it was the priest who was pleading for liberty, while the heavy hand of the secular arm still believed in force. Nor was the Churchman alone in his protest; the man of science, too, came up and spoke his mind. It was a rare opportunity, for this Agent was conspicuous above all others as a masterful man, firm and unrelenting, who shrank from nothing in carrying out what he believed to be his duty.

It was interesting to see the ground the science man took up in making his protest. The Christian priest had pleaded for liberty; the man of science deplored the loss of a precious survival from prehistoric ages.

He urged: 'If you break up these dances of the Indians you destroy what never can be replaced. These ancient religions of the Americans have only recently been estimated at their right value. It is of immense importance to us to have them to compare with primitive religions in the rest of the world. It is only within the last quarter of a century that their value has been understood, and the scientific method applied to their study. But civilisation has destroyed them over the greater part of this continent, and our information about that which has been destroyed is sadly inadequate; the few that still survive are inestimable treasures. They should be preserved as long as possible.'

The Agent.—'Well, sir, these people have souls, and to my mind it matters a million times more to preserve their souls from hell fire than to stock your museums with some miserable relics of heathendom. These things that they do are straight-out devil-worship, and the men who do them are heathens living in sin. These dances, which you find so picturesque and interesting and all that, are the very ruin of their souls; while they endure the Indians never can be Christianised. And the older Indians utilise them to draw the young ones into their net. Once the children go into the dances we can do nothing with them. The only hope for them is that they shall be taught English at school while they are small, and then taken

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away and brought up in boarding-schools, absolutely apart from the vicious influences of the pueblo. Then they can participate in the advantages of our American civilisation. Look at James, here.' Beside him stood a youth dressed in khaki, a broad hat on his head, his hair cut short, and clumsy Government boots on his feet. His skin was brown, and his bright eyes were shaded by spectacles. The wild Indian, like the eagle, can turn his naked eye on the sun in his might. The Indian of the desk wears spectacles.

'Look at James, here,' repeated the Agent, catching his *protégé* by the arm. 'James is an American in all but the colour.'

Poor James! To us he was an object of pity. If what the Agent said was true, he was indeed 'A man without a country.' No American would acknowledge him as an equal, no American girl would marry him; yet he was cut off from his own people. If he had an American heart, he was no longer a Hopi. What would be the end of him? And then I remembered how, scarcely a month before, in another pueblo, in another territory, I had seen another of the many Indian dances of the West, and in the very front of the line, naked and painted, plumes in his hair, rattles at his knees, a tawny foxskin dangling from his waist, a graduate of the great Indian school of Carlile, Pennsylvania, pranced higher than them all. No, it is not easy to give an Indian an American heart.

And while I thought on this the argument went on.

The Science Man.—'There is so much for us to do yet, and so few subjects left to work upon. It was not till Mr. Cushing began his invaluable researches at Zuñi that we began to understand the complexity of the problems before us. And he died with his work half done.'

The Agent.—'He did too much. I know all about Mr. Cushing's work, and I know what sort of an influence he has left behind. I know how he was adopted into the Zuñi tribe and mixed himself up with their doings. He was an evil influence among them; he encouraged them to go on in their wickedness. There is no tribe of the pueblos to-day where witchcraft and killing for witchcraft, and all the rest of its attendant evils, are so rampant as in Zuñi. We find the Zuñi people harder to deal with than any other, and that is Mr. Cushing's work. I wish they had never seen him.'

The Science Man.—'Of course, I don't defend such practices as Indians killing each other for alleged witchcraft. That is a crime, and I agree that you are perfectly right in putting a stop to crime. But what crime is there in the snake dance we have just seen?'

The Agent.—'I don't say it's precisely a crime, but it is idolatry. The whole thing is part of a great scheme by which they worship their false gods, and the worship envelops their whole life. If their souls are to be saved, the whole system must be broken up, and each individual Indian, man or woman, taught to stand on his or her own

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feet, and set free from the power of the tribe. We propose to make them American citizens.'

The Science Man (desperately).—'Well, I am glad to think that Dorsey, and Fewkes, and Voth, and a few others, have secured a pretty complete record of these things that you are trying to destroy, and before you succeed in wiping them all out I hope we may be able to secure the rest.'

It was impossible not to be struck by the strength and sincerity of the Agent. Whatever risks and whatever labour it cost him, he would do his best to save the souls of these people—as he understood saving souls. His idea is a very old one. To change a people's religion by force of law, backed by the police and soldiers, is not a novelty; but the Churchman was right—it is an idea more fitting to the dark ages than to the twentieth century.

R. B. TOWNSHEND.

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INDIA AND TARIFF REFORM

AMID the din and clang of an economic Babel, where facts and statistics are shaped to illustrate diametrically opposed deductions, and identical premisses appear to lead to disparate conclusions, and where from the letter of a single man—I allude to Mr. Reid, the Australian Opposition Leader—comforting indications and suggestions are triumphantly claimed by adepts of conflicting schools of thought, the case of India appears so far, to all intents and purposes, to have gone by the board. No sort of authorised exposition of her destiny under the foreshadowed dispensation has yet seen the light. Lord George Hamilton's pronouncement constituted a tirade against any measure of change or reform, and the only ray vouchsafed on this particular aspect may be summed up in his declaration, which no one ever doubted, that 'India was intensely Protectionist.' Even her gifted Viceroy, the courage of whose conviction is ever undaunted, speaks not even in 'bated breath and whispering humbleness'; and so along the whole gamut of her governing body. Whether this sphinx-like attitude is attributable to instructions from home to remain coy and await developments, or to the consciousness of serene confidence in the fairness of British treatment—whatever the explanation, it behoves those interested in and conversant with Indian affairs and needs to evoke discussion and force it on for the purpose of public enlightenment, so that the possible outrage (for no other term can be employed) of excluding India from the benefits and sacrifices resulting from an Imperial Commercial Union may be pilloried before it is even bruited about, in order effectually to avoid its being considered as within the purview of practical politics.

A preliminary word of caution. There is in this article no intention of passing judgment on either of the schemes for tariff reform now before the country. But for the sake of argument let us consider what should be the lines along which India should proceed in the event of (*a*) retaliatory proposals, (*b*) preferential tariffs receiving the assent of the constituencies. In the first contingency it may be argued that India should adhere to her present system, because our negotiations here would be directed to the endeavour to obtain concessions from foreign Powers on tariffs applicable to the Empire generally, unless, of course, failing satisfactory settlement, those Powers inaugurate a tariff war against India as well as the rest of our

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possessions in reply to our retaliatory action. In the second contingency there are two courses open to India: one is to throw in her lot with us and the Colonies in a Customs Union of some sort; the other is to remain out, but make an effort to secure the advantages of a preferential entry for her produce into Great Britain, free from the entanglement and complications inseparable from a remodelled system of tariffs. Were this latter plan feasible—*i.e.* in the sense of our consenting to confer upon her benefits without exacting any sacrifices, and assuming that our foreign competitors do not adopt measures of reprisals against India as one of the vulnerable points in our Imperial fabric—there would certainly be a good deal to be adduced in favour of this course. We may take it that in the actual working out of this plan many hindrances and impediments may be encountered, and therefore it is not irrelevant to consider the *pros* and *cons* of the second scheme—participation in a Zollverein. India would under this be expected gradually to reduce her import duties on some of the manufactured articles from Great Britain and the Colonies, and, on the other hand, to raise them on practically all the articles of a manufactured description received from the foreigner. With the exception of raw silk, but not kerosene, a partly manufactured article, every staple import is either a finished or a semi-finished article. As regards *British* goods, the articles upon which a reduction would be necessary are cotton goods, amounting roughly to twenty millions sterling, and machinery and hardware, to four millions sterling. The reductions on cotton goods would, as a matter of common justice, justify and necessitate a corresponding relief in the Excise on indigenous mill-woven or hand-made fabrics. The loss to the Indian Exchequer, on the assumption of the knocking off of half the present import duty, would be roughly 600,000*l.* The other categories of British imports—for instance, wearing apparel, boots, salt, liquors, metals—might conveniently wait for the time when the experience of the working of the scheme will dictate the manner in which, and the extent to which, action in the same direction may be taken in hand. Salt is practically the only article through which the poorest contribute their mite; the local tax on it has recently been reduced. As regards liquors and wearing apparel, these are largely consumed by classes on a higher plane of life, so that, in the one case as in the other, no immediate necessity exists for including them in the relief of Customs taxation at present contemplated. In view of the facilities possessed by the foreigner for the out-turn of great quantities of manufactured articles, the raising of the import duties, say to 10 per cent. *average* on imports from Protectionist countries (amounting to about nine and a quarter millions), would just about recoup the revenue for the loss of the 600,000*l.* mentioned above, allowing for some falling-off in imports. If there were a deficiency, a slight screwing up of the income-tax, not very high in all conscience, or the assimilation of India's death and

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succession duties to the system of graduation adopted here, would more than counterbalance it. As regards *exports*, with the single insignificant exception of gunny-bags, they consist of food and raw material, and perhaps it is not too hazardous an assumption that foreign nations would deprecate measures of retaliation on grain stuffs, raising the cost of their people's food, and on articles constituting indispensable elements for their industries, to any appreciable extent.

Now let us consider what a great advantage it would be to India to be able to share in the encouragement to increase the production of her cereals. Large tracts of the finest arable land in the equable climate of the Punjab and the United Provinces are merely waiting for more favourable conditions to be brought under the plough. This would enlarge the area of employment, and would generally increase her prosperity, by vivifying the various factors that environ the activity of such a great centre of industry as wheat-growing. An incidental, though from the humane point of view not the least beneficent, result would be the avoidance of the too frequent recurrence of the ravages of famine. So that, viewing the working of the preferential system in this broad outline, the benefits likely to accrue seem enormously to preponderate over the possible losses of revenue which may result from the hostile action of foreign Powers, in connection with their treatment of Indian trade in their respective spheres. It might conceivably be that some foreign nation would see the expediency and practicability of meeting us, and of so rearranging their tariffs as to avoid any sort of tariff war. The history of the Sugar Bounties furnishes an excellent object-lesson. So long as they maintained their bounties, India was obliged in self-defence to countervail them, and further added to them in order to neutralise the advantages accruing from manipulation of Cartels. No attempt has been made at retaliation, unless it be in the case of Russia. She has begun to tax Indian teas, but in view of the fact that India imports something like two millions of Russian kerosene oil, as against the 37,000*l*. worth of tea which Russia takes from her, the elements of reprisals appear to be out of all proportion in favour of India.

I am but too well aware that these ideas represent in very rough and crude outline views tending to favour the entry of India into a Customs Union. The objections of a practical nature that one hears formulated are that the poor ryot will be debarred from purchasing the cheap and nasty scissors and knives made in Germany. Why should we assume that our enterprising cutlers, both here and in India, given a fairly steady home market and a reasonable outlet abroad, would not be able to produce these articles, perhaps not quite so cheaply, but costing only a few annas more, and far more durable, and therefore cheaper in the end? The second objection may be summed up in the general inquiry as to the directions where the shoe pinches, and whether anything is 'dumped' on India. The answer to the first

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is that, in relation to the gigantic population of India, her trade and industry are on too slender a basis; and that, through the medium of the interaction and the general prosperity of the constituent parts of the Imperial fabric, it will be perfectly possible to look for a great widening of that basis. Secondly, the 'dumping' is to be seen in the quantities of manufactured and semi-finished articles imported into India from foreign countries under conditions of output and protection, the absence of which renders it wholly impossible for her to rear and to foster her industries on any appreciable scale. The issue appears to be between those who merely regard the statics of the problem, and those who appreciate and gauge the dynamic forces which altered conditions of commercial and industrial activity are pushing to the front. The policy of *laisser faire*, of blind and unconscious drift in deference to an economic ideal, has done its time, and is dead—dead as mutton. Just as military affairs, which, from being matters of conflict between exiguous communities, are now, thanks to the grouping of powerful nations, left to the arbitrament of empires and continents, so the former conditions of rivalry between individual traders and manufacturers are now being fought out by organised trusts, and by the vigilance and solid power of great States. Does it, therefore, not seem right to aim at the commercial consolidation of the Empire, so that it might at least work as a counter-weight to the organised industrial and economic conspiracy of rival gigantic combinations? It is universally admitted that India's paramount want, the incubus that has been weighing her down, the hand-to-mouth character of the existence led by countless millions of her people—people as industrious as thrifty, and averse to engaging in either political or social disturbances—is the perennial need of active and fertilising capital, that source and sinew of industrial enterprise and of the diffusion of popular well-being! For practically the whole of the last century she has been used as a pawn in the game of British political partisan expediency, as a *corpus vile*, and as a hot-bed for all kinds of vague and fanciful experimenting with the doctrines of a lopsided free trade. Were British statesmanship sincere in its profuse protestations of the desire to govern India with a sole eye to her economic welfare, it would give some kind of earnest of the realisation of this aim at this grave political conjuncture, when the issues of a possible departure from the fiscal maxims adopted in other conditions and circumstances are weighing in the balance, by seriously considering how India is to be affected and what her lot is to be in the projected fiscal dispensation. That question can obviously not be settled on the *ipse dixit* of any man, however distinguished, or any body of men, however united in their views and conceptions. It can only be satisfactorily solved, as far as it is humanly possible to solve a matter of such grave import and of such tangled and complicated bearings, by a Royal Commission,

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appointed on thoroughly broad lines, and composed of members of business capacity, free from any political leanings on one side or the other. A similar Commission, appointed not many years back under the presidency first of Lord Herschell, and then of Sir Henry Fowler, was the potent instrument of endowing India with a currency which has become stable as a rock, and by which the accumulation of financial disaster and constantly shifting fiscal equilibrium have been successfully averted. I would like to give a very short extract from the letter of a Hindoo gentleman, apparently eminently calculated to speak the views and define the position of the lay portion of the Indian community.

> What is it that we want? Nothing more than freedom to shape our fiscal policy according to the requirements of the country; freedom to derive from the Customs duties the proportion of revenue which would fall on it on a due consideration of the incidence of Indian taxation, *and not of the convenience or self-interest of the importers from abroad*; freedom to adjust tariffs so as to attract capital and enterprise to industrial possibilities. . . . For this purpose the Government of India will be asked to institute an industrial survey, which would be constantly and continuously applying itself to study the needs of industrial life. . Let there be, if necessary, an inquiry beforehand into the effects of the free-trade policy on the industrial and economic position in India. If England had suffered like India, would all the economists have availed to stop the demand for instant change? The poverty of India is a sound reason for an investigation, for which the prosperity of England was hard put to find an excuse. Even the fourteen Professors would hesitate to assert that free trade is the best policy for India, if they knew how in economic and industrial conditions this country is the direct antithesis of the governing country.

At any rate, the idea of leaving India's commercial and industrial interests to the tender mercies of competitors clad in the armour of out-and-out Protection, wielding the javelin of Government aid, appears, in the light of modern developments, to be one imperatively requiring reconsideration. These few observations lay claim neither to exhaustiveness nor infallibility. If they incite to discussion in that branch of a domain which has hitherto been singularly barren of any apparent political interest, they will perhaps not have been written in vain.

Purposely the political aspect of Federation, the drawing together of India and the Colonies, with the consequent raising of the status of India almost to the rank of a self-governing Power, has been left out of account. The fiscal issue being a matter of business, its consideration should be approached upon practical lines, and when, in the fulness of time, the question of an Imperial Federation advances to maturity, it may be hoped and expected that India will find salvation, and will work out her destiny along these broad lines, reaping the advantages and sharing in the sacrifices as one of the most important units of an united Empire.

EDWARD SASSOON.

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HARRIS HALL, UNIV. OF MICH.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE DRAMA BY THE STATE

It is always a critical and dangerous moment for any business when the stress of events frightens everybody into the easy exclamation that 'something must be done!' For so often it happens in the panic that the wrong thing is done, and done so thoroughly and effectually, that the whole business is henceforth maimed and disjointed, and falls to the ground.

We have reached such a critical and dangerous moment in the affairs of the English drama; or rather in the affairs of that curious hotchpotch which, being collectively exhibited in some twenty-five fashionable, expensive West-end theatres, is supposed to be our national English drama.

A fearless and admirable letter from Mr. John Hare in the *Times*, briefly sketching and bewailing our present sorry plight, has been endorsed by an imposing array of notable names—a bishop to head the list; a few august literary persons; our leading actor-managers, with three English playwrights piously and respectfully following in their train; two or three leading lights in science; two or three eminent artists; a sprinkling of social celebrities; and various other personages all of credit and renown in their different ways—altogether a very weighty and representative assembly, furnishing abundant evidence that amongst all classes of cultivated Englishmen a benevolent, if vague, conviction is spreading that 'something must be done!' But what?

I cannot help regretting that the alarm has been sounded to help and save the English *stage*, rather than to help and save the English *drama*. For this way of putting the matter implies that the English drama is in itself so inconsiderable and negligible a thing that for all practical purposes it may be said to be summed up and contained in the English stage, as the greater contains the less. If this absorption of the English drama in the English stage be affirmed as a present-day indisputable fact, it must be asked, 'Is not the virtual subserviency of our drama to our stage the great indirect cause of all our ills?' If it be affirmed as an eternal predestined necessity that the English drama shall always be absorbed in, and confused with, the English stage, then we must challenge the statement in the plainest and

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strongest way; and we must point to France, where, the drama being recognised and honoured as a distinct literary art, its intellectual and artistic level is thereby immeasurably raised; while the intellectual and artistic level of the French theatre is necessarily raised in association with the drama. In England, having no national drama, what can be the real value of our theatre?

But it may be that in sounding this rallying cry, the mistake of considering the English drama as the mere creature and instrument of the English stage has been made unconsciously, through mere inattention. But is not that just the mistake that the great body of English playgoers make, and is not that just the way they make it? It is all lightly taken, and swallowed, and dismissed as a mere entertainment. And hence we have no English drama.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood or misrepresented in this matter. I am not decrying the great and noble art of acting. I have benefited too much, and suffered too much, not to be aware how great an artist a great actor is, and that without him the dramatist is a helpless, gibbering shade. Surely none can sufficiently value and praise the actor, except the author. And for myself, words cannot convey the deep gratitude I have for some of my interpreters.

But gratitude and courtesy cannot away with the fact that if we are to make any advance, either in the art of acting or the art of the drama, they must be generally recognised as distinct arts, and their relations to each other must be clearly perceived. At present the great majority of playgoers do not at all distinguish between the art of acting and the art of the drama; nor do they ever think of a play as a separate organism, as something quite distinct from any one of its many thousand possible varying interpretations. Now, though we cannot have a great national drama without a body of highly trained and intellectual actors, yet still less can we have any great or intellectually effective acting without the material to work upon. And granted that we have much to seek both in the matter of plays and of acting, yet as the play must be written, before actors, scene-painters, and carpenters can get to work at all, surely the English stage can only be helped and saved when, and after, and inasmuch as the English drama is first helped and saved. That is to say, the whole question of having a living English national drama depends upon first catching your dramatists, upon giving them the best and most highly trained acting talent, and then allowing them free scope. And any helping or saving the English stage upon the condition that it is a corporate entity containing that negligible and inconsiderable thing, the English drama, can only give us a few more exploits in acting, of no more permanent value or influence than the exploits of an acrobat.

I have touched this point at starting, and I have pressed it home with some vehemence, because it is really the key of the whole situation. And there is no issue out of our present difficulties except by

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the way it opens to us. I am writing in no carping spirit, and surely with no desire except to further a most apt and timely movement, a movement most generously conceived and launched, a movement that if rightly pursued promises to be of the greatest advantage both to the English drama and the English stage. But if it is to be effective, it must be pursued on a clear understanding of the whole matter.

For a generation or so the impression has prevailed, and still prevails amongst the great body of playgoers, that the English drama is the instrument, and creature, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage. This assumption governs all matters relating mutually to the drama and the stage: it is apparent in the form and wording of the paper I am now discussing; it is the darling axiom of many of our leading actors; it is the sheet-anchor of our whole present system; it is the fetish of a very considerable portion of the press; it is ingrained in the public opinion of the country. Then why be so foolhardy as to combat it? Because, until it is combated and overthrown, there can be no sure standing-ground for any English drama, let alone any advance for the English stage or the English drama.

Now I do not say that this impression, the impression, namely, that the English drama is the instrument, and creature, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage—I do not say that this impression has been altogether unreasonable or even untrue during the past generation. There have surely been sufficient reasons for it. And so far as it has been a witness to great aims, great ambitions, and in some cases to great impersonations, one can very cordially sympathise with it.

And, for love of sweet peace, one would be only too glad to subscribe to it, and to march at its festivals, dutifully cheering and shouting with the crowd, if only it led to our desired goal, the establishment of a great, living, English acted drama. But where has this root idea led us? What has been the issue of it? That it has failed to create or foster a satisfactory English stage, or a satisfactory English drama, is sufficiently evident from a single glance at the present state of things.

It has failed. There can be no doubt of that. But has it failed victoriously? There is no quickener like the spilt blood of a lost cause. Has this lost cause sown mandrakes anywhere to spring up and shake and fertilise these clods, this dry, dead stubble of modern English life? Has the idea of the domination of the English drama by the English stage left any sign, or monument, or result, except one or two deservedly great personal reputations? What has it done even for the English stage as distinct from the English drama? Has any school of acting been founded? Have not the remains of the old school dwindled and vanished under its influence? Have any great traditions been established, except the traditions of careful and beautiful mounting and *mise en scène*? Is the acting in the London

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revivals of our classic and poetic drama on a level with the average performances of municipal theatres on the Continent? Do we Londoners get a chance of seeing as much Shakespeare, and that as well acted, as many German towns? With the greatest number and the most expensive theatres in the world, has the public taste been really raised at all, or raised to anything except to universal musical comedy? Has it not become increasingly difficult for an English playwright to cast adequately any serious work? (I class modern comedy as serious work.) Have not our leading actors become more and more dissociated from our leading playwrights, to the great disadvantage of our employer, the public? Does not this dissociation tend to become more marked, as the idea that the English drama is part and parcel of the English stage becomes more deeply fixed in the public mind? Has it not become almost vain to hope that any play containing great emotions or wide views of life will be written at all; or if written, will be produced; or if produced, will be played in such a great and convincing manner as to be successful, or even to escape a perhaps derisive failure? And is not this state of things the direct and inevitable result of our present system, based as it is on the prevalent idea that the English drama is the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage—an idea that for the most part allows the great playgoing public to rest perfectly satisfied when its favourite actor has scored a personal success, irrespective of the permanent value and meaning and intellectual quality of the play?

It will be noticed that I have gone behind the course of events and the apparent facts, and that I have searched for the governing idea that has shaped the recent history of the English stage and the English drama. I think it will be difficult for anyone to dispute that the present situation has been largely shaped by this main idea in the public mind, the idea everywhere carefully fostered, that the English drama is the instrument of the English stage.

Is that idea to be perpetuated? Is it to be tacitly adopted and made the basis of our future action? Is it to underlie our proposed reforms? Is it to be the accepted principle that is to govern the future relations of the English drama and the English stage?

Because, if that be so, I take the liberty of telling my illustrious cosignatories that we may spare ourselves any further trouble either of signing or of doing, for the end of our reforms will find us pretty much where we are; the cart, stuck persistently in front of the horse, will only have pushed the horse a little further down the hill into a little deeper mire.

I think I see a little cherub sitting up aloft and mocking at my illustrious cosignatories, bishops, eminent literary personages, actor-managers and all.

Now, granted that the situation is as it has been sketched for us, and as it has been accepted by my illustrious cosignatories, we are

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much like the lepers outside Samaria; things can scarcely come to a worse pass with us whatever we do, or wherever we go.

Perhaps a suggestion may be welcome. Seeing that it is ideas that prompt action and shape history, perhaps it will be wise if we begin with an idea, and base our reforms on that. And seeing that the present governing idea in the English playgoing mind, namely, the idea that the English drama is the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage, has been found not to work, and is, indeed, largely responsible for the present *impasse*, suppose we try to foster the alternative idea, namely, that the English stage is, or should be, the instrument of the English drama. Suppose we put the horse in front of the cart. I know it is a violent, nay, a revolutionary proceeding, but I think it will be found to be fruitful. At any rate, let us try how it works.

Again I will beg not to be misunderstood. I am not trying to depreciate the actor's art. I am not trying to belittle the men who, in a time of great difficulty and transition, and of low artistic ideals, have done very hard and valuable work, and have helped to save the English drama from utter extinction. And I have met with many instances of unselfish willingness to play a small part for the good of the play: let me amongst others gratefully acknowledge a recent one on the part of Mr. Cyril Maude, who offered to play a small comedy character, and took the leading part only upon my persuasion that the interests of the play would best be served in that way.

No, it is our system that is to blame, and not the men who work it in many cases with conspicuous devotion, and certainly with as much self-sacrifice as can be expected from average human nature.

But that the system is a bad one is proved by the situation it has created. It is a bad one because it places the responsibility for the English drama upon the actor. Why should a leading actor encourage the English drama? It is surely not to his interest to produce English plays if ready-made French ones, that will provide him with a leading part, can be bought outright and adapted for a small sum. Nor is it to his interest to train and school a large body of capable actors, who would, indeed, be of immense value to the dramatist and to the drama, but who can only work with the idea and the ambition of competing with him, the leading actor, for one of the four or five leading positions ou the English stage. Nor is it really in furtherance of the actor's legitimate ambition that great English plays should be produced at all, otherwise than as they may happen to provide a strong or suitable leading part for himself. Very often, perhaps most frequently, the greatest acting successes are made in plays that, outside their acting opportunities, are quite worthless. Can anything be more contemptible and absurd than the pieces in which some of our favourite actors have scored their greatest personal successes? And the first question for a leading actor must always be, nay, rightly and naturally

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should be, not 'Is this a great or a fine play?' but 'How far can I score here, and keep my leading position?' Therefore, if the English drama has been kept alive at all, it has not been because of our system, but in spite of it, and because one or two of our managers have sometimes risen superior to it.

And now at last we have come to the moment when it is plain to everybody that the system is not working, and cannot be got to work; and that if the English drama and the English stage are to be kept alive in our midst, if all the golden leisure and evening hours of the English people are not to be wasted in the emptiest, tawdriest tomfoolery, if this is to be avoided 'something must be done!' But what?

Again I submit that no progress can be made till the horse is put before the cart. Again I submit that all attempts at reform will be useless till we have changed the root idea that insensibly and unconsciously guides English playgoing—namely, that the English drama is the negligible and inconsiderable appurtenance of the English stage. Till that root idea is changed, till the English drama is recognised and judged as a distinct literary art, the little cherub who sits aloft, with his telescope searching the earth for solemn farces, merely mocks and grins at us, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins.

I have suggested what seems to me to be the root idea that should inform and direct any action that may be taken in the matter—namely, the idea that the English drama should be recognised and judged as a distinct literary art, as it is in France.

But is it not already so recognised and judged? Inevitably, if an educated man by chance goes to the theatre, he must taste the quality of the stuff that is put before him. And to this extent we are, of course, inevitably judged. But this judgment is not in any way operative. The mischief of our present system lies here—an English serious dramatist is scarcely judged at all by the quality of his work. If he writes down to any supposed low level in his audience or to any supposed incapacity in his interpreters, he is instantly judged by a high standard, and condemned. Rightly judged, rightly condemned, since there can be neither reason nor excuse for writing down to anything or anybody.

But what happens when he does his best? By the great general playgoing public the English dramatist is classed and judged simply as an amusement-monger, and he succeeds or fails solely on that level; and if he does not succeed on that level he is anathema maranatha all round, since literature will not stretch out a hand to save or comfort him. English literature disdains and disowns us, and is for the most part soured with a silly jealousy of us, and perked up with a silly pride in its own fine outer raiment of style; not knowing, and not caring to know, and, indeed, refusing to know, that English play-

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writing is the most toilsome, the most anxious, the most subtle form of English literature. Let me go further, and, without trailing my coat or biting my thumb at anybody, make the strange assertion that good playwriting is the most fastidious form of literature. But it is really as an amusement-monger that the English playwright is judged; on that level and by that measure does he stand or fall. And being thus judged, he is utterly routed and put to shame every day, since he cannot hope to compete as an amusement-monger with the attractive nonsense and clownery of musical comedy.

Therefore it is that, again and again, I point out to my illustrious cosignatories that no action we may take can be effectual to our end until we have passed everywhere into general currency amongst playgoers the idea I have suggested, namely, this—that the English drama is not, and ought not to be, the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage; it is not, and ought not to be, the purveyor of cheap and tawdry entertainment; it is the fine and literary art which portrays and interprets, or attempts to portray and interpret, English life. And the English stage will be a power in English life to the exact extent, and in the exact proportion, to which it is recognised to be the instrument of the English drama. That is the idea which must be the mainspring of any effective action.

I find I have repeated myself in what I have written. Let it stay. Indeed, it is all but a repetition of what I have been saying for many years past.

Surely nobody can have subscribed to Mr. Hare's welcome letter more cordially than myself. More than twenty years ago, in September 1883, I wrote in this Review:

> Thus, on inquiring why we have no national drama at all worthy of the name, we are met first of all by the fact that the drama is not merely an art but a popular amusement, in a different sense from that in which poetry, music, and painting are popular amusements. The drama is an art, but it is also a competitor of music-halls, circuses, Madame Tussaud's, the Westminster Aquarium, and the Argyll Rooms. It is a hybrid, an unwieldy Siamese twin with two bodies, two heads, two minds, two dispositions, all of them, for the present, vitally connected. And one of these two bodies, dramatic art, is lean and pinched and starving, and has to drag about with it wherever it goes its fat, puffy, unwholesome, dropsical brother, popular amusement. And neither of them goes its own proper way in the world to its own proper end, but they twain waddle on in a path that leads nowhere in particular, the resultant of their several luggings and tuggings at each other.

Well, that is what I have been saying in another way in this present article. For saying it in different ways I have naturally met with constant abuse and depreciation from all whose game and interest it is to perpetuate the present sterile and unholy alliance between the English drama and popular entertainment. But now it seems that a great body of cultivated opinion in the country has turned over to the same way of thinking as myself. For what else is the

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meaning of the present movement, backed up by all these powerful and illustrious signatures? If that movement means anything beyond signing a paper, if it is to be pursued to any effective end, it means the separation of the English drama from popular entertainment, and its recognition as a literary art. If that idea, which is virtually the idea I have been trying to enforce all through this paper, if that idea is not to be made the basis of our action, then the sardonic cherub still sits above and mocks us, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins. But with that idea firmly fixed in our minds, with that definite object in view, we may go on to inquire what course of action can be taken in accordance with it.

Two main proposals have been thrown out in a broad indefinite way. One is that a school of acting shall be forthwith established; the second and far more important proposal is that we shall have a subsidised theatre. The advocates of a subsidised theatre would doubtless agree that it should include a school of acting. The foundation of a school of acting is a very small and easy business compared with the endowment of a theatre. It may be convenient to consider the smaller proposal first.

What does a school of acting mean? Already we have several schools of acting, where pupils are trained in elocution, and after some months of lessons are allowed to play a part in an amateur sort of way at a minor theatre. Evidently in itself a school of acting is not a sure means of salvation for the English stage. Indeed, schools of acting, though valuable enough so far as they go, are part of our present very bad system of training actors. Let me explain, or rather illustrate, what that very bad system is.

A young man decided to become an actor. He was advised to go to one of these schools of acting. He went, and studied there for twelve months, doubtless getting some benefit therefrom, but having no opportunities of playing before the public. At the end of twelve months he was fortunate enough to obtain a speaking part of three lines in a provincial company. He played those three lines for two tours, that is, for about thirty-five weeks of the year. He was then fortunate enough to obtain a more important speaking part of some ten or twelve lines, and this he played for another year. That is, at the end of three years he had not had a quarter of the practice in his art that he would necessarily have had in a single week under the old stock system. Added to this, the mechanical repetition of an empty part, night after night, must have had a debilitating effect not only on his acting powers, but on all his mental activities. Then again, the absence of an absorbing occupation left him with all the day at leisure for loafing about in provincial towns.

Take another illustration. I had occasion to call at the theatre of a London manager. I found him in his private room, carefully going over and over the words and business of a part with a leading

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performer; correcting false accents, training the voice, giving instruction in the elements of elocution. That leading performer had already played that part for more than a hundred nights at a West End theatre, and had received eulogistic notices from the whole of the London press.

These are not very extreme cases; they are not unfair examples of our present system for training recruits in the enormously difficult art and business of acting. Could the worst enemy of the English stage and the English drama conceive a system more ingeniously planned to make great acting, and therefore the successful production of great plays, an impossibility on our boards? So that we have rightly come to perceive that our present system of training actors is not merely hopelessly bad and ineffective—it is frankly ridiculous and farcical.

It must, however, be stated that in the photographic and phonographic reproduction of the little mannerisms and the small actualities of the street, the club, or the drawing-room, we have many fine artists on our English stage. It is when we ask for some adequate portrayal of parts that demand emotion, sustained and accomplished elocution, breadth, power, fire, imagination, intellectual divination—it is then that we discover our abject poverty. And this increasing impoverishment of our stage is the necessary result of a system that does not afford to the actors who potentially possess these gifts any opportunity of learning how to exercise them.

And now it is proposed to start another school of acting. If it is to get us out of our present troubles, it is clear that it must be an entirely different school of acting from those we already have. The only schools of acting that have rendered any conspicuous service to our present stage have been those of the late Sarah Thorne, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Ben Greet. And the reason that these schools have trained some valuable actors and actresses is that, in addition to lessons in elocution, they have given their pupils the opportunity of constantly playing and constantly failing in big parts. This is the only school that in the end makes valuable actors and actresses. The school we need is one that gives all promising young actors and actresses the chance of constantly grinding and sharpening their teeth on great parts. Is that the kind of school that Mr. Tree proposes to establish? If he succeeds he will render a far greater service to the English theatre and the English drama than any of the services he has yet rendered, great and indefatigable as they have been. His efforts will, I am sure, be watched with the greatest good will by his cosignatories. It is without the least irony or unkindness I suggest to him that he should capture for his first recruits one or two of our leading London performers. But if he merely sends out a *répertoire* company of two or three of his successful plays and gives no opportunities for this constant and varied practice, then his school will be

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comparatively inoperative, and our crying need will be as unsatisfied as ever. I repeat that it is daily practice before the public in constantly varied parts that makes actors and actresses. This it is which gives the actor command over his latent forces; gives character, flexibility, resource; develops that power of holding and sustaining a play to the end which to-day is not possessed by six English actors. And to find some means of giving this constant and varied practice to all promising recruits must surely be our first step, if any step is to be taken at all. A few years ago in this Review I sketched a scheme which, at a comparatively moderate cost of money and trouble, would have afforded all promising recruits the opportunity of constant appearances before London audiences. It could easily be worked, needing only a moderate subscription list. Very briefly, my scheme was that one of our disused London theatres should be taken, as it could be, at a cheap rate; that a vigorous stage-manager should be put in authority charged to give daily performances by the recruits without any charge for admission, except a small one for a few reserved places. I still think that scheme meets our present difficulties in the cheapest, easiest, and most effective way. But I am quite willing to give my support to any alternative scheme that promises to provide constant and varied practice in great parts to all promising recruits. Is that the school of acting that is proposed? It is the only one that will be of any use. Again I see the little cherub making rude faces. He mocks us persistently until we bring ourselves to see plain facts, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins.

But it will be pointed out that the question of giving our actors varied practice is intimately connected with another question, namely, the long runs of plays. Nay, it may be said that the two questions merge into one. Well, there is no doubt that long runs are a great evil. They benefit nobody except the author and the manager. They are an evil to the actor for the reasons already given. They are a great grievance to playgoers, since long runs are responsible for the disgraceful fact that London playgoers only get the chance of seeing one, or perhaps two, of our Shakespearean and classic masterpieces in the course of a year. To the manager they are of course a godsend. In these days and under our present system long runs are a necessity to the manager if he is to keep his head above water at all. To the author long runs offer a welcome breathing time. The English playwright of to-day has to face so many chances and accidents of production; so great are the interests at stake; so uncertain are the factors; so difficult it is even when the play is written to place it with the right manager, to get the right interpreters, to catch a happy mood in the public and the press, and to meet the hundred other contingencies—such a lottery it all seems, that when at last by great luck a play has got home and is drawing our great public, it would appear to be nothing less than madness to withdraw

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it for no reason, and again to venture into the terribly perilous paths of production. And while plays are regarded as mere entertainments, and are neither studied, nor read, nor examined, nor thought of in any way except as mere pastime for a careless public; while it remains almost certain that at the end of the run the play will go into dust and oblivion along with the faded scenery and the faded dresses, why should an author consent to the curtailment of the run? He gains nothing; he exposes himself to accusing sneers of failure; he weakens his own resources and damages his reputation with playgoers. None the less it is certain that long runs are an evil. They cannot eventually benefit even the author, since as we have seen they are the one great means of defrauding him of capable interpreters. And speaking for myself I would gladly forego any commercial advantage to secure a general all-round healthiness and variety and effectiveness of representation at our theatres. At present long runs remain a part of our very bad system.

But surely it would be an immense advantage to our drama that a modern successful play should be interpreted by the various companies of our different theatres, and by our different leading actors and actresses. What new lights would be thrown on the play! In many cases how curiously protean an organism would be revealed! How it would help to destroy the notion so injurious to the dramatist that a play once given by certain performers is then and there stereotyped, that characters once played by actors are then and there 'created!' Above all, what vigorous emulation, what life, what natural healthy ambition and competition it would bring into our theatres! To-day if by any accident or mistake of production a play happens to fail, it is a dead thing, out of mind for evermore. Almost as bad a fate awaits it if it prove a success, for then by the etiquette of our English stage it is supposed to be sealed and assured to the leading actor who has produced it. Why should not a healthy, friendly rivalry in the playing of modern parts be the rule of our stage? In France a very large number of the leading modern *rôles* have been played by nearly all the leading actors and actresses. Why should not this excellent custom be introduced on our English stage? By its means our baneful system of long runs would be broken up, and new life would be shot into every limb and artery of our drama. What do English actors say to my proposal—I mean the great body of English actors, who under our present system spend two-thirds of their time seeking engagements, and one-third playing the same *rôle* mechanically night after night?

But if we cannot hope that all our theatres should play *répertoire*, we may surely hope that the end of all this cry will be the establishment of at least one *répertoire* theatre in London.

The second, and much more important, proposal that has been made is for the establishment of a subsidised theatre. Such a

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proposal includes the first proposal, since such a theatre would naturally undertake the training and supervision of our recruits. A few years ago I deprecated the too hasty building of a national theatre out of the modest purses of some six or eight of 'us youth,' whose chief capital was our love for the English drama, and a growing conviction that 'something must be done!' I pointed out that Saint Paul did not begin by building Canterbury Cathedral, but by inflaming the people with a few simple ideas. That is still the only way of getting a movement to catch fire and spread.

But we have made great progress towards a national theatre during the last few years, or at least we have made very great progress towards the necessity for a national theatre. We have made such progress that we seem to be irresistibly and instinctively moving towards it, drawn by hands that we cannot see, and called by whisperings from a future not very far away. I am sure that the establishment of a national theatre should be the fervent hope, the object of every actor's, and every dramatist's, ambition. And if we can once get our root idea to catch fire and blaze, a national theatre must follow as the night the day. I believe it is coming. Our great care must be to see that no abortive or premature attempt is made to start it on wrong lines, or under wrong management, or without sufficient security. A false step made at this moment, an unworkable scheme started in a crude way, blundering along for a few months or years to certain disaster, would be the greatest misfortune that could just now befall the English drama. It would stand for a generation or two as a monument of warning against future attempts, and would give perennial food to scoffers and blasphemers. Therefore a thousand times better no attempt at all than one that is made without prevision, and without some reasonable assurance of success.

What are the conditions of success for a national theatre? No matter how largely a theatre may be endowed, it cannot be a permanently successful institution unless:

(1) It is supported by and becomes the natural home of our leading modern playwrights. A building in which our classical masterpieces were played to the exclusion of all modern work would soon become a mere dramatic mausoleum with funereal associations.

(2) Nor unless those playwrights are associated with a competent body of trained actors, containing a fair proportion of players whose personalities, as well as their technique, draw the public.

(3) Nor unless the right manager were found—a man of good social standing, and also possessing the necessary literary, theatrical, and business knowledge and qualifications. I do not think it would be difficult to put our hands on such a man.

(4) Nor unless it were made a national theatre in the true sense, unless all fads, schisms, cliques, and little notoriety-seekers were kept in due subordination.

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(5) Unless and mainly, unless the great English playgoing public can be brought to take an interest and pride in their national drama as a fine humane art, and in the building and institution that enshrine it. Here we strike back into our root idea again, the idea that the drama must be known and taken for what it is, and the pleasure that it offers must be perceived to be an intellectual pleasure, quite distinct in kind from the pleasure offered by popular entertainment. I believe there is amongst us a playgoing public sufficiently large and interested to support an institution founded on the lines I have indicated. And there are good grounds for hoping that if it were wisely conducted it would eventually become self-supporting and render sufficient profit to secure its financial stability on its own merits.

There are different ways of providing the money-guarantee necessary to start such an undertaking. One may put the amount roughly at 200,000*l.*, or 10,000*l.* a year. I do not say that such a sum would be absorbed, but without some such substantial guarantee there could be no security that the scheme could be worked for a long enough time to give it a fair trial, and to see whether it would ultimately succeed on its merits.

How is so large a sum to be provided? Scarcely by private subscription, for I fear we have not a large enough number of rich English citizens sufficiently interested in the work to raise amongst them the required amount. Besides, a joint-stock way of raising the money would mean a joint-stock way of administering it; would mean the intrusion of all kinds of personal considerations, personal prejudices, and personal notions. The result would probably be endless argument and endless wrangling amongst a crowd of notoriety-seekers—a dramatic Adullam.

A good-natured millionaire might possibly be persuaded to provide the funds. Unfortunately millionaires as a class are not enthusiastic lovers of the drama for its own sake. They manifest strange foibles and whims; they have fitful notions about art and literature; they build themselves grotesque and futile monuments in the inane and in the void. But I am of opinion that if any millionaire wished to build himself a lasting monument in the affection and homage of the English people, he could not find a surer means of gratifying his ambition than by putting down 200,000*l.* to build and endow a national theatre. And I think that before many years we shall probably find that some American millionaire, with the cuteness of his race, will so establish and endow an American theatre, and will thereby earn the lasting gratitude of the American nation.

Again, a *répertoire* theatre might conceivably be subsidised by the London County Council. I should like to see municipal theatres in all our large towns. The present, however, does not seem to be a favourable moment for starting them.

The remaining way is that a national theatre should be built

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and endowed by the Government of England, with the approval of the majority of English citizens. It seems to me that this last would be the best, the most secure, the most creditable way of founding a national theatre and of fostering a great and popular national drama. I believe that a sum of public money so expended would be one of the wisest and most economical investments that we could make. It would be the merest fleabite compared with the vast sums that are now spent—nay, that in many cases are now wasted—on public education. And yet what a potent educator a national theatre would inevitably become if it were wisely directed! I know that a great outcry will be raised against the endowment of the theatre in England. I see ominous shakings of the head amongst my Puritan friends; I hear their indignant mutterings; I begin to quake under their scowls.

What are the reasons for the State endowment and State recognition of the drama? They are precisely the same as those for the State endowment of the other arts, music, painting, sculpture. Indeed, seeing that the drama is the most popular of all the arts, and the most intimately connected with the daily life and conduct of the citizens, there is all the more need for its wise recognition and encouragement.

The reasons for the encouragement of art by the State could not be set forth in a clearer and plainer way than has been recently done by M. Massé in the Chambre des Députés. He said:

> Mais si l'État ne fait pas l'art qui est la liberté, la spontanéité même, s'il ne peut prétendre au rôle de metteur en œuvre, s'il ne saurait nous donner un poète ou un statuaire comme il nous donne un sous-préfet, s'il n'a pas à fixer une esthétique comme il formule une loi civile, s'ensuit-il qu'il n'ait rien à voir avec l'art et que celui-ci n'ait rien à en attendre, hors de n'être ni maltraité ni proscrit?
>
> L'État peut, au contraire, concourir indirectement à la production de belles œuvres.
>
> Je dirai même qu'en tant qu'administrateur des intérêts généraux, il le doit.

And again:

> De quelle nature est donc en matière d'art la fonction de la puissance?
>
> A coup sûr elle n'est point créatrice. L'art n'est pas un service public que l'État ait mission d'assurer. Sa fonction n'est non plus ni tutélaire, ni réglementaire, ni de contrôle, ni de police. Parfois encore aujourd'hui elle a ce caractère, mais c'est là un des derniers restes de la conception qu'on se faisait jadis du rôle de la puissance en matière d'art et elle doit perdre ce caractère.
>
> La fonction de l'État est essentiellement une fonction auxiliaire; il ne doit ni réglementer l'art ni le contrôler, mais l'aider et l'encourager. C'est une modeste mais utile collaboration, une coopération féconde entre toutes.

And further:

> L'État doit, par l'éducation et par l'enseignment, s'efforcer de rendre le Beau accessible à la généralité des citoyens. Il doit aussi chercher à développer

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tout spécialement les arts qui, grâce à des conditions économiques nouvelles, pourront être goûtés par ceux qui jusqu'à là avaient considéré l'art comme un luxe coûteux et hors de leur portée. Embellir et égayer la vie de tous les citoyens, même les plus humbles, en leur donnant des notions d'esthétique et en ornant d'œuvres simples et belles tous les endroits où se rencontrent les citoyens—écoles, mairies, hôpitaux, salles de réunion et de conférence—telle est la conception que doit avoir de son rôle, en ce qui concerne les arts, une démocratie.

And yet again:

Il faut encore que l'État universalise le goût pour pénétrer dans les masses, la notion et l'émotion de la beauté, aujourd'hui propriété d'une élite orgueilleuse. Dans ce sens, il convient d'insister sur la création d'un théâtre populaire, et de l'enseignment théorique des arts à l'école, ainsi que sur les œuvres de décentralisation artistiques.

These are the reasons that may be urged and re-urged for the establishment and endowment of an English national theatre with the public money. What are the hindrances? Who are the hinderers? It cannot surely be the amount of money that is asked. The little State of Denmark endows its national theatre with some 20,000*l.* a year. Again, see the sums that Puritan England spends on its other enjoyments, say on racing. Inquire what amount the English theatre-going public has spent on musical comedy during the last ten years. Judging from some reports that have appeared, at a rough estimate English theatre-goers must have spent in musical comedy in town and provinces something like five or six millions of pounds during the last ten years. That is to say, on this particular form of popular entertainment the English public has, in a few years, spent a sum sufficient to buy an entire fleet; a sum that, capitalised, would bring in about 150,000*l.* a year, or exactly fifteen times the sum that we need to start a sane intellectual drama. Now what has the English play-going public to show for these five or six million pounds? There remain some very charming and graceful pieces of music, and the memory of much pretty dancing and singing. But for the rest? Does anything remain at all? A single line to quote? A single vital character? A single scene that faithfully pictured life? A single idea one would care to recall? A single permanent touch with humanity? A single thing that manager or author can claim with pride, and say 'I did that'? And five or six million pounds have gone! And all those golden evenings of leisure!

Oh, witless debauch of grave, religious England! Oh, converse side of our Puritan buckler! Oh, undergarments of prudery! Oh, burden of bigotry too hard to be borne! Oh, systole! Oh, Exeter Hall! Oh, diastole! Oh, Leicester Square! Oh, land of blind and bitter fury against the drama! Oh, sanctimony! Oh, license! Oh, nauseous pie! Oh, botchery of all our holiday hours!

It has been rumoured, with some apparent foundation, that there

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are secret reasons for the enormous success of these entertainments on the lowest intellectual level at our fashionable theatres. Facts have been vouched for which seem to lend some colourable support to these sinister rumours. In giving them some sort of currency, which I do with all reserve and caution, I must carefully guard myself from all suspicion of malice against a most respectable class—I mean the attendants at the various cloakrooms of our theatres. If they have been partners to the practice which it is alleged has lately become prevalent at some theatres, the practice of insisting that the brains of each member of the audience shall be left in the cloakroom with the other impedimenta—if the cloakroom attendants have lent themselves to this practice, and in conjunction with clever young surgeons are actually engaged in working it every night, they surely cannot have been responsible for its introduction. The custom is of course very profitable to the theatre, but the cloakroom attendants can reap very little benefit from it, since I believe that in no case is a higher fee charged than sixpence. Therefore if any accident should occur I trust the blame will not be laid on the cloakroom attendants. In talking over the matter with the eminent surgeon, Sir Harvey Hunter, I congratulated him on the triumphant march of surgery which made such hasty operations possible. I expressed, however, a fear that some very serious injury might result from the continuance of the practice. He assured me that no permanent ill-effects were likely to befall the average frequenters of these entertainments from any exchange or misplacement of their brains. Altogether the evidence as to the frequency of these practices is conflicting. There remain, however, certain well-vouched-for facts which are inexplicable except on the theory that the operation does take place; amongst them the appalling fact that one young gentleman, who seemed to be quite rational in other respects, bragged that he had been forty-six times to one of these entertainments. I leave the matter for further investigation.

Now, if things are followed to their consequences, it matters little to our final pecuniary position as a nation, or as individuals, whether we pay this three or four or five hundred thousand a year voluntarily, or at the quest of the tax-collector. The fact for us to ponder is that the English theatre-going public does pay this enormous tax for what is allowed to be the most childish and empty form of theatrical entertainment. It is absurd to say that the English nation could not afford to pay (say for a few years only, to see how it works) 10,000*l.* a year to foster the fine and humane art of the drama. It would be a mere nothing in the ocean of our national expenditure. Therefore it is not the amount of the money required that stops the establishment of our national theatre.

What is it then that stands in our way? Probably all classes of English life and society would at least acquiesce in a dole of 10,000*l.*

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a year to the English drama—except our Puritan friends. I make a very strong appeal to them on all grounds, and more especially on the ground of the influence for good in national affairs of those Puritan principles in which I, in common with them, was nurtured. With a deep sense of the value to our nation of those Puritan principles I offer these considerations to our Puritan friends:

'The instinct for drama is one of the deepest and most ineradicable in human nature; you can watch it any day in your children and judge how natural, how spontaneous, how universal it is. With all your hatred for the theatre, you have yet a great love and reverence for our great dramatic poet, and many of you class him next to the Bible as the greatest power in our literature, and the greatest moulder of our national character.

'You once denied to the English people the satisfaction of this natural instinct, this play-instinct; you closed the theatres and banned the drama. What was the result? By force of reaction you called into being one of the most shameless and heartless stages the world has ever seen. Are you not repeating your ancestral error to-day? By your abstention from the theatre, by your opposition to the State endowment and recognition of the drama, are you not in some measure bringing about the same evil reaction and the same degradation in our national life and manners? At any rate you are shutting yourselves out from a main current of our national life. We are bound to have a drama of some kind, and a popular stage of some kind, in England. Theatres are sure to multiply with our city populations. Would it not be better for the nation to invest 10,000*l.* a year for a few years in a national theatre that would everywhere set a standard of good taste and good manners, and would raise the character of theatrical performances all over the Empire, rather than to ignore and starve this fine humane art, with the result that gaudy palaces of rowdy nonsense and sniggering vice and folly will be everywhere established as the evening resorts of our populace? You cannot hinder the English nation from having a popular drama. By opposing it you do your best to ensure that it shall remain as it is—for the most part an empty and feebly foolish entertainment, the most childish and despicable drama in Western Europe. Hadn't you better have a finger in the dramatic pie? Will you not be best serving your Puritan principles by making them felt in this great concern of the nation's evening leisure?'

I make that appeal to my Puritan friends. I hope it may weigh with them when the moment comes for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make this tiny little dole for this important national purpose.

On all sides we seem to be moved and moving towards a national theatre. After much consideration, I am wholly in favour of it. And this national theatre should be built and established and endowed

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with the national money; with the intelligent consent of the citizens; with their knowledge and faith that the drama is not only a symbol and index of civilisation, but is also a source and agent of civilisation and good manners; a harmoniser; a humaniser; an enlightener; in the best sense an educator.

If such a theatre were established, either by Government or by private munificence, I would do my best to ease its financial launch. I would gladly write a new comedy for it without any fees. I am aware that such a gift-horse might prove a very undesirable asset; but, on the other hand, by good hap it might provide the whole of the necessary security for the first year. At least I should think it a great honour and pleasure to write for a national English theatre without any consideration of payment. Indeed, why should it not become a custom for English dramatists to leave a piece in the possession of the national theatre, as painters give a diploma work to the Royal Academy? My only condition is that the theatre must mount and cast the piece to my approval. I need not say that I do not wish to meddle in the general management of the theatre.

But if no English national theatre can be established at present, if the building of our Canterbury Cathedral is as yet afar off, it still remains for us to spread our root idea among English playgoers. Ideas have the advantage of being quite inexpensive.

And our root idea is this: 'The separation of the English drama from popular amusement; its recognition as a fine literary art, which is not and cannot be the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English theatre.' This idea, diligently planted among English playgoers, will take root and live and spread. And meantime we may be picking ourselves out of our present slough, and climbing to some little hillock of vantage, whence we may look backward to the distant Elizabethan range with its peaks amongst the stars, and forward to the shadowy loom of giant heights that shall be scaled by other feet than ours in days to come.

HENRY ARTHUR JONES.

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WHAT IS A UNIVERSITY?

OXFORD and Cambridge stand alone; their beauty and their fame are at once the snare and the despair of the founders of younger universities. 'To be like Oxford'—hopeless ambition for a plain or even an ornate building in the street of a manufacturing city! Nevertheless, great business towns have founded universities, in spite of this haunting sense of inferiority, and in spite, moreover, of a spirit of angry contempt for their efforts, which is pure Sir Christopher Mowbray. That baronet, we may remember, declined to believe that the University of London was anything but a hoax; and 'could as easily fancy a county member not being a freeholder as a university not being at Oxford or Cambridge.' The spirit of this gallant Tory survives to-day, and flashed out, in my presence, not so long since, when an important county personage thus pronounced: 'I call Oxford and Cambridge universities, and all the other places colleges.' '*E pur si muove.*'

Nothing is gained by running away from obstacles; they must be surmounted. Let us, then, measure the dimensions of the obstacle presented by this temper, and consider what is to be done with it. The dimensions are undeniably formidable. A 'university,' to the mind of opulent youth, consists of blazers, games, and a number of tedious people called tutors and dons, with indefinite functions, and concerning themselves pestilently with the occupations of youth. There are libraries, which no self-respecting man would enter. Dress is an important pre-occupation. There are fellows, who—it is hard to believe—were once undergraduates, and who appear to have no reason for existing, excepting that rather fine sets of rooms would otherwise lack occupants. For the few who are not merely savage there is a rich display of architectural beauty; and there is much glorious music for those who have ears to hear—not a numerous body. Here and there may be seen the indescribably shocking spectacle of aged phantoms—forty years old at least, perhaps fifty—called professors, who are blots on the landscape. Proctors are appropriate functionaries, and a certain amount of amusement is to be obtained by disobeying them. There are chapels.

Later on the scenery changes. For the few, the very few, whose

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connections or talents commend them to the university, there looms, not impossibly distant, the high table. This connotes vintage clarets, silver plate, admission to stately chambers, the agreeable sense of being superior to other people; perhaps the world of Art is revealed; the Senate looks less like Olympus. One meets a professor, and is surprised to find that he is articulate, and possibly entertaining. Finally, one enters the world, and from that date onwards one looks back on this joyous medley of impressions as 'the university.' To have missed that joyous medley is to have suffered an irreparable loss in life. None the less, when we talk of 'university life' in connection with any place in England except Oxford and Cambridge we are face to face with the conclusion that it is impossible of attainment. Impossible, that is, if these things are of the essence. Are they? Is there any common factor uniting these sumptuous and haughty foundations with humbler bodies in manufacturing towns? Or must we remain content with the words of the brilliant personage who was invited to a provincial Convocation, and who decided that 'it was nice to see them playing at being a real university'? Must we also rest in the conclusion that Oxford has little reason for existing, except the imperative one that, if it were not for Oxford, Cambridge would be without a worthy antagonist at Lord's? These positions are not burlesque. It is true that they are extreme views; but they are views towards which many minds incline, and in which a considerable number of people find the last word to be said on the subject.

If we could get at the core of the matter we must needs adopt a somewhat startling postulate. I do not use the words that I am about to employ in an offensive sense, although I am quite aware that the expression is unusual; but we must realise that Oxford and Cambridge are educational establishments. I know that it sounds a shabby thing to say, but that is, in point of fact, the purpose for which they were founded, and that is where the newest and most struggling provincial university may fairly claim kinship with them. Socially and æsthetically the provincial universities will probably—almost certainly—remain for generations the inferiors of Oxford and Cambridge; intellectually, there is no reason why they should not remain, as they are, foundations of considerable distinction and of incalculable service to the country. Slowly—but not very slowly for Englishmen—the great industrial centres of the country are realising what the Scots have realised for several centuries—viz., that the best educated nation wins. There is nothing magical about the success in life of Scotchmen; their pre-eminence is not the consequence of their poverty, although, perhaps, to a certain extent, of their religion. It is the just reward of their having striven for centuries to develop in the youth of their country a strong and flexible intelligence. We never hear Scotchmen imbecilely dogmatising as to the utility of this or the futility of that branch of learning. They

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know well enough that a strong and flexible intelligence, however acquired, is an invaluable asset in the battle of life. They cherish and respect the intellectual process; Englishmen despise it. An Englishman, pitched into the middle of strange conditions, begins by pooh-poohing or exaggerating his difficulties, according to his temperament, goes on by abusing them, and ends by 'taking his coat off and going for them.' A Scot watches them; his mind turns this way and that as the situation alters, until, at last, true as the needle to the Pole, it pierces to the core of the difficulty. An Englishman may succeed; a Scot is bound to succeed. This is not miraculous. Four centuries ago the Scots were insignificant people, economically. They were the Afghans of Europe, a nuisance to England, of no account to anyone else. What has transformed them into the first race of the world, not excepting the Hebrews, who take some beating and are undeniably the closest rivals of the Scotch? Reluctant though Englishmen are to admit that education is anything but a pedantic encumbrance, we are coming to the conclusion that we cannot do better than follow in the footsteps of our masters, and educate ourselves.

It is characteristic of the Englishman that he sees far less difficulty in founding a bishopric than in founding a university. A bishopric is part of the established order of things. If a sufficient number of influential people say 'We ought to have a bishop,' he sighs, accedes, and prepares for the necessary sacrifice. There are Acts of Parliament on the subject; he admits that there is no way out of it. But his mind is in revolt at once against the idea of a university. He 'does not see how it can be done'; 'we shall never be like Oxford or Cambridge'; and so on. These reasonings, once cogent, are losing force now that we face the conclusion, equally irrationally reached, but none the less cogent—viz., that we *must* have a university.

What, then, is the framework of the university?—a framework which we may decorate as sumptuously as we will, but which remains the indispensable groundwork when all is said and done. Three technical terms (we may as well face them), all loosely used, all more or less misunderstood—the chair, the faculty, and the senate. This sums up the academic side of the university. The man who holds the chair is called professor, the faculty (say of science) is composed of all the professors in that faculty (geology, botany, etc.), the senate is the council of the faculties. There is your university; and one faculty is enough to begin with if funds are lacking for a larger enterprise.

Every Englishman affects a contempt for titles, which lasts, as a rule, until he sees one within his grasp. But for no title has he the unspeakable contempt that he cherishes for that of professor. One very famous professor entreated his friends not to address him as such, for he felt sure that Professor Pepper (the ghost-man) adorned

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the title much more than himself. We never hear Scotchmen talk in this ridiculous way. A professor is neither more nor less serious than a major or a paymaster. His title implies definite attainments and definite privileges. He is called professor because he is master of his subject. Naturally, in this imperfect world, there are many masters of their subjects who are not professors, and *vice versa*; but we are speaking of the ideal university, and in such a university the professor will be master of his subject.

As professor he is one of those who legislate for his faculty. All other people—assistants, demonstrators, teachers, readers, by whatever titles they may be called—have no voice whatever in the decisions which affect the policy of the faculty. A wise faculty will take counsel with them, and a foolish faculty will neglect them; but no faculty, either wise or foolish, can admit them to a seat with a vote in the faculty without destroying the difference between professors and people who are not professors. Is the difference worth preserving? The answer is: Just as long as it is worth preserving the difference between industry and indolence, or between hack-work and original work, that is just so long as it is worth while to have a university.

Only professors sit in the senate. That body is purely academical, and is sometimes called Senatus Academicus, in order to emphasise the fact. Here is where the greatest confusion of mind is to be found when a new university compares itself with the older foundations. For reasons sumptuary, disciplinary, and domestic, all sorts of important functionaries are found in Oxford and Cambridge who are not found in provincial universities. For the ideal university, of which we are contemplating the foundation, we cannot alter the groundwork of our constitution without confusing our minds, distorting our aims, and laming our policy.

The chair, the faculty, the senate. There is the whole academic side of the university in six words. Keep that framework, and everything falls into shape; alter it, and everything falls into confusion.

We now approach the business side; and if the academic side presents here and there considerable confusion of ideas, the business side presents little else but confusion of ideas. The business side of the university is managed by a body called in some places 'the council,' elected by a larger body called 'the court.' In other places these terms are transposed; it is the court that looks after business, and the council which elects them. The members of the larger body, whether called court or council, receive the resounding but really ridiculous title (considering the circumstances) of 'governors,' while there is not always a definite qualification for either position.

We need not waste time and fatigue ourselves by examining these things. Let us, as in the academic half of the university, go straight to the core of the matter and work up from the broad basis of the

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constitution. The basis is electoral; eliminate, therefore, the words governor, court, and council, which are all misleading, and call the thing what it is—viz., the electorate. For the electorate there must be a qualification. What qualification shall we decide upon for the university franchise? Here we get help from every side. Whatever 'fancy franchises' have been adopted in consequence of varying social conditions, one class of people has always been admitted to have a claim to the university franchise—viz., graduates of the standing of master. This qualification is unexceptionable from every point of view. We may safely take it as our unit. I say 'master' deliberately, because that degree is often decried as implying merely the payment of extra fees and the lapse of time—as if these things were nothing. Lapse of time implies increased sobriety of judgment, and the payment of extra fees implies an interest in the university maintained for some years. The abuse of the master's degree, therefore, seems unjustified, and we may take that degree as a qualification for the university franchise.

We must now proceed to translate that into money, because for the first five years of our ideal university's existence there will be no graduates of master's standing, and consequently no electoral roll. What does a master's degree cost first and last at Oxford or Cambridge? Say 1000*l.* What will it cost in the ideal, non-residential, provincial university? Say 100*l.* There, again, is our unit. Anybody contributing 100*l.* to the funds of the university will be entitled to be put on the electoral roll.

It will be objected that this makes but a narrow franchise. The rejoinder is that the narrower the franchise the better, so far as may be consistent with stability. A thing is valuable in proportion to its rarity. The practice of putting dozens and dozens of people on the electoral roll who have not evinced the faintest interest in university work does not, as is alleged, 'extend the interest of the public in the university'; it only creates the impression that the whole thing is a farce. It is, however, politic and sensible that a few—but not too many—prominent people in county or municipal work should be given the university franchise as an incident of their dignified offices. But, I repeat, the university franchise is, and must be kept, a privilege, for which academical people have to qualify by payment and hard work, and which non-academical people should be gratified by securing by payment without any work at all.

Local conditions indicate some variations, and there are the cases of testators entitled to nominate life-members of the electoral roll, of groups of contributors claiming to nominate a member, and of business firms claiming the same privilege. These are examples of detail, and the electoral roll remains the basis of the university constitution.

Assuming, then, that our ideal university has completed its electoral roll, which is one grand permanent tie with the public, we come to

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the next point—the object for which the electorate is called into existence—viz., to elect a body to manage the business interests of the university. That body may well be called the council. The title is dignified, and it is accurate; and the question remains, How is it to be constituted?

Too often we hear such a conversation as this: 'I see that X. has been put on Council.' 'Yes.' 'I suppose he's a University man?' 'Oh, yes; Eton and King's.' 'Does he work very hard at it?' 'Bless you, no! I don't suppose he knows where Council Chamber is. They only put him on for the sake of his title.' And no body inquires who 'they' are who 'put him on'; in fact, a badly constructed electorate has little authority.

Nobody seems to think that this is a degrading confession.

In the ideal university, however, there will be no *fainéants*. How are we to secure that desirable end? By the application of the same principle that guided us in choosing the electorate. A similar qualification should be adopted for council. A hundred pounds qualifies for the electoral roll; the gift of 1,000*l.* should be the minimum qualifying for council. It need not be given in a lump sum. The sum is considerable from some points of view, but it should be remembered that we are considering, *ex hypothesi*, a city where there are numerous people to whom 1,000*l.* is no more than a five-pound note is to scores of men who walk up the steps of my club any afternoon in the year.

What should be the size of council? The answer is, 'as small as possible'—say about the size of a large Cabinet—twenty. Of these twenty people perhaps seven will be great officers—viz., the chancellor, four pro-chancellors, the vice-chancellor, and the lord rector (supposing that we preserve that graceful and interesting, if somewhat meaningless, office). Then each faculty should elect one member to represent it on council. If we start our ideal university with three faculties, that leaves us ten more to be chosen by the electorate. In some places senators are allowed to attend council, but they are not allowed to vote. This is a practice which appears to combine every disadvantage. There is hardly more reason for allowing senators to 'attend' council than there is for allowing councillors to 'attend' senate. For facilitating the despatch of business one senator elected from each faculty can do no harm, and may be useful as a member possessed of technical information of use to council. Even that is open to question.

Sometimes the lord rector is allowed to nominate a representative on council, called the lord rector's assessor, who is supposed to convey his chief's wishes to council when he cannot attend in person. The lord rector is elected by the students annually, and is supposed to represent their interests on council—presumably in case they should be down-trodden by council. He is an interesting and picturesque

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survival, and his existence is justified by the opportunity it affords to students for corporate action. He is usually an eminent literary or political personage, and his office is worth preservation; but there is no apparent reason why he should be treated differently from other members of council.

The chancellor is the head of the university. He is usually elected for life; and cases have been known where he has only been to the university of which he is head once or twice in his lifetime. In the ideal university figure-heads should be avoided.

An even worse chancellor than the *roi fainéant* would be the chancellor who should strive to 'make himself felt.' Thirty years is too long for the influence of one man to be dominant. The Lord Mayor of London is elected annually, and what is good enough for the Lord Mayor of London is good enough for the chancellor of a university. The pro-chancellors are there to remind the vice-chancellor that he is a mortal—a very necessary precaution, as we shall see. The qualification for the office of chancellor or pro-chancellor may be a gift of 5,000*l*. One grand functionary—the lord-lieutenant—might be declared by statute eligible for either office. These five important people would be elected by the electorate, as in the case of council. It is important to bring the highest offices of the university within reach of all who care to aspire to them.

There, then, we have the whole constitution in brief, avoiding detail and technicalities; and what should be the idea of the relation of each part of the constitution to the other? One mistaken idea may be indicated at once. A university is emphatically *not* a business concern with directors, manager, and clerks—corresponding to council, vice-chancellor, and senate. This wholly lamentable position is one towards which provincial universities have a tendency. The leading case expressing this confusion of mind is the well-known one of the councillor who objected to sit down with a senator, on the ground that his servants always stood in his presence. That will never do.

A better parallel would be that of Sovereign, Lords, and Commons. The parallel is not exact, because the 'lords,' nominating, as they do, the lower chamber (the senate), and holding the power of the purse, are enormously more powerful than the real Upper Chamber; but one sound idea is common to both—viz., that in each case we have *three powers working together for the common good.* This we must never lose sight of. Cases have been known where the council ignored the senate altogether, and would listen to nothing except through the vice-chancellor. That is the road to ruin. The completest possible confidence between council and senate, and between the public and both these bodies, is the only healthy atmosphere for the ideal university. 'A healthy atmosphere' sounds a vague and rather a priggish expression. None the less, it has a just significance. The unhealthy

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atmosphere is one in which people are afraid to speak their minds, or, worse still, have no minds to speak. Or it may be one in which each man scrambles viciously for the interests of his own subject. In any case, we may be sure that it is the result of a disturbance of the balance of power in the university.

Keeping that ideal (balance of power) steadily before us, what principles of external activity ought to be recognised by the patriotic men who propose to found the ideal university?

There are four:

1. Brains before bricks.
2. Those who pay the piper call the tune.

Corollary—nobody calls the tune except those who pay the piper.

3. No politics.
4. No religion.

Before looking these in the face, let us consider very briefly some points of internal policy.

Functions of the chancellor.—The chancellor signs the appointment of all professors. (Lesser functionaries receive their appointment from the secretary of council, who is the only 'servant' that the council actually have. The 'secretary' may be called the 'registrar'; it does not matter much; but 'registrary' is rather a mouthful.) He confers degrees, presides in council when he is present, and decides all appeals from the vice-chancellor, where appeals are provided for.

Functions of the pro-chancellors.—The pro-chancellors preside in council, and confer degrees, in order of precedence, and in the absence of the chancellor. They have various privileges, but are indispensable chiefly as reminders to the vice-chancellor that he is not the head.

Functions of the vice-chancellor.—No single mistake is so damaging as any lack of precision here. The vice-chancellor is sometimes called the principal, a correct enough title for the head of a college, but not for the chancellor's deputy. 'Principal' expresses too much as regards internal affairs, and far too little as regards the general public. The very word implies that he is the head, which he is not. 'Vice-chancellor' exactly defines his position. He is the highest paid officer of the university. His is a post of vast influence and but little authority. He belongs to all faculties, but is not necessarily the dean of any one faculty. He presides in senate always, and in council in the absence of the chancellor and pro-chancellors. He is a convenient channel of communication between all the faculties, and between the public and the university, *but not the only channel.* It is sometimes contended that he ought to hold no chair himself; but if he is professor of any subject he should do the work of the chair, and not depute it to an assistant. In the beginnings of a new university he may be called upon to lend a hand in any direction. He should, therefore, be a man of taste, and of large sympathies, and of reading wide rather than profound. A man of many clubs is preferable to a man of many

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books. If he is distinguished academically, that is to the good; but it is his human qualities that should come first rather than his academical attainments. He is not a schoolmaster. In the present condition of affairs it is important that he should be a layman. He must not be a recluse. In his relations with the senate he is *primus inter pares*; he may suggest, but should issue as few orders as possible. In so far as he endeavours to turn his 'influence' into 'authority' he will be a failure. He is responsible for the interpretation of regulations when disputed, and for the discipline of the students—in both cases under appeal to the chancellor. It is not at all necessary that he should be a man of business, as the business element is amply represented on council. Council holds the purse-strings, and should look to the vice-chancellor for ideas rather than for advice in money matters, which they understand perfectly without his help. Instances have been known of vice-chancellors endeavouring to show their energy by overloading the senate with work till it is stale. Only a feeble senate and an indifferent council would allow this. But feeble senates and indifferent councils have been known to exist, and, if they co-exist, danger impends.[1]

The worst disaster that can befall a university is loss of mental vigour, whether from securing the wrong men or from overdriving the right men. Fine buildings and large endowments are good; but there have not been wanting universities which enjoyed both these advantages, and yet produced no impression whatever on the mind of the country. The soul of the university is the senate. Unlike the vice-chancellor, in whose case academic qualities are a secondary consideration, senators ought to be chosen strictly for their academic qualities. We cannot expect much for 500*l.* a year, but we can expect what we actually find—an adequate supply of people who are capable of the faithful discharge of routine duty. That suffices. In England, with a certain license—they are slightly stricter in Scotland—the degree course consists of about 150 lectures delivered between October and June. One hundred and fifty lectures, if they are good lectures, are enough to exhaust most men; and beyond this, whatever extra work is done, if any, should be left to the initiative of the individual teacher. It should never be forgotten that we are speaking of a university, *not* of a glorified Board school, or of a technical institute, or of a night school. Too often, from neglect of this obvious fact, the 'university' dwindles and sinks into a gruesome compound of these three things, and the university ideal disappears.

If, by chance, the university should secure a man who is capable of exertion outside the degree course, council should cherish him as the apple of its eye. Such men make the fame and charm of the university. The extra energy thus displayed implies a force of

[1] Accepting the comparison of the university with a Constitutional State, the position of the vice-chancellor is precisely that of the Permanent Under-Secretary.

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character and intelligence that is simply invaluable to council. It may be transmuted into social activity and lead to the foundation of a university club; or perhaps there may be on the senate one man who has pierced through the technicalities of the classics, or another who is capable of research (although the Record Office is open to all the world it is not every reader who knows how to use it) and may achieve work of distinction. Or it may be merely that animal spirits, unsubdued even by 150 lectures, leave him time to deliver fifty more.

It is really necessary to record that council should further the interests of the senate. Cases have been known where they have done precisely the opposite. Instances could be given of councillors who profess to 'take an interest' in a subject, and are contented with honouring science[2] by lending it their names. Such people are 150 years out of date. They recall the eighteenth-century 'patron,' and do not shine even in that sorry company. A vigilant electorate will be careful to protect the university from their ruinous 'patronage.'

All these disastrous mistakes arise from neglect of the principles which ought to guide the pious founders of the ideal university. Council and senate are not bodies with opposite interests. But whereas council is composed of men of business accustomed to act together, senate is composed of bookish people, for the most part content to dwell in their books and their class-rooms. It is the function, and should be the pride, of the vice-chancellor to be the sympathetic intermediary and interpreter between the two bodies. He should bind together, not seek to divide; help and not hinder mutual understanding, and will do his duty or fail in it according to the course he elects to pursue.

So far of internal politics. With a short note on the principles of external policy our picture of the ideal university is complete.

1. *Brains before bricks.*—Buildings there must be; and in particular the vice-chancellor should 'live over the shop,' and not play the fine gentleman, or live on 10*l.* a week at the club and pocket the balance of his income. 'Vice-chancellor's lodge' should be a feature from the outset of the new university. But at any crisis of the university, when it is a question whether a given sum shall be devoted to the foundation of a chair or to the erection of fine buildings, the university should not hesitate. Better a good man working in shabby rooms than fine rooms with nobody, or only a drudge, to work in them.

Some councils do not encourage the endowment of chairs. I never heard a formal defence of this policy; but, presumably, the grounds for it would be that in early stages of the university it is easy and convenient to pay a man by ear-marking a sum out of income. If his subject should prove to be a failure, the university can then turn

[2] Let us recall the fine saying of Faraday: 'I am not one of those who think that science can be honoured.'

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its funds in a more profitable direction. This system gives flexibility. The extreme cogency of the rule calling for an endowment fund of ten or, in some places, twenty thousand pounds gives stability and dignity. The *via media* is probably the safest—viz., to ear-mark a certain proportion of the necessary income, and then to give the incumbent the right to raise the endowment fund, or, at least, to stamp the project with the approval of council, and let the professor be an apostle for his subject. Success—that desirable end—has thus two chances —viz., the popularity of the subject and the popularity of the man. Two chances are better than one. As regards seniority of the faculties, medicine generally comes first, for obvious reasons. Science makes a good second, arts (or letters) comes last; and latest in the last come history and literature, which, as a rule, run a race for being the Cinderella of the university.

It is usual for professors in provincial universities to be engaged upon three months' notice. The alternative is to appoint for life. While council holds the purse-strings it does not matter much except on sentimental grounds. It practically amounts to a tenure of office *quam diu se bene gesserint.*

2. *Those who pay the piper call the tune* (*with corollary*).—This appears axiomatic. Nevertheless, there are cases where the policy of a university has been affected, and even directed, by people who have not made the faintest sacrifices for it.

3. *No politics.*—This also appears axiomatic. Nevertheless, examples could be cited of political bias recalling the immortal Squir-radical: 'Thank God the days of Tory jobbery are at an end. It's a good honest Liberal Government that's in, and they would certainly move at my request.'

4. *No religion.*—This seems a hard saying; and perhaps Lothair was right when he said that universities were universal and had something to do with everything. There would be a good deal in that if we could all agree to regard one another's religious views with the dispassionate curiosity that we bestow upon varieties of shells. Unfortunately—or fortunately, according to the point of view—we are far, very far, from such an attitude of mind. Those who believe, believe with a passion of devotion. As for those who believe not, they regard all religious views alike with contempt as icy as the devotion of the believer is fervid. What is our common meeting-ground? Only this—that we are all in this world together, and may help our country by working together. That we can do, and we shall do it best if we are content to work for our temporal benefit even in concert with those from whom, if religious teachers say truly, we must be separated for ever in the future life.

A university is a little State; full well the Scots know it. They approach the mass and the details of government with equal gravity and method. To them everything matters. It is matter for concern

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that there should be a visitor who does not visit, a chancellor whom nobody sees, or a feeble electorate. It is matter for concern when council despises senate, when the faculties are for ever squabbling, or when the vice-chancellor is a bungler; and it is a matter for supreme concern when the public comes to look on the university with contempt and disgust, for this means failure.

If a university is nothing but a hobby, it is of little consequence to the country whether it fails or not. We have assumed, however, that university education is a matter of national concern; and, as a rule, pious founders are of that mind. In the career of all universities there comes, moreover, a time when the question of management or mismanagement becomes a matter of public concern. From the moment when a university accepts the Treasury subsidy the taxpayer is interested in seeing that the Treasury gets value for his money. Treasury Commissioners report periodically on the state of these subsidised institutions, and anybody who takes fifteen pennyworth of interest in the universities of England may, for the sum of one-and-three pence, learn which were at the last inspection punished and which were rewarded; which were prospering and which were going downhill. The point of contact between the Treasury and the university is the source of many complicated and contentious questions. It may suffice here to indicate that the subsidy is granted with the admirable object of breaking the vicious circle in which education tends more and more every day to travel. To inquire whether that object is attained would lead us too far on the present occasion.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

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THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS: AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF HISTORY.

THERE is no history which has been represented in such different lights as that of Ireland, or which contains so large a proportion of controversial matter. And in all that history there is no episode more hopelessly involved in obscurity than the conspiracy in which the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell are said to have engaged in the fourth year of the reign of James the First. I propose in the following pages to examine briefly the evidence for an accusation which, as it afforded a pretext for the great plantation of Ulster, must be held to have profoundly modified the whole subsequent course of Irish history.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the authority of the English Government, which had first been introduced into Ireland in the twelfth, may be said to have definitely established itself throughout the island. The same year which witnessed the death of the great Queen, witnessed also the final overthrow of the great chieftains who had so long defied her power: and, within a few weeks from the day when the first Stuart ascended the throne of England, he received the homage of the O'Neil and the O'Donnel at Whitehall. It is impossible, in the space at my disposal, to describe in detail the means by which the subjugation of the island was effected. But the story of the subsequent conspiracy would be unintelligible without some account, however brief and imperfect, of the policy and methods of the conquerors.

The war, although occasionally interrupted, had been virtually co-extensive with the long reign of Elizabeth, and had been conducted with an atrocity rare even in that age. It is not necessary for my present purpose to relate at length the innumerable acts of perfidy and cruelty perpetrated by the conquerors, the repeated attempts to assassinate Shane O'Neil, Desmond, Hugh O'Donnel, and Tyrone, the massacres of Mullaghamast, of Rathlin, and of Smerwick, the torturing of Archbishop Hurley and other prisoners who fell into the hands of the Government. But I shall endeavour by a few quotations from the most trustworthy contemporary writers

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to illustrate the desolation of the country during the last years of the sixteenth century.

Spenser, in a well-known passage, advocated the reduction of Ireland by famine, and described with unconcealed admiration the success with which that policy had been pursued 'in these late wars of Munster.'

For, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and one half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death: they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them: yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves: and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they thronged as to a feast for the time: yet not able long to continue there withal: that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast: yet sure in all that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine.[1]

Poets, it has been said, colour all that they regard: but the tale, as told by the prosaic pen of Holinshed, is little, if at all, less horrible.

After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroy the same did consume and eat out: very few or none remaining alive, saving such as dwelt in cities and towns: and yet the store in the towns was very far spent, and they in distress, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who lived at large, for they were not only driven to eat horses, dogs, and dead carrions, but also did devour the carcases of dead men, whereof there be sundry examples. In the bay of Smerwick there happened a ship to be lost through foul weather, and all the men, being drowned, were there cast on land. The common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, oreads, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent, as soon as they saw these dead bodies, took them up and most greedily did eat and devour them; and, not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land itself, which before these wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fish and sundry other good commodities, is now become waste and barren. Finally, every way the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end of Munster to the other, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwick, which is about six score miles, he should not meet any man, woman, or child, nor yet see any beasts; but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them lay dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.[2]

A few years after the South of Ireland had been subdued by these methods a scene of even greater barbarity was enacted in the North. Two letters of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and a passage from the *Itinerary* of his secretary Fynes Moryson will enable us to

[1] Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland.*
[2] Holinshed, vol. vi. pp. 459, 460.

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realise the condition of Ulster during the last months of Tyrone's rebellion. In July 1602, Mountjoy assured the English Privy Council 'that from O'Kane's country, where now he (Tyrone) liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition; nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places as we passed.'[3]

In another letter, dated six weeks later, he says that

in Tyrone, which had been reduced to a desert, and in the neighbouring counties also, he had found everywhere men dead of famine; insomuch that O'Hagan, a chieftain of Tyrone, protested unto us that between Tullahogue and Toome, a distance of about twenty miles, there lay a thousand dead, and that, since our first drawing this year to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone.[4]

Moryson's account is fuller and more graphic:

Now, because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples show the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester saw a most horrid spectacle of three children, whereof the eldest was not above ten years old, all eating their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past. Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputy's letters of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine. The common sort were brought to unspeakable extremities, beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind, the ample relating whereof were an infinite task: yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances. Captain Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness that some old women in those parts were used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children, driving out the cattle in the cold mornings and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by the strength of her body. The captains of Carrickfergus and the adjacent garrisons can witness that, upon the making of peace and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and, they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throats for a share of them. And no spectacle was more common in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above ground.[5]

I have thought it advisable to describe in some detail the severities which accompanied the final conquest of the island; for it is only when we reflect upon the sufferings of the Irish people during that contest that we can understand how improbable it is that they should have attempted, only a few years later, to renew the struggle. The improbability will appear even greater when we remember that Tyrone had only taken arms in order to save his estates from confiscation, and that, by the terms of his submission,

[3] July 29, 1602 (*Carew MSS.*).

[4] September 12, 1602. Quoted in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*.

[5] Moryson, part ii. p. 271.

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that object had been fully attained. For four years after the accession of James there was peace in Ireland, interrupted only by some insignificant disturbances, which the religious policy of the Government provoked in Munster during the first months of the new reign. In the summer of 1603, Mountjoy, to whose energy and ability the successful termination of the recent struggle must in a great measure be attributed, resigned his office. He was succeeded by Sir George Carey, who, after a brief administration, of which the restoration of the currency was the most important feature, gave place in February 1605 to Sir Arthur Chichester. From the hour of his appointment, the new deputy appears to have set his heart upon effecting a thorough settlement of Ulster, and to have determined, for this purpose, to destroy the power and to confiscate the property of the Northern chieftains. But for this a pretext was necessary, and Chichester, who was by no means overburdened with scruples, set to work with unprincipled ingenuity to entangle his intended victims in a charge of treason. His first attempt was of a peculiarly revolting description. He instructed Sir Tobias Caulfield, an adventurer who subsequently obtained large grants of confiscated land in Ulster, 'to sound the Countess of Tyrone, who may reveal her husband's secrets.' The trick was, as the lord deputy himself admitted, 'uncivil, but his zeal for the king's service will be an excuse.' The countess indignantly replied that 'she knew of nothing, but she would not for all the world be known to accuse him of anything that would endanger his life.' Having failed to elicit any direct information, Caulfield then proceeded to cross-examine the unfortunate lady as to her 'ideas and suspicions of the earl's intentions,' but, so far as we can learn, without any satisfactory result. Convinced that there was nothing to be learnt from this quarter, Sir Toby next turned his attention to 'one Owen, a priest,' but was again unsuccessful.[6]

A little later, Neil Garve O'Donnel, a disappointed claimant to the estates and dignity of Tyrconnell, came forward with an elaborate charge against his successful rival. He declared that Tyrone, Tyrconnell, Maguire of Enniskillen, and other Irish gentlemen had conspired to seize the principal fortresses of Ulster: that they had sympathisers in the three southern provinces: that Florence Conroy, a Jesuit, was intriguing at the Spanish Court in their interest: that Robert McArthur, another Jesuit, was in England under a false name, 'and doth from thence continually advertise the earls of all occurrences:' and that 'it is a common opinion among them all in the North that Sir Randal McDonnell is a party with them in all plots and devices.' The tale was based throughout upon the loosest hearsay evidence: none of the persons from whom Neil Garve

[6] Chichester to Cecil, February 18, 1606 (Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 63).

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professed to have derived his information could be induced to corroborate it: and the character and pretensions of the accuser made the Government unwilling to appear to give much credence to his statements.[7]

Nor was the deposition made shortly afterwards by Teig O'Corcoran, an apostate priest, who declared that he had gone through the form of reconciliation with his Church and had wormed himself by these means into the confidence of the Catholic party, much more convincing. The deponent professed to have heard from Cuconnaught Maguire that it was his intention to leave Ireland and to seek a refuge in Spain or the Low Countries, and that Tyrconnell was aware of his design; but even if the story was true—and there was nothing but his bare word to support it—he could furnish no proof of any ulterior motive on the part of the intending fugitive.[8] Maguire was nevertheless arrested and kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually released, as no evidence could be produced against him.

But, if Chichester's attempts to incriminate the earls were not at once crowned with success, the efforts of his confederate Cecil were more fortunate. In the spring of 1607, an individual who thought it prudent to conceal his identity under the initials A. B. approached that statesman with a story of an intended insurrection in Ulster which Cecil lost no time in communicating to the lord deputy. In May the storm burst. On the 18th of that month an anonymous letter, addressed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, was 'found at the door of the council chamber.' The writer, who affected to be an Irish Catholic, professed to disclose a conspiracy of the most formidable kind. 'Some Catholic gentlemen'—for the informer was wise enough to confine himself to generalities—had told him under 'the strictest conditions of secrecy' that it was their intention to assassinate the lord deputy at Drogheda and to surprise Dublin Castle, which was 'neither manned nor victualled.' 'The towns are for them: the country with them: the great ones abroad and in the North are prepared to answer the first alarm.' Spain and the Pope had promised 'means and men to second the first stirs:' and the conspirators believed that a bold stroke would enable them to dictate their own terms to the Government.[9]

On the 27th Chichester wrote to Salisbury enclosing this singular document. He did not disguise his distrust of the writer's statements, but was 'advised to transmit them, by reason they concur in many parts with the discovery made unto your lordship by A. B.; otherwise I should have thought of it as heretofore I have done of

[7] Informations of Niall Garve O'Donnell (Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 67–69).

[8] Informations of Teig O'Corcoran (*Ibid.* pp. 69–72).

[9] Anonymous letter to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council (*Ibid.* pp. 96–98).

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the like presented unto me, and have taken them rather for impostures to deceive me than discoveries to forewarn me.' 'If A. B.,' he added, 'were an advised or judicial man, it might be supposed he had plotted this to strengthen the discovery he hath made'; and 'howsoever his lightness may clear that suspicion,' it was plain that the lord deputy could not entirely rid himself of the idea.[10]

The individual who figures so largely in the correspondence of the Government under the pseudonym A. B. was Christopher St. Lawrence, an adventurer of no very high character, who had served in Ulster under the Earl of Essex, had accompanied him in his flight to England, and had offered, when it became known that his patron's life was in danger, to assassinate Lord Grey de Wilton and others of that nobleman's accusers.[11] But, even in that supreme hour of peril, the noble nature of Essex recoiled in horror from the vile proposal: and from this time we hear no more of St. Lawrence until 1602, when he fought under Mountjoy at Carlingford. After the submission of Tyrone, St. Lawrence, like many other officers, found himself out of employment, and appears to have become intensely discontented. He now left Ireland and engaged in some intrigues in the Low Countries; but, having failed to secure the confidence of the disaffected Irish, speedily exchanged the rôle of a conspirator for the safer and more lucrative occupation of a Government spy.

In the letter which I have just quoted Chichester informed his correspondent that 'one Howth, alias St. Lawrence, and one Art M'Rorie M'Mahon were arraigned in the King's Bench for plotting the betraying of this castle. The matter,' he says, 'was first discovered unto me by Howth himself: and Art M'Rorie, being apprehended and examined, after many denials, confessed at last that Howth had broken that matter with him,' a fact which throws a curious light upon the value of that gentleman's disclosures.

Seven weeks later the deputy again wrote to Salisbury, describing an interview which he had just had with St. Lawrence, and intimating more plainly than ever his conviction that the tale, as it then stood, would not bear sifting.[12] He seems, however, to have thought that, with a little careful editing, it might be made to wear an appearance

[10] Chichester to Salisbury, May 27, 1607 (Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 92–95).

[11] Camden's *Annales*, p. 741.

[12] 'I find him so wavering and uncertain that I am enforced to hold him to particulars, as well for the persons acquainted with the plot and the time when it shall be put in execution, as the manner how the same shall be discovered, his honour preserved, and the kingdom and state kept from danger. I perceive my strict questioning with him in these points makes him to think of some things of which he never dreamed before. . . . I like not his look and gesture when he talks with me of this business.'—Chichester to Salisbury, July 19, 1607 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 226). This letter is omitted from the valuable collection published y Father Meehan.

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of plausibility, for, on the 25th of August, we find him sending to the same nobleman a 'Brief collection drawn from sundry discourses had with A. B.,' extending in all over nearly two months. Briefly stated, A. B's discoveries were as follows:

(1) 'That there is a general revolt intended by many of the nobility and principal persons of this land.'

(2) 'That they have made known their said intentions and purposes to the King of Spain, who hath entertained the same with good applause.'

(3) 'The principal contrivers and plotters of this innovation did advise and resolve to seize upon the Castle of Dublin, when the lord deputy and council were within, whom they would kill or otherwise dispose of at their pleasures.'

(4) 'They concluded to attempt the surprise of the Castle in Easter Term, anno 1606, and had proceeded therein but for two causes: first, A. B. thought it a matter full of danger,' and suggested that it should be deferred until the arrival of the Spaniards: secondly, 'C. D. (Lord Delvin) would not assent that the deputy should be slain, for that he was his friend.'

(5) A. B. had gone to England in August, 1606, 'expecting to obtain some employment or pension from the king's majesty. If he failed therein he then resolved to put himself into the service of the arch-duke,' but in any case 'to reveal so dangerous a plot of conspiracy, before it should bring forth the monster of his country's ruin and king's disturbance.'

(6) 'He revealed it not at his first coming to the court, by reason he thought the venom had not spread itself further than to discourse. But when he perceived that the poison of this traitorous conspiracy had infected many of the king's subjects, he then thought it high time to discover what he knew or had heard.'

(7) He had seen Florence Conroy, the provincial of the Irish Franciscans in the Low Countries, 'by whom he was assured that all things were concluded.'

(8) 'This Florence hath been employed in this business from the beginning by E. F. (Tyrconnell), and is well favoured by the King of Spain.'

(9) 'The Spaniard hath fed E. F. with hope of great advancement and reward.'

(10) 'He saith that this is all true, and that he had the first knowledge thereof from C. D., and soon after he conferred with E. F., who are the men he dealt withal on this side, and none other.'

(11) 'He cannot of himself charge G. H. (Tyrone) with any particular matter, but is well assured by the speech he had with the former two, and others in the Low Countries, that he is as deep in the treason as any.'

(12) 'He saith that he hath talked with E. F. sundry times since

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his first coming over, and found him constant and firm in his first resolution.'[13]

It was impossible to put much faith in a tale so rambling and incoherent, and Chichester was still seeking desperately for some more respectable witness when an event took place which gave an apparent plausibility to the narrative of the informer.

Almost from the hour of his submission Tyrone had been harassed by litigants who acted, it can scarcely be doubted, at the instigation of the Castle. Of these litigants Donal O'Cahan and Montgomery, Protestant Bishop of Derry, were the most pertinacious and vindictive. The latter laid claim to a great part of Tyrone's estates, alleging that they were the property of his See[14]: and about this time the case was still further complicated by the discovery on the part of the Castle lawyers that these lands belonged in law to the Crown. The earl was advised to proceed to London to lay his case before the king. If he went, he might be arrested and perhaps assassinated. If he refused, his refusal might be construed as an act of treason. Convinced that the Government was bent on his destruction, he fled from Ireland. He was accompanied by Tyrconnell.

The motives for this singular escapade could only be conjectured; but Chichester, who seems to have formed a very just estimate of his informant's character, expressed a strong belief that St. Lawrence had 'put buzzes in the head of the Earl of Tyrone,' insinuating that his life was in danger, and had thus induced him to take a step which would give colour to his own slanders.[15] It is probable that the suspicion was well grounded: but Tyrone had also received a warning from a more trustworthy quarter.

I have already mentioned the arrest of Cuconnaught Maguire on the information of Teig O'Corcoran in August 1606. After a short imprisonment he was released, as no formal charge had been preferred against him: but he appears to have been subjected to a ceaseless espionage and to various forms of petty annoyance. Finding his position intolerable he contrived, in May 1607, to elude the vigilance of the Government and escape to the Low Countries. There he learnt from Florence Conroy that it was the intention of the English Ministers to induce Tyrone to proceed to London and there cause him to be arrested. Convinced of his friend's danger, he immediately purchased a ship and sailed under French colours to Rathmullen, at the same time sending information to Tyrone, who, as we have seen, had already good reason to distrust the fidelity of the Government. Apprised of his peril, the earl hurriedly collected as much of his rents as he could lay his hands on,

[13] Brief collections drawn from sundry discourses had with A. B. betwixt June 29 and August 25, 1607 (Meehan, pp. 100–106).

[14] Carleton's *Thankful Remembrance*, p. 231.

[15] Chichester to Salisbury, September 18, 1607 (Meehan, p. 142).

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pretending that he needed funds for his journey to England, and hastened to join Maguire at Lough Swilly. Thence with his countess and his three sons, Tyrconnell and his infant son, Tyrconnell's brother Cathbar, and a number of other gentlemen, he sailed for Flanders, whence the fugitives proceeded by easy stages to Rome.[16]

The flight of the alleged conspirators removed the most serious obstacle from the path of the Government, but, even now, to obtain evidence which would bear publication was no easy task. Lord Howth, although perfectly ready to supply the deputy with secret information, 'could not bring a second person to justify the accusation, nor would appear himself to be the discoverer.' He hoped, however, to 'bring C. D. to discover the whole.'[17] But Delvin was as reluctant as his friend to appear in the rôle of an informer; and it was only after he had been arrested and subjected to a good deal of irregular pressure that he was induced to sign a confession corroborating the most important statements of Howth's narrative.

He deposed 'that the Earl of Tyrconnell brake first with him about Christmas twelvemonth, in the garden of Maynooth, of his traitorous purposes,' warning him that, whatever services he might render to the Government, he would be neglected, as his father and St. Lawrence had been. 'Soon after this, for they had sundry conferences, the earl break plainly with him that his purpose was to take the castle of Dublin, when the deputy and council were together.' Delvin replied 'that he liked not of the plot of taking the castle, deputy and council, for he thought the attempt hard and dangerous,' but that, if aid could be obtained from Spain, he would attempt that 'or anything else, the killing of the lord deputy excepted, whose blood I will not see spilt, for he hath ever been my good friend. The Earl of Tyrconnell told him that the Earl of Tyrone, Maguire, and sundry others would join with him, for the whole kingdom was discontented, and would declare themselves when they saw the deputy and council in their hands and the kingdom without other government than their own.' They had resolved to surprise the city and castle of Dublin and various other fortified towns, and Tyrconnell had sent a messenger to Father Florence 'to deal with the king of Spain to give them assistance, and propounded to have 10,000 men at least.' Delvin had subsequently gone to England, and had had no further communication with the conspirators until he heard from 'one Owen Groome, a friar,' that the plot had been betrayed to the Government. 'He thought sundry times he was in England to have discovered to Lord Salisbury, but

[16] A list of the persons who accompanied Tyrone, taken from the *Carte MSS.* (lxi. 281), is given by Meeban, p. 553.

[17] Chichester to Salisbury, September 18, 1607.

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he doubted he should thereby dishonour himself and do harm to his kinswoman, the lady Tyrconnell, and make his friends his enemies.'[18]

A few days later James issued a proclamation in which he declared the two earls guilty of treason, and promised to produce conclusive evidence of their crime—a promise which was never fulfilled. In a Parliament held six years afterwards an act of attainder was passed against them, and the territory over which they had once ruled was forfeited to the Crown.

Such, briefly stated, are the principal circumstances which preceded the great plantation of Ulster—the event which has contributed more than any other to shape the subsequent history of Ireland. On what evidence does the charge against the banished chieftains rest?

The case for the prosecution may be divided into two heads. First, there is the direct evidence, which, it must be acknowledged, is extraordinarily weak. It consists of the letter to Sir William Usher, of the verbal communications made by St. Lawrence to Chichester, of the confession of Delvin, and of the proclamation of James.

The evidence of the letter, on which writers who affect to believe in the reality of the conspiracy are generally disposed to rely, was such as would never be admitted in a modern court of justice. The charges contained in it were of the vaguest and least tangible kind; the author could not be induced by any promise of reward and pardon to avow himself; and it was thus impossible to subject the story to the searching test of cross-examination. There is little doubt, although the fact does not admit of positive proof, that it was inspired, if not actually written, by St. Lawrence, whose character was not such as to give credibility to his statements, and whose refusal to repeat his evidence in public must be considered as putting him completely out of court.

The so-called 'confession' of Delvin is at least equally untrustworthy; and the subsequent fortunes of that nobleman afford an additional ground for regarding his testimony with suspicion. On the 10th of November he was committed to the Castle prison, whence he escaped a few days later under circumstances which strongly suggest collusion on the part of his gaolers.[19] In the following year he surrendered at discretion, and immediately received a pardon for life and estate. He was subsequently rewarded for his services with large grants of confiscated property, and in 1621 was created Earl of Westmeath.[20]

[18] Delvin's informations: enclosed by Chichester, November 6, 1607 (Meehan, pp. 228–231).

[19] Chichester to the Lords of the Council, November 26, 1607 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 333).

[20] Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. . p. 239.

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The proclamation of the 15th of November asserts, it is true, that 'it is both known to us and our council here and to our deputy and state there, and so shall it appear to the world, as clear as the sun, by evident proofs, that the only ground and motive of this high contempt in these men's departure hath been the private knowledge and inward terror of their own guiltiness'[21]: but neither then nor at any subsequent period were any such 'evident proofs' produced.

The language of the act of attainder is still more remarkable. The act declares that 'Hugh, late Earl of Tyrone, Rory, late Earl of Tyrconnell,' and twenty-six other persons 'most falsely and traitorously, as well by open rebellion in divers parts of this your Majesty's realm of Ireland, as well as by sundry treacherous confederacies and conspiracies, have committed, perpetrated, and done many detestable and abominable treasons against your Majesty,' and decrees that they should 'stand and be adjudged persons convicted of high treason.'[22]

In this document two points require especial notice. The first is that, with a single exception, none of the persons named in the act had been engaged in 'open rebellion' since the year 1603. Before that date most, or all, of the attainted persons had undoubtedly been in arms against the Government; but for the offences then committed they had received a full pardon, and those offences could not, without a distinct breach of faith on the part of the Government, be again urged against them. The second point which deserves attention is that, although 'sundry treacherous confederacies and conspiracies' are mentioned in the act, the charge is couched in the vaguest language, and is unsupported by even a pretence of evidence. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Irish Parliament, although willing, as was too frequently the case, to comply with the wishes of the deputy, were by no means convinced of the truth of Howth's revelations. Had it been otherwise they would scarcely have recurred for a vindication of the act of attainder to crimes committed many years earlier and long since covered by an indemnity, or have contented themselves with charging the earls in general with treasonable intentions, while studiously ignoring the very definite accusations of Howth and Delvin.

It is, however, upon the second or indirect portion of the evidence that the accusers of Tyrone and Tyrconnell have usually laid the greatest stress. There are two circumstances, and two only, which have lent a certain plausibility to the charge against them. First, they left Ireland rather than venture to stand their trial. Secondly,

[21] Proclamation touching the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell (Meehan, pp. 169, 173).

[22] 11 and 12 James I. cap. 4.

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the elaborate memorials which they afterwards addressed to James contain no formal denial of the crime of which they were accused.[23]

In our own day the flight of an accused person would undoubtedly be regarded as at least presumptive evidence of guilt. But it is only upon the hypothesis that the administration of justice is above suspicion that any weight can be allowed to an argument of this kind. In Ireland, in the seventeenth century, that certainly was not the case. The means which were employed a few years later to despoil the O'Byrnes of their inheritance sufficiently prove the partiality of the courts of justice, and vindicate the prudence of the Irish chieftains.[24]

The silence of the fugitives may seem to some to afford a stronger ground for suspicion. But a moment's reflection will show that no other course was open to them. The countenance given by the deputy to their accusers must have made it plain to the most sanguine mind that they had nothing to hope from the justice or the clemency of James. Thenceforth they had to look for subsistence to a Government notoriously hostile to England. A memorial vindicating their loyalty could have been of no service to them at Dublin. But it would assuredly have entailed the loss of favour at Madrid.

The evidence on the other side will probably be regarded by impartial inquirers as conclusive. In the first place, the desolation of Ireland, and more especially of Ulster, was such that a rebellion at that moment was virtually impossible.[25] The ease with which the subsequent plantation was effected—for the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty was confined to a single county and lasted only three months—is a sufficient proof how little heart there was in the country for resistance. In the second place, it is clear from the secret correspondence of the deputy that the confiscation of the northern province had been long in contemplation.[26] The conspiracy, therefore, if it took place at all, occurred at a moment curiously opportune for the Government—a coincidence which might well expose men more scrupulous than Chichester and Davies to suspicion. But the strongest evidence of their innocence is to be found in the subsequent conduct of the king. James, as we have seen, had pledged himself in the most solemn manner to produce proofs of the reality of the conspiracy which would convince the most prejudiced mind. Is it credible, is it conceivable, that if he had actually possessed such proofs he would have failed to produce them?

[23] Articles exhibited to the king's most excellent majesty by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyroonnell (Meehan, pp. 186–218).

[24] The principal documents relating to this scandalous case, extracted from the *Carte MSS.*, will be found in Gilbert's *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 167–216.

[25] Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 3.

[26] Chichester to Salisbury, May 10, 1606 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. i. p. 482).

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Yet he never afterwards made the smallest attempt to establish the guilt of the conspirators, nor has any plausible explanation been suggested for a silence which, except upon one hypothesis, may fairly be considered as inexplicable.

The flight of the earls, whether we attribute it, with Chichester, to a guilty conscience, or, as is much more probable, to a very reasonable distrust of English justice, marks a turning point in the history of Ireland. Up to this time, although the ecclesiastical legislation of Elizabeth had produced considerable irritation even among the most loyal portion of the people, the connection of religion with Irish insurrection had been very slight. In the words of one of the most candid and judicious of our modern historians:

> Of religious parties, properly so called, there were none during this (the Tudor) period. No Protestant party existed, for there were no Protestants except the agents of the Government and the official episcopacy. There were Catholic parties, for all parties were Catholic; even that which throughout supported the acts of a Government which was politically Protestant; but there was no Catholic party, no party whose special aim and distinguishing character were the maintenance of the Catholic Church. A religious party can only exist as the correlative of another religious party which advocates an opposing creed. The creation of the Protestant was necessary for the development of the Catholic party, and until the date of the plantation no Protestant party existed.[27]

With the plantation of Ulster all this was changed. The confiscation of the northern province and the establishment of a large Protestant colony in the confiscated territory introduced into the country a new and permanent element of discord. Divided from the main body of their countrymen by the deep gulf of religion, the new planters never amalgamated with the aboriginal population as the earlier colonists had done; and during a period of nearly three centuries the animosities to which the policy of Chichester gave birth continued to be the source of the most formidable difficulties which confronted the successive governors of Ireland.

PHILIP WILSON.

[27] Richey, *History of Ireland*, ad finem.

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THE WAR OFFICE REVOLUTION AND ITS LIMITS

It must be long since any public document has been received with such an unbroken chorus of general approbation as the Report of the 'War Office (Reconstitution) Committee.' Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke find themselves in the fortunate position of being praised by all men; and the Government, by promptly carrying their recommendations into effect, have apparently pleased everybody, except, perhaps, the officials who have had to be sacrificed to the exigencies of reconstruction. The military and the naval 'experts,' persons not easily contented, have little to say against the scheme; and even the Opposition in Parliament seem content to limit their criticism to the defects disclosed by the inquiries of the War Commission. As for the public, its feelings are those of satisfaction tempered with amazement. It discovers, almost to its stupefaction, how easy War Office reform after all may be, when it is removed from the dilatory hands of Parliament and party politicians. How long would it have taken a Government to get this reorganisation through the House of Commons, if it had to be discussed through all the stages of a Bill, as was the case with the educational reforms of the past two years? There would have been agitation, within and without, an angry development of partisan sentiment, a deluge of irrelevant oratory, unending discussion of details by more or less incompetent amateurs. All this is avoided by the application of the Royal prerogative, and the temporary institution of a kind of reforming dictatorship. Three capable men, already familiar with the question, are set to work to say what shall be done to amend the 'system.' They consult together; go into the facts; take evidence at the fountain-head, without any of the cumbrous paraphernalia of a Royal Commission; and at the end of a few weeks they have their plan set forth in some pages of lucid print. There are no large generalisations or inconclusive disquisitions; only certain distinct and specific proposals, which can be made operative at once. And the most marvellous thing is that, by a stroke of the pen, this great administrative and constitutional remodelling is accomplished. Hardly had the aston-

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ished newspaper reader realised that the office of Commander-in-Chief was to be abolished, the Army Council to be established, and the War Office to be transformed on the Admiralty lines, than he discovered that these things were in fact done.

It is all so simple that one may well ask why we have had to wait for it so long. The Esher scheme merely puts into practice several of the most important points already suggested by the Hartington Commission, and the Dawkins Committee, and many other commissions and committees. Its great merit is that it reshapes the central administration of the Army, on a logical and coherent principle. It leaves the ultimate responsibility for military policy with the Cabinet, where after all it must remain, so long as our Parliamentary system is preserved. But it provides for the War Minister an authoritative board of chief officials, to advise him collectively, and individually to preside over the several great military departments. And it creates, in the revised Committee of Defence, what is practically a new Ministry of Imperial Defence, assisted by a competent staff, and charged with the special duty of co-ordinating the foreign policy of the Empire with our warlike arrangements by land and sea.

All this, as far as it goes, is excellent, and no doubt justifies the approval of the public, and the rapidity with which the Government have hastened to carry the suggestions of the three Commissioners into effect, regardless of party exigencies and personal susceptibilities. But there is some risk that our enthusiasm over a useful and necessary piece of work may blind us to the real issue. We are perhaps inclined, like Mr. Punch's guardsman, to 'look at our new caps' and say that military reform is practically completed. You do not change the whole nature of an army by altering its headgear or even its headquarters. The system which has prevailed in Pall Mall is admitted to be imperfect, and it is therefore highly desirable to improve it. If you want any concern or institution to run well, you must take care to have its machinery in good order. But let us always remember that, essential as this is, it is still not everything. Machinery alone will not make an army; still less the armed, trained, and disciplined nation, which alone can expect to cope with the exigencies of the modern struggle for predominance, whether in war or peace. The Esher Committee's Report may do much good; but only if it is remembered that it deals strictly with one part, and not the largest part, of the problem disclosed to us by the War Commission. It may work mischief, if it is imagined that we have only to act upon its recommendations, in order to have done with the whole subject, and be rid of all our onerous military obligations, without further trouble.

It is, indeed, to be hoped that we are not again going through what may be called the regular stages in this matter: which are—first, a bad breakdown of the Army, with many defects suddenly

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brought to light; secondly, an angry explosion of public feeling, with violent demands in Parliament and the Press for 'drastic' reforms; thirdly, a Ministry rather timorously endeavouring to allay the hot fit, just as it is beginning to cool off; and then a Commission, which, in due course, reports that extensive changes will be required at the War Office, with much shifting of places and rechristening of high functionaries. The fifth and last act is occupied with some more or less half-hearted attempts to set up the newest 'New War Office Scheme,' in the presence of an indifferent nation, which by this time has forgotten its ardour for a genuine, first-rate, modern army, cost what it may, and is quite content to hope that all will go well with the creation of another Board or two, and some further progress in 'decentralisation.' It saves a great deal of mental strain to conclude that all defects have really been due to the misdeeds of the 'War Office,' and that all will go well after repairs have been executed at that peccant establishment. This is a comparatively simple matter, and is, above all, cheap; moreover, it has the special advantage of not in the smallest degree interfering with the comfort of the taxpaying public, and of not seriously disturbing anybody except, perhaps, some elderly officials and superannuated generals. So the tinkering and patching are done, or more probably begun and dropped in the middle; and the nation 'looks at our new caps,' and goes to sleep again, relegating to the category of inconvenient faddists the people who will talk about conscription and compulsory service, and the failure of recruiting, and other unseasonable things, and keep dinning into its unwilling ears the fact that it is just as far as ever from the kind of army it requires.

The pending reconstruction of the War Office is much better than its predecessors—more searching, more symmetrical, more scientific—and there seems good warrant to expect that it will really be given a fair trial. But its authors would no doubt be quite ready to acknowledge that under the most favourable conditions its scope must be limited. It cannot put everything right as if by magic. It may give us a good Board of Control, a good General Staff, a good central administration, for all of which we should be cordially grateful. But we want a few other things as well: the picked brains of the country devoting themselves to the military art, a corps of hard-working, business-like, and thoroughly professional officers, a steady flow into the regimental ranks of stalwart young men not below the physical and intellectual standard of the artisan population, and a large reserve of trained civilians capable of rapid mobilisation and embodiment on emergency—a National Army, in fact, excellent in quality, and respectable in size, according to modern estimates of quantity. But to get that sort of military establishment we shall have to pay for it, in purse or person, or more probably in both. The reform of the 'system' is an essential preliminary, but that is all. It will not

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relieve us of the obligations which we, alone among the great nations of the Old World, seem invincibly reluctant to acknowledge.

Many readers have derived comfort from the reflection that the War Office, under the Esher Report, is to be remoulded on the Admiralty model. The Navy commands, and no doubt deserves, the national confidence; it is supposed to be well managed; and we are justified in believing that it is efficient. There is evidently an idea abroad that, if the administrative method of the sea service is applied on land, it will give us an army equal to the Navy in character and quality. But here, again, are we not relying too much on 'system,' and confusing the shadow with the substance? The virtues of our Navy are not mainly due to the fact that it is controlled by a sensibly arranged board of sailors and civil officials under the presidency of the First Lord. That may have something to do with the result, but not everything. We must look a good deal deeper for the causes of the generally admitted superiority of our maritime, compared with our military, arm. Let me attempt briefly to summarise some of these:

First, the *personnel* of the Navy is not recruited mainly from the wastrels and failures of the unskilled labour market—raw and ill-grown boys, for the most part of inferior physique and deficient intelligence, with no real interest in their military duties. Marines, bluejackets, and artificers are carefully trained men, who make the service their business, and intend to pass the working years of their life on the 'flats' or in the engine-room. They are well paid and well treated, and as a class are fully equal to the skilled artisans of our manufacturing centres, or the picked men of the Metropolitan Police.

Secondly, the naval officer is a strictly professional man. He is caught young, submitted to an elaborate course of technical instruction, and entrusted, at an early age, with highly responsible duties, which he cannot neglect or scamp. The military officer may idle away most of his time, or devote it to sport and amusement, and yet contrive to shuffle through his regimental functions without much difficulty. But the work of the naval officer must be performed with constant zeal and intelligence, if disgrace, and even disaster, are to be avoided. There is no place for a loafer on the clattering steel deck of a fidgety over-engined destroyer, driving through a Channel gale at twenty knots an hour.

Thirdly, an army in peace-time, and particularly a British Army at home, is always 'playing at soldiers.' Men and officers are perpetually haunted by the deadening impression that they are doing things they would not be required to do in actual warfare, and rehearsing for a play which may never be presented. But with the Navy the Real Thing is always close at hand. Short of the actual fighting, the firing of shotted guns and charged torpedoes, everything during peace-time is carried on as it would be in war. The Navy

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is doing its business all the time, and not merely preparing for some vaguely conceived future event, by a more or less elaborate series of pretences.

Fourthly, for the reasons just mentioned, the tone in the Navy is practical and severe. A man does not go into this service to amuse himself, or to pass the time in expensive recreation. If he has any such ideas, the stern realities of his life will speedily disillusion him. Mistakes are not condoned, and any real failure of courage, resource, or vigilance, is promptly and ruthlessly punished. We have never yet shot a general *pour encourager les autres*. We pass over gross exhibitions of incompetence on the part of a brigadier or the colonel of a battalion; while a lad of twenty, in the Navy, who had misread a chart or misunderstood a signal, would run the risk of a court-martial.

Finally, the men at the head of the Navy have got there by actual service in command. They have had to prove their capacity in the management of ships and fleets. A soldier may rise high, and never be really tested till 'the guns begin to shoot,' when the eminent paper strategist, the distinguished office administrator, may break down under the trial. But the sailor has to pass his examination, and may be 'plucked' at any time. Favouritism, and personal influence, and judicious advertising, are not quite unknown in the Navy; and second-rate officers are sometimes promoted beyond their deserts. But the flag-captain of a squadron, or the Admiral-Commanding-in-Chief, with a score of battleships and cruisers on his hands, would soon be 'found out' if he were not equal to his duties.

These things have had much more to do with creating and maintaining the excellence of our Navy than the organisation of the Central Office. It was not the Admiralty which secured our successes in the naval wars of the past, but the executive ability of the officers and the fighting quality of the sailors. The great admirals wore out their hearts complaining of the lack of proper provision for their fleets, of defective stores, insufficient supplies, corruption, and jobbery, and maladministration, and they gained their victories in spite of the folly and carelessness of 'My Lords' at home. It was under substantially the same organisation as that which exists to-day, that the Navy was allowed to fall into the dangerous condition of weakness of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, when, so far from there being a two-Power standard, it was by no means certain that we could have held the Channel against France alone. It was with the 'system' in full working order that we had our ironclads armed with muzzle-loaders, after every other important Navy had mounted breech-loading guns, and that we were building impracticable turret-ships, with low free-boards, which could not have fought, and could hardly have steered, in a sea-way. The Whitehall organisation did not save us from these and other errors and *laches*, quite as serious as any of those of which

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the War Office has been recently guilty. It did not prevent us from carrying on the business of Empire for years on a quite inadequate margin of maritime strength. What did save us was the eventual realisation by the nation of its own danger, the manifestation of feeling which led to the Naval Defence Act, and the statesmanlike action of a Ministry, which moulded the public sentiment into a definite maritime policy, such as the country now understands, and is determined to maintain. We know what sort of a navy we want, what work it is intended to do, and what its relative power should be. If we had the same clear-sighted certainty about our military policy, and the same resolve to render it effective, the War Office—even the old, unreformed War Office—could have done a good deal.

It is worth while remembering that our South African failure was not solely, or even primarily, a War Office failure. We have read the evidence taken before Lord Elgin's Commission to little purpose, if we do not recognise that there were other, and deeper, underlying causes than the defectiveness of our administrative mechanism. It may be an unpopular thing to say; but I believe the impartial historian will be more inclined to wonder at the achievements of our War Office than to censure it for not doing better. After all we must not forget that the 'system,' the condemned system, taught as it was to believe that never on any occasion would it be necessary to send a hundred thousand men abroad, was suddenly faced with a demand for twice, and eventually more than three times, the number. And the demand was met. The War Office had to create a vast army out of nothing, and somehow it succeeded. Could any human being have deemed it possible, in the summer of 1899, that within twelve months the Imperial Government would have a force of nearly 300,000 men in the field? Yet the gigantic task was accomplished. That it had to be undertaken at all was really not the fault of the military bureaucracy. The blame lay with the politicians, who would not listen to the warnings of the soldiers, and plunged into war, as heedlessly as the Russians the other day; it lay with the nation itself, which had indolently acquiesced in an army indifferent in quality, and insufficient in numbers.

We now know that the Intelligence Department, starved and stinted as it was, had not neglected its duties, but on the contrary had performed them with quite remarkable ability. It knew all about the Boer armaments, it had got the Krupps, the pom-poms, and the Mausers properly tabulated, it had made a shrewd guess at the Republican plan of campaign, and it foresaw that when the Transvaal struck, the Orange Free State would strike too. From the days of the Jameson Raid onwards, its handful of alert and capable young officers in South Africa were sending home reports and memoranda, for the information of statesmen, who when the crisis came did not know that the Boers had heavy guns, did not know that they had

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horses, did not think that they would fight, and staked everything on the hypothesis that they were mere boasters and cowards. With such a temper, which was not confined to the Cabinet, but was indeed that of the public at large, the best of Departments could have done little to help us. Even the Army Council, as now constituted, with the new Defence Committee, might have been powerless to avert mischances, which owed their origin to initial miscalculations, and a fatal inadequacy of available force. It could scarcely have removed, or even sensibly modified, the three elements which mainly contributed to render the Boer war needlessly protracted, ruinously expensive, and generally unsatisfactory and inglorious. These were (1) the carelessness of Ministers; (2) the incompetence of some of the officers; and (3) the deficiency in the number of trained troops.

Take the first point. The new Department of the Defence Committee is defined in the Esher Memorandum as 'a permanent Institution charged with the duties and responsibilities of calling the attention of the Prime Minister of the day to strategic problems of defence, to the actual condition of our armaments, and to the relation which the latter should bear to the former.' If it had been in existence in the summer of 1899, its Permanent Secretary would undoubtedly have made the Cabinet acquainted with the fact that, while our diplomacy was heading straight for war with the Dutch Republics, our military preparations were utterly inadequate. But, even without the assistance of a Department of Imperial Defence, the military chiefs did convey this information to the Cabinet. It is difficult to conceive that any warnings, received from a permanent official of somewhat subordinate status, could have been more impressive than the exhortations and admonitions of Lord Wolseley and Sir Redvers Buller. As early as the 8th of June 1899, four months before the outbreak of hostilities, Lord Wolseley strongly urged the immediate mobilisation of an Army Corps and a Cavalry Division at Salisbury or Aldershot, which could be kept ready for embarkation to South Africa at a moment's notice. The advice, again emphatically repeated on the 7th of July, was ignored by the Cabinet, for political reasons. What ground is there for assuming that the Permanent Secretary of the Defence Committee would have carried more weight than the Commander-in-Chief? To be ready, in time, even with 40,000 men was, we are told, 'never seriously entertained by the Government,'[1] because that would have clashed with their theory that the Boers were not, after all, going to fight. Yet they had before them the Paper sent to the Intelligence Department by Major Altham—an admirable officer to whom less than justice has been done—dated nearly a year earlier, which contained the following passage:

> The Transvaal has, during the last two years, made military preparations on a scale which can only be intended to meet the contingency of a contest with Great Britain. These preparations still continue, and the condition of affairs in

[1] *War Commission Report*, p. 16.

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South Africa has practically now become that of an armed neutrality, which may last for years or may culminate in war at very short notice. At the outbreak of such a war we shall at first be in a decided numerical inferiority; moreover, we should have to face the problem of protecting a very long frontier, and should be handicapped by a certain amount of disloyalty within our own borders; at least a month or six weeks must elapse before any appreciable reinforcements could arrive from England or India. The problem of defence would therefore be a difficult one, and its difficulty will be enhanced by the fact that any mistake or lack of firmness at the outset would seriously affect subsequent operations.

True, these prophetic statements, again and again repeated, were filtered through the heads of the War Department instead of being made directly to the Premier. But by the 5th of September, 1899, the then Prime Minister was seised of the opinions, both of the titular Chief of the Army, and of the General nominated to command the forces in South Africa. On the date mentioned, Sir Redvers Buller addressed a strongly worded Memorandum to the late Lord Salisbury, in which he said that he 'was not happy' as to the way things were going, and added:

There must be some period at which the military and the diplomatic or political forces are brought into line, and in my view this ought to be before action is determined on—in other words, before the diplomat proceeds to an ultimatum, the military should be in a position to enforce it. . . . So far as I am aware the War Office has no idea of how matters are proceeding, and has not been consulted. I mean that they do not know how fast diplomacy is moving.

And on the same day Lord Wolseley, in a Minute addressed to Lord Lansdowne, wrote:

We have committed one of the very greatest blunders in war: namely, we have given the enemy the initiative. He is in a position to take the offensive, and by striking the first blow to ensure the great advantage of winning the first 'round.' . . . I submit that it is urgently necessary that our diplomacy and our military preparations should work hand in hand. We are now in danger of giving over the initiative to Mr. Kruger, because our negotiations with him have been conducted without a full knowledge of all the military conditions of the case.

The new Defence Department, which is to be a kind of substitute, so it is stated, for the German Great General Staff, is intended to secure us against the repetition of that kind of perilous error. But Ministers, who would press on, heedless of their Commander-in-Chief and their 'fighting General,' are not easily checked in their career. The Russians have a General Staff, modelled on the German lines, and supposed to be strong on the Intelligence side; but it did not prevent the Empire from being launched into war at an absolutely hopeless disadvantage. This is not a reason for doing without a General Staff; but it does suggest that the best departmental machinery in the world cannot take the place of foresight, firmness, self-control and common sense.

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The second of our misfortunes was that our officers did not prove altogether satisfactory. Certain of the men in high command were particularly disappointing, and some generals, who went out with distinguished reputations, broke down rather badly. Here again we must not expect too much from mere 'War Office Reform.' When any army goes into its first serious campaign after a long peace, it must make use of such material as it has to hand. There may be a potential Napoleon among the sub-lieutenants, or a Bernadotte in the uniform of a corporal; but till their qualities reveal themselves we must be content with the generals and colonels who have been commanding districts and regiments. If the Army Council is strong enough to stand up against 'social influence' and Service snobbery, it will give the capable man, without birth or wealth, a better chance of coming to the front. But it must have a sufficient reservoir to draw upon; and that is a question rather for the nation and Parliament than one of departmental reorganisation. 'There appears to be too often,' said Lord Kitchener,[2] 'a want of serious study of their profession by officers, who are, I think, rather inclined to deal too lightly with military questions of moment.' In other words, we must get the officer to work as hard at his duties as any other professional man; which he cannot be expected to do until he obtains something more than a ridiculous pittance from the State by way of remuneration.

Nor will headquarters reconstruction of itself remedy the worst of all our military deficiencies. Our Army is to-day, precisely as it was in the summer of 1899, far too weak to meet the calls which may be made upon it, for all that we know, before these pages are in print. We stand substantially where we did before the War, with the regulars a few thousands stronger, and the auxiliaries a good many thousands weaker. The Volunteer battalions are melting away under the eyes of their bewildered colonels; the Militia is 34,000 below its establishment; the Reserve of the Militia is barely 10 per cent. of its nominal strength. It is still highly doubtful whether we could send abroad our nominal three Army Corps and a Cavalry Division, without a great and costly effort; it is certain that, if we wanted a much larger force, we should have to go back to the old disorganising process of enlisting untrained civilians at five shillings a day, and taking anything we could get from the Colonies. There is no reason to suppose that the quality of the Line regiments is more satisfactory than it was four years ago. The last Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting is as gloomy as ever. From this depressing document we learn that the percentage of rejections for physical unfitness was the highest for nine years, and that the percentage of boys under seventeen years of age is the highest on record. So that our Regular Army, if we except a few picked corps,

[2] *War Commission Report*, p. 53.

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is still largely composed of derelicts and weeds, and even of these we do not obtain enough to make up our meagre establishment. Behind this force we have no real reserves worth mentioning, and indeed are probably worse off—owing to the demoralisation of the Militia and the dwindling of the Volunteers—than we were in the 'nineties. This is our real Military Problem, and it is not the New Scheme and the Army Council, or even the Cabinet Committee of Defence, that will solve it by an automatic process.

The danger is that in our affection for the War Office Scheme we may jump to the conclusion that there has ceased to be a problem to solve. It is the peril which attends every attempt to remodel our military administration. The public is only too anxious to believe that the reform of the 'Department' is the end of the whole business. This was precisely the deduction which was hastily drawn from the publication of the excellent Clinton Dawkins Report in 1901; and it was necessary then to insist that, even if all the suggestions of that useful State Paper were adopted, we should still be only at the commencement of the graver task before the country. That task is to provide an Army at once better and bigger than our present Home Service force—to give us more soldiers, and those of superior quality to most of the men in our Line battalions. If we are to trust entirely to voluntary recruiting, we shall be compelled to render it effective by offering something like the reward which a respectable labourer might expect in civil life, and we shall have to make soldiering a good trade for a steady man.

If this method is deemed too costly, we shall be obliged to fall back on the Militia ballot or on compulsory service in some other form. Lord Esher himself has stated, in a Note to the Report of the War Commission, that he cordially agrees with Sir George Taubman-Goldie's Scheme of National Military Education, which he regards as 'the only practical alternative to conscription.' With the lesson of Port Arthur staring us in the face, and the knowledge that a couple of dare-devil torpedo lieutenants, favoured by luck and dirty weather, may alter the balance of maritime power in a night, even the enthusiasts of the Naval School should admit that a great reserve force for home defence by land is not exactly a superfluous luxury. Nor is it possible to survey the political horizon and to feel confident that we may not again find ourselves involved in warlike operations in Europe or Asia, under conditions in which we could not rely upon sea-power alone. In one way or other we are driven back remorselessly to the unwelcome conclusion that we are not going to be relieved of our present perilous ineffectiveness, in regard to our land defences, without a sustained and serious effort. Writing of the Dawkins Committee in this Review, two years and a half ago, it was urged that we should not 'commit the fatal error of supposing that we can keep our hands and our money in our pockets,

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dispense with the burdens and sacrifices which are laid upon most other peoples, and nevertheless provide ourselves with a perfectly efficient and satisfactory army by the cheap and simple process of remodelling the War Office.'[3] One cannot help thinking that Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher and Sir George Clarke would themselves concur in this opinion; and it may be that the distinguished triumvirate will have some further communication to make, which may bring home the true facts of the situation to the public mind in an inconveniently emphatic fashion.

SIDNEY LOW.

[3] 'The Danger of the War Office Report,' in the number of this Review for August 1901.

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SOME DUTIES OF NEUTRALS

I HAVE been asked, and at very short notice, to answer briefly some questions of international law which have already arisen, or are likely to arise, in the present war. With the space and time at my disposal I cannot do more than say generally what I conceive to be the true doctrine; and what is stated is subject to a reservation. It may be a prejudice, but any one trained as are English lawyers answers abstract, or A and B, questions with hesitation. The casuist may determine them with confidence and ease; he has his complete theoretical system, the sharp *distinguos*, of his manual. The ordinary practising lawyer, applying living and growing principles, desires to be properly instructed, to know as to the case put to him the concrete circumstances which edify and illuminate, before speaking with confidence. If this is prudent as to municipal law, on the whole reduced as it is to order, such caution is pre-eminently expedient as to international law, still largely fluid and indefinite, and subject to discretionary considerations. Another general observation is not out of place. Many parts of the neutrality laws are still obscure. The Powers which met at The Hague, before they dispersed, passed a resolution expressing a hope that the question of the rights and duties of a neutral State should be considered by a future Conference; the Institut de Droit International, continuing its good work, has appointed a Committee to investigate the subject; and Mr. Holls has said with truth that 'the elaboration of a Code of Neutrality, as it was called at Delft by President Asser, of the Institute of International Law, should be the first addition to the Magna Charta of The Hague.' But without Conferences, and largely without legislation or treaties, much has been done to define that which about half a century ago—for example, during the American Civil War—was indefinite. The true nature of neutrality; the notion, now accepted, that it is not merely a continuance of peace, but a peculiar condition creating special duties on the part of neutral States towards belligerents; the abandonment of the notion of 'qualified' neutrality; the tacit assumption that, there being a community of nations, none of them can go its own way just as if war were not in progress; the restriction at many points of the

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extreme pretensions of neutrals and belligerents—most of these things are of modern growth. There has been formed a rough code, obeyed on the whole as faithfully as is any municipal system. It is the creation in the main of lawyers who have reduced to shape and something like consistency, modified, and improved, practices which they found ready to their hand. Every war adds a fresh chapter to this code, or elucidates some obscure article in it. I cannot help thinking that when examined by future historians the creation of this code—the growing ascendency of the industrial forces, the voice of law making itself more and more heard in war—will be regarded as one of the great civilising movements of the nineteenth century. The defects which exist are partly due to the haphazard way in which this law has been put together. They also largely come from the too potent presence of national prejudices and the prevalence of what may be called patriotic jurisprudence. In this matter opinions are apt to follow the flag. Writers whom I need not name are avowed belligerents, and are always in these discussions manœuvring for a good position for their country. There are, too, inconsistencies and defects ascribable to the backward state of public opinion as to one or two ethical problems. Perhaps there will come a time when a blockade-runner will be regarded much in the same light as is a pirate or a privateer. Perhaps the selling of guns and munitions of war to combatants will one day not appear to any one a clean and respectable business. For the present, opinion condones these things; and so does international law, with the result that it contains not a few inconsistent precepts and examples of arrested development.

Before answering the questions which have been put to me, a word as to the tendencies of the changes now going on as to the laws of neutrality. They are the outcome of a series of struggles between the conflicting interests of neutral and belligerent nations. For some centuries the advantages lay, on the whole, with the latter. The law of the sea followed the flag which happened to be dominant on it. Of late, neutrals have fared better than they did. Since 1812 there has been no very serious naval war between two States each with powerful navies able to enforce against neutrals their behests or policy. Since the American Civil War few matters of the first importance to belligerents have arisen, and the interests of neutrals have, on the whole, been favourably considered.

The first question which I have been asked is: 'Would it be a breach of neutrality to float a loan in England for either Russia or Japan?' Of course, if the loan were advanced or guaranteed, or in any way supported by our Government, it would be a flagrant breach of neutrality. According to well-known text-books, relying on certain decisions (not much in point) of our Courts, when a loan was

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being raised in aid of the Greek insurrection about 1824, and to a legal opinion given by the King's Advocate and the Solicitor-General, it is illegal for private persons, subjects of a neutral State, to raise or advance money to a belligerent State. I cannot think that this is sound doctrine. In view of the fact that the subjects of neutral States may freely sell to belligerents commodities, including contraband of war, subject to the risk of capture, and that even contracts for the purpose of effecting a breach of blockades are not illegal, it is difficult to understand why it should be illegal to raise in England, or in any neutral State, a loan for the benefit of Japan or Russia. Such loans have been raised in neutral countries, and no one has ever been prosecuted for his share in the matter. It may be taken for granted that, in these days, helping a belligerent with a loan will be regarded in the same light as supplying him with money's worth.[1]

'What supplies may a belligerent cruiser receive at a neutral port?' Even as late as the American Civil War doubts as to this point existed. Now, however, the answer is clear. All the proclamations or declarations of neutrality—and most States nowadays issue them[2]—follow much the same lines, though none of them are so full in detail as those of Great Britain. The enemy's ship may take on board coal sufficient to carry her to 'the nearest port of her own country or to some nearer named neutral destination.' Thus a Russian vessel of war arriving at Malta from Kronstadt might demand coal to take her home, but she would properly be refused coal sufficient to take her to Port Arthur. Of course, this restriction might be evaded by coaling repeatedly first at the port of one State and then at that of another. But a neutral State which winked at such evasions of a tolerably well-recognised rule would justly be held blamable by any international Court. Nor may the belligerent cruiser receive a fresh supply in a British port until after three months, unless in special circumstances.[3] The recognised rule is eminently favourable to England, with her girdle round the earth of possessions and coaling

[1] It is right to note that in the legal opinion referred to there is the observation, 'With respect to loans, if entered into merely with commercial objects, we think, according to the opinions of writers on the law of nations and the practice which has prevailed, they would not be an infringement of neutrality.' See Mr. Gladstone's answer on the subject in the House of Commons on the 24th of April, 1873. It is needless to say that the sale of arms to a belligerent Government by a neutral Government would be regarded as an offence against international law. No one now defends the sale of rifles by the United States to France in 1870. Sir George Cornewall Lewis (*Letters*, p. 396) writes: 'The new American Minister for France, who lately passed through this country, sent us a message through Dallas that his Government wished to purchase arms of our Government. We shall decline on the ground of neutrality.'

[2] Germany did not issue a declaration of neutrality in the Russo-Turkish, the Chinese-Japanese, or Turkish-Greek wars.

[3] Some proclamations say, 'Until a reasonable time has elapsed, such as may make it possible for the ship to have returned after accomplishing her voyage to a foreign port.'

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stations. It works harshly against States possessing no colonies or few of them. It operates against no States more severely than against Japan and Russia. It is sometimes made the subject of bitter complaints by foreign jurists. The justification of it is that the only alternatives are to refuse to supply coal to belligerent vessels or to frame a rule avowedly aimed against England. Another rule which tells against countries without colonies—which prompts many foreign critics to say that maritime international law has been fashioned in the interests of England—is that a belligerent vessel may effect repairs to enable her to continue her voyage, but that she may not add to her armament or crew or military stores. The inconvenience of such a rule to Germany, for example, with few ports outside the *Reich* and still fewer docks capable of receiving and repairing battleships, is obvious. Whether these and some other rules will remain intact as the naval strength of other countries grows may well be doubted.

'Would it have been permissible for the Japanese Admiral to enter Chemulpo Harbour and attack the Russian vessels *Variag* and *Koriétz* had they refused to come out?' Certainly not. Indeed, it would have been the duty of the port authorities to prevent this by all means in their power on pain of being fairly treated as enemies by the aggrieved belligerent. Some of the proclamations of neutrality are explicit on this point or others akin to it. Thus the proclamation issued by Brazil on the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States recited the rule that an interval of twenty-four hours should elapse between the sailing from a Brazilian port of two vessels of the two belligerents, and added: 'Brazilian forts and ships of war shall fire on an armed ship preparing to leave before the fixed period has elapsed after the departure of the ship belonging to the other belligerent.'

'May a vessel of war, dreading capture, remain in neutral waters until the squadron which is on the outlook for her departs?' Here, too, there is general agreement. The port authorities will not be doing their duty if they do not call upon the belligerent vessel to depart after twenty-four hours, unless she is in distress by reason of storm, or is suffering from sea damage or want of provisions. In the proclamation of neutrality by the Russian Government on the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States, it was expressly stated: 'Les bâtiments de guerre de deux Puissances belligérantes ne pourront entrer dans les ports russes que pour 24 heures' except by special permission of the Imperial Government; a declaration which seems to have escaped the attention of the commander of the Russian gunboat *Mandjur*. 'May wheat or rice in any circumstances be treated as contraband?' Speaking generally, neither is contraband. The attempt on the part of the French Government in 1885 to treat the latter as contraband met with the

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protest of our Government, and was abandoned. Nor would the possibility of these commodities finding their way circuitously into the possession of an army or of a besieged fortress suffice to stamp them as contraband. They must be actually destined for the enemy's military or naval forces to justify a prize court condemning them.

'May goods which are intended for a neutral port be in any circumstances seized? May a Japanese cruiser overhauling a vessel with military saddles for a port in China seize them on the ground that they are really destined for the Russian troops?' This is the vexed question of continuous voyages; a question as to which opinion has long been divided, but as to which it has at last, I take it, declared itself in favour of the belligerent's right to seize contraband goods, even when consigned to a neutral port, if there are clear proofs that the neutral port is only a stage in the conveyance of the goods to the enemy.[4]

'May Russian or Japanese officers be conveyed to the East in neutral vessels without these being in peril of being treated as conveying quasi-contraband?' This is a question of more or less, to be answered safely only with full information as to the number conveyed, the knowledge of the carriers, and other circumstances. And the same may be said of the question also put, whether the doctrine of continuous voyages applies to officers or soldiers conveyed as passengers on a neutral vessel. Nor can I attempt to answer, without many reservations as to the meaning of such words as 'fitting out' and 'due diligence,' the question 'whether the three rules of the Washington Treaty have become part of international law.' But it may be noted that these rules, expressly mentioned in the declarations of our Government as to neutrality in 1898, are not referred to in the instructions issued the other day.

'May belligerents cut submarine cables belonging to or touching the territory of neutral States?' On this point jurisprudence is still quite uninformed. The attempts to clear up the matter by reference to supposed analogies drawn from the practice as to blockade have not been very happy. Probably the prevalent view is that stated in the code of naval warfare prepared by Captain Stockton, of the United States Navy, and published with the approval of the President.

(*a*) Submarine telegraphic cables between points in the territory of an enemy, or between the territory of the United States and an enemy, are subject to such treatment as the necessities of war may require.

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[4] The change in opinion is recorded in the successive attempts of the Institut de Droit International to solve the problem. A cogent argument for the old view is found in Mr. Baty's *International Law in South Africa*.

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(*b*) Submarine telegraphic cables between the territory of an enemy and neutral territory may be interrupted within the territorial jurisdiction of the enemy.

(*c*) Submarine telegraphic cables between two neutral territories shall be held inviolable and free from interruption.[5]

'May a belligerent cruiser overhaul a neutral mail steamer and open her mail-bags in search of despatches for the enemy?'—a question sure to present itself often in future wars. The view stated in the United States Naval Code is not one which would have recommended itself to Lord Stowell, with his strong bias for belligerent rights, but it probably expresses the accepted rule, so far as any can be said to exist. 'Mail steamers under neutral flags carrying such despatches—hostile despatches—in the regular and customary manner, either as a part of their mail in their mail-bags or separately, as a matter of accommodation and without special arrangement or remuneration, are not liable to seizure and should not be detained, except upon clear grounds of suspicion of a violation of the laws of war with respect to contraband, blockade, or unneutral service, in which case the mail-bags must be forwarded with seals unbroken.'

These are imperfect answers to questions some of which are elementary, some obscure. Others much more difficult and probably wholly novel can scarcely fail to arise as the war proceeds, if only by reason of the fact that warlike operations may probably be conducted in territory which belongs to neither of the belligerents. Thus the old questions as to 'the right of passage' for troops through neutral territory may come up in a perplexing form. It is satisfactory to reflect that nowhere has international law been lately studied with more zeal than in Japan. Her lawyers have established an Institute of International Law, and publish a journal devoted to its development. In the war with China she justified her admission into the community of nations by acting with rare humanity, and with a marked desire to observe international law; and her proclamations of neutrality have been framed on English models. In Mr. Takahashi, Mr. Ariga, and others, the Japanese Government have, as they had in 1898, skilled advisers. Mr. Takahashi says with some justice: 'A law-abiding spirit, especially in war, has been from ancient times a characteristic of Japan.'

JOHN MACDONELL.

[5] The Institut de Droit International has adopted certain rules which are in some respects, I conceive, open to objections (*Annuaire*, 19, 331).

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LAST MONTH

I

'If you want a picture of humiliation,' said Sidney Herbert on a famous occasion, 'you have only to look there,' and he pointed across the floor of the House of Commons to the Treasury Bench to explain his meaning. It was probably the hardest saying ever flung at that oft-besieged citadel of power, and it is not one to be lightly or unadvisedly repeated. But if ever since Mr. Herbert's day there was a time when the taunt could be renewed without flagrant injustice, it was during the debate on the Address last month. Never in modern times has the Treasury Bench presented a spectacle so humiliating as that which was then seen. The Prime Minister was unhappily absent, struck down by a severe illness that justly evoked the sympathy of everybody without regard to political opinions. But Prime Ministers, even the greatest of them, have been kept away from their post before to-day without confusion and impotence falling upon their colleagues in consequence of their enforced absence. On this occasion, Mr. Balfour being prevented from performing his duty, everything seemed to go wrong with the members of the Government. All that they were asked to do by the amendment moved by Mr. Morley on behalf of the Opposition was to make their position with regard to Mr. Chamberlain's 'raging and tearing agitation' clear to the House of Commons and the country. It was a demand which the Opposition were unquestionably entitled to make, and in the interest of all parties it was one which ought to have been satisfied. The frivolous pretext that Mr. Chamberlain is now a private member, and that consequently his views upon any question are not matters with which the Government have any need to concern themselves, is too ridiculous even to call for discussion. If there were any foundation for it a single sentence from a responsible Minister would have sufficed to set the whole matter at rest. But no such sentence was spoken during the six nights' debate. On the contrary, the speakers on the Treasury Bench tumbled over each other in dire confusion as they tried by a too redundant oratory to confuse the issue, and to evade the plain and simple question that had been put to them. Nor was their

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manifest shrinking from anything in the nature of an explicit answer their worst offence. Under the clouds of words which they emitted they spoke with different voices. Whilst all were vague, those who listened to them soon found that one section of the Government held one view of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, whilst another section held a different one. On one evening the chief spokesman of the Treasury Bench filled a large number of the Ministerial party with alarm and indignation by his apparent repudiation of the attempt to re-establish protection. On the next a Minister who spoke with equal authority struck dismay into the hearts of the Free Traders on the Government side by his arguments in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Through it all there was no attempt to deal fairly with the House or the country. Tricky and confused to the last were all the declarations of policy which were uttered from the Treasury Bench, and no man was entitled to say when the division was taken, and the normal majority of the Government was reduced by more than one half, that he really understood what Ministers believed and where they were seeking to lead their followers. Humiliation, I cannot but think, is almost too mild a word to describe a spectacle so ignominious and so completely without precedent in our Parliamentary annals.

The claim of the House of Commons—I mean of the present House of Commons—to a frank and honest avowal of the mind of the Government may not be very high; but, after all, even Mr. Balfour and his colleagues might have remembered that there is such a thing as the nation to be considered. For months past business has been disturbed and public affairs embarrassed by the attempt of Mr. Chamberlain to create a new party and force a new economic policy upon the country. His opponents may have no fear of the results of a fair struggle between him and them. But though they have no fear of any real discussion of the question which he has raised so recklessly and unnecessarily, they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that he has done an immense amount of mischief to the national interests by the way in which he has brought it forward. Playing always to the gallery, he has got the gallery with him. Political propagandas when they are conducted, as I hinted a month ago, on the lines of a travelling show are certain to make a fleeting impression, at least upon the shallow and unthinking. Fortunately, the impression is seldom one that lasts. The debate on Mr. Morley's amendment to the Address was unique in other respects besides the incredible impotence displayed by the Treasury Bench. Its greatest claim to distinction lay in the fact that the overwhelming weight of argument was upon one side. The speeches delivered in defence of free trade reached a level far above the average in parliamentary debates, whilst those delivered in defence of Mr. Chamberlain's propositions were not only few in number, but with scarcely an exception contemptible in argument.

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I have no wish to disparage the utterances of the leading members of the Opposition, but the most interesting feature of the debate lay in the earnest and almost impassioned attacks which were made upon Ministers from their own side of the House. Nobody, except the journalists who have attached themselves to the cause of 'fiscal reform,' can pretend to regard these declarations with indifference. They were made by men who have sacrificed office, and imperilled their whole future careers, in order to secure the right to speak their minds, and, as it happens, in parliamentary weight and authority these assailants of Mr. Chamberlain, and, indirectly, of the Government, stood on a far higher level than the men who ventured to stand forth as apologists for the reactionary policy of Birmingham. If reason and common sense, to say nothing of moral and intellectual authority, have any weight with the people of this country, it is difficult to see how the fallacies on which the new policy is founded can survive for a single day. Mr. Chamberlain himself was absent from the debate. For his own sake this was to be regretted; but even his audacity and his strange disregard of facts except, as he has told us, as 'illustrations' would have availed him little against the overwhelming weight of the attack to which his policy was subjected. When he comes back from Egypt, fully restored, it is to be hoped, to health, he must, if he wishes to retain a shred of credit as a serious politician, apply himself to the task of mastering the arguments of his opponents, and of doing what he can to meet them. For the present, the obsolete policy of protection which he has endeavoured to refloat on the tide of party passion lies stranded and helpless, as completely riddled by the shot and shell of his adversaries as was the old *Belleisle* after the Admiralty had finished their experiments upon it with modern weapons and explosives.

No Minister, either in the House of Commons or in the subsequent debate in the House of Lords, ventured upon anything that could be called a thoroughgoing defence of the Birmingham policy, but, in spite of urgent appeals from their own followers, the Government, as I have said, refused to give any straightforward explanation of their position. At the last moment, it is true, the Home Secretary, in reply to a direct question from a member of his own party, repudiated any proposal to tax food or raw materials. In other words, he knocked the bottom out of Mr. Chamberlain's ship. But, taking the debate as a whole, it was impossible to regard even this declaration as conclusive. In the division on a question which Ministers had insisted upon making one of confidence, their majority fell to fifty-one, less than half its normal strength. Twenty-seven members of the Unionist party voted for the amendment. There were many abstentions, and amongst those who gave the Government their support were not a few who avowedly did so on the strength of the Home Secretary's tardy repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain.

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A month ago I had to comment upon the break-up of the Liberal-Unionist party. The debate and division on Mr. Morley's amendment clearly portend the disintegration of the once united Ministerialists. Such is the result, inevitable in the circumstances, of the Prime Minister's lack of courage and conviction. Strangely enough the Ministerial majority in the House of Lords against Lord Crewe's motion on the tariff question was precisely the same as in the House of Commons—fifty-one. The debate made it clear that there is a strong feeling of antagonism among the Peers to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, whilst the division—upon such a question—touched the low-water mark of Ministerial authority in the Hereditary Chamber. If one turns from Parliament to the country, it is only to find further proofs of the extent to which Mr. Chamberlain's disastrous enterprise has damaged his party. Two elections have taken place, since I last wrote, for the Ayr Burghs and Mid-Herts. Both were represented by supporters of the Ministry; both have now returned Liberals to the House of Commons. Following upon the results of the other elections which have taken place since last May, they establish beyond dispute the fact that the country refuses to accept the retrograde proposal to destroy free trade, and to re-establish in its place the barbarous methods of protectionism.

For the present Free Traders may very well rest satisfied with the state of the campaign. So far they have resisted with complete success the attacks of the enemy, and so long as they have the support of the great economic authorities of the City and of the bulk of the working classes all over the country, they can await the next movement of their impetuous adversary with confidence and equanimity. But Ministers are not in this happy position, and for a very excellent reason. Their want of courage in dealing with the Chamberlain propaganda has had a damaging effect upon their *prestige*, already sufficiently low. They have satisfied nobody except the trimmers on their own side, whose sole desire is to keep their seats as long as possible. To other people, who have at least been able to make up their minds on the question submitted to the country, they present that picture of humiliation of which I have spoken. That they are divided in opinion among themselves is evident from their utterances. Their one desire manifestly is to commit themselves to nothing definite and to stick to office. The Protectionists must despise their policy of shirk and funk as heartily as the Free Traders do. But Mr. Chamberlain and his friends have one advantage over their opponents. They believe, rightly or wrongly, that at the proper moment Ministers will descend from the fence on their side. They are convinced that when Mr. Balfour discards the grotesque mask of retaliatory duties it will be to show himself as the ally of Mr. Chamberlain. This is the reason why the friends of free trade are compelled to maintain the struggle and

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not to allow themselves to be lulled into a feeling of security by their obvious successes in the field. In the meantime the Government are reaping as they have sown. It is not on the fiscal question only that their majority has been cut down by more than 50 per cent. The division on the amendment to the Address on the subject of the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal showed them once more with a majority of exactly fifty-one. In itself it is of course a sufficient majority, one which could keep them in office for a couple of years to come. But it marks a fatal loss of reputation and moral influence on the part of the Government, and it opens the way for those 'accidents' which have so often put an end to administrations even when they still appeared to command considerable majorities in Parliament.

The common plea of those who seek to excuse themselves for continuing to support a Ministry in which they admit that they no longer have confidence, is that they do not see where an alternative Government is to be found. After Mr. Chamberlain's virtual acknowledgment of the fact that we were caught unprepared in the meshes of the South African war, owing to his having indulged in a not very clever game of bluff with President Kruger, and after the revelations made in the debate on Chinese labour as to the consequences of the war, so far as the economic condition of the Transvaal is concerned, it is difficult to understand the frame of mind of those who advance this plea. After all, it may fairly be urged, no possible alternative Government could conceivably make greater and more dangerous mistakes than those committed by the present Administration. But, as a matter of fact, the pretence that it would be impossible to find another Government equal to the task now being performed by that which has been not unjustly described as a Cabinet of caretakers, is an insult to the intelligence of the country. Everybody knows that when the inevitable comes and the King is called upon to entrust the formation of a new Ministry to the statesman whom he selects for that duty, there will be no lack of men conspicuous for both ability and public service who will be ready to join it. A glance at the recent division lists in both Houses of Parliament must set at rest any doubts on this point. For the present, however, the business of the Opposition is not to indulge in the construction of fancy Cabinets, but to compel the present Cabinet to come out of the zariba inside which it is sheltering, and to give the country a straightforward account of its honest opinions and its real policy. Unless it does this, though it may continue to command the votes of a subservient and rapidly dwindling majority in Parliament, it must remain in the eyes of the electors under the imputation of being the secret ally of Mr. Chamberlain in his attempt to found a new party and policy on the taxation of the food of the people.

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The strange optimism which prevailed so long in Europe as to the outcome of the prolonged diplomatic dispute between Russia and Japan was rudely shattered on the 8th of February by the announcement that Japan had broken off the negotiations, and meant to take such steps as she thought necessary in order to assert her rights. For more than two months past it was clear that this must be the inevitable end of the correspondence between Tokio and St. Petersburg, and it is difficult to understand how the public, either here or elsewhere, could have allowed themselves to entertain any other opinion. It is of little use now to recall the different stages through which diplomacy advanced to this lamentable conclusion. For months Russia held the Japanese at arms' length, saying neither yea nor nay to the demands of her rival, but treating the latter in a way that proved that she regarded Japan as an inferior Power with which it was almost an indignity to have to deal. Whatever else may be the outcome of the struggle now in progress, it is at least certain that the diplomatic methods of Russia and the strategy which has so often availed her in her quarrels with Western Powers, have been fatally and irrevocably discredited. The Czar, if he is a wise man, as he is undoubtedly a pacific one, must know, henceforth, that there are occasions on which Russian diplomacy serves neither the best interests of his own country nor the cause of peace.

It is, of course, far too soon to attempt to forecast the issue of a struggle which, on the face of it, seems so unequal. Japan is immeasurably inferior to Russia, not only in territory and population, but in those resources which, as a rule, tell in the long run in favour of the Power that possesses them. But for her the present conflict is a struggle for life, and her people seem to be animated as one man by a patriotism so intense that it is prepared to accept any sacrifices that may be needed to secure the safety of the country. The intelligence of the Japanese, stimulated by their comparatively recent admission to the civilised races of the world, has been shown to be remarkable in many different branches of human effort; but nowhere, as the war with China proved, has it shone more conspicuously than in naval and military operations. The Japanese, moreover, as fighting men have given proof of the fact that in one important respect they are superior to the Christian races of the West. They have no fear of death. To give their lives for their country is not the sacrifice that it is to even the bravest of Europeans. In addition to these formidable equipments of intense patriotism and absolute lack of fear, they enjoy the immense advantage of their insular position, which they have turned to such good account that they have become relatively as great a maritime Power in the East as Great Britain is in the West. Russia, with her boundless area and population, and her enormous material resources, may affect to despise them as a puny and inferior race, with whom it is unnecessary

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to treat on equal terms; but if the statesmen of St. Petersburg had duly weighed the considerations I have suggested, it is not improbable that the negotiations would have had a different issue.

The beginning of the war was startling and dramatic. Japan, having drawn the sword, lost no time in using it. Russia was caught napping at Port Arthur, and almost before she had begun to contemplate any action by her presumptuous foe as possible, she had received a staggering and astounding blow. On the night of the 8th of February, a Japanese torpedo flotilla attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, and disabled their two most powerful battleships and their swiftest cruiser. On the following day, the Japanese fleet appeared in force, and bombarded the town and harbour so effectively that four more Russian ships of war were placed *hors de combat*. Thus, within twenty-four hours of the outbreak of hostilities, the whole condition of things, so far as naval supremacy was concerned, was altered. Russia, which in point of naval armaments had been almost on an equality with Japan, was suddenly deprived of many of her most powerful fighting vessels, and the command of the sea was secured by her enemy. Since then other engagements have taken place at sea, and they have resulted almost invariably in favour of the Japanese. How it comes to pass that Russia should have been so helpless to defend her own navy it is difficult to say. The fact remains that at this moment, so far as sea power is concerned, she is at the mercy of the foe she despised.

That she is beginning to realise the true nature of the contest on which she has embarked is proved by the official statement which the Czar's Government has addressed to the people. In this remarkable document the nation is warned that it must wait with patience for the time when Russia can strike with effect at its audacious enemy. It is impossible not to see in this declaration, coupled with the actual state of affairs in Manchuria, a practical acknowledgment on the part of Russia that she has lost the first stage of the campaign. No longer able to command the sea, she is compelled to give up to Japan the control of the Korean and Manchurian coasts, and to trust solely to the dangerously slender and uncertain link of communication which the Siberian Railway furnishes for the maintenance and reinforcement of her troops in the field. Her military position is undoubtedly a perilous one, and all her resources will be required to enable her to retrieve it.

The diplomatic situation created by the war is one of exceptional gravity. Russia has an ally in France as Japan has one in Great Britain. If this conflict had broken out two years ago, before this country had recovered from the struggle in South Africa, and before the good understanding with our French neighbours had been arrived at, the strong probability is that the war would almost

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instantaneously have been extended, and France and England would have found themselves involved in it. Most happily for the interests of peace and civilisation, the rupture has been deferred until a different state of things has arisen, and it is possible for the statesmen, at least, of the two Western Powers to consider their situation calmly and dispassionately. In England, although the exasperation caused by the peculiar diplomatic methods of Russia is still very great, there is no desire to go beyond the limits laid down by our treaty with Japan and to interfere in a quarrel which the Japanese on their part declare that they desire to fight out for themselves. In France it is evident that the glamour of the alliance with Russia has lost some of its gloss, and that sensible Frenchmen, though their sympathies may be with the Czar and his Government, see no reason for involving themselves in a conflict in which their interests are certainly not identical with those of Russia, and in which they would have to face the inevitable risks and losses of an armed struggle with Great Britain. Both Frenchmen and Englishmen have good reason to be thankful for the cooler temper and clearer vision which they now enjoy. It enables them to see their own true interests more distinctly than would have been possible a few years ago, and those interests are summed up in the one word, Peace. The Cabinet at Washington has taken an active part from the first in connection with Chinese affairs and the officious meddling of Russia in them. The New World it is evident is no longer satisfied to attend upon the footsteps of the Old. But happily all the measures taken or proposed by Mr. Secretary Hay are designed to prevent the spread of the conflagration in the Far East, and if they are carried out in the spirit in which they have been devised they are likely to prove effectual in securing this end. The real danger to the peace of the world lies in the possible inflammation of public opinion here and elsewhere. An outburst of Mafeking madness in this country over the successes of Japan, certain as it would be to be followed by a similar retort from Paris, might set half the world in flames. A great responsibility in these circumstances rests upon our journalists and others who can influence public opinion. One can only hope that they will be sensible of the fact.

Upon one point the war, so far as it has gone, furnishes an impressive lesson that may be studied with advantage in other places besides St. Petersburg. This is the omnipotence of brain-power in controlling the affairs of the world. It is little more than thirty years since modern Japan emerged into the light of day. As it has been picturesquely put, Japan as we now know it is no older than the London School Board. It was my good fortune to witness the proceedings of the first Japanese mission that had come to England in modern times, and that is barely forty years ago. This mission, which was scarcely noticed in London, came to Europe on a double

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errand—to study our English method of coal-mining and the way in which the Dutch had preserved their country from the encroachments of the sea. Its members represented the old Japan known to history; they wore the national dress, and those who were entitled to do so carried the two swords. They looked like figures who had marched upon us straight from the Middle Ages. But despite their appearance they were thoroughly practical in their methods. They wasted no time in calls of ceremony upon high officials, or in the distractions which London, even forty years ago, afforded to the stranger within its gates. A certain task had been assigned to them, and they performed it with speed and thoroughness, and then departed to do the rest of their work elsewhere. Japan was just beginning to awake from the slumber of centuries, but even then it manifested the practical spirit and the desire for scientific knowledge which are now seen to be the most remarkable characteristics of its people. When its awakening was complete its rulers made it their business to organise a system of scientific education for all classes of the nation. Never was there such a transformation as that which then came over the spirit of the Japanese. For thirty years past they have been mainly intent upon one thing, the acquirement of scientific knowledge with regard to all the departments of human effort. To know what ought to be done in a given case, and how best to do it, is the ultimate object of all scientific training. Religion, art, and literature, as everybody admits, have their appointed uses in the world, but without this practical knowledge a nation may reach the topmost pinnacle in every other branch of culture, and yet fail hopelessly in its struggle against a competing world. The Japanese have made it their business to carry the scientific spirit into the management of their national as well as their private affairs, and to-day the conflict between them and Russia seems to resolve itself largely into a contest between brains on one side, and muscles, backed by natural resources that are almost illimitable, on the other. In the first round in the apparently unequal match the advantage unmistakably rests with brains. Pall Mall and Downing Street may both learn something from the spectacle which is now being presented to us.

The mention of Pall Mall naturally draws one's attention to what is, after all, the one great practical achievement of the month. Here, at least, is a welcome relief to that dark side of the ministerial position and policy upon which I have been forced to dwell. Mr. Arnold-Forster's appointment as Secretary for War was criticised at the time in many different quarters. But, assuming, as I think we fairly may, his responsibility for the steps that have been lately taken, he has fully justified his selection for the post which he now holds. The report of the small Committee of three which had been empowered to consider the question of the reorganisation of the

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War Office was published at the beginning of last month. It was a revolutionary document, and showed that here, at least, there was no tinkering up of an antiquated system, and no shirking of direct responsibility for radical changes. The old War Office, as we have known it ever since Crimean days, was abolished by a stroke of the pen, and in its place there sprang into existence a new department founded upon the model of the Board of Admiralty. The Board of Admiralty is not perfect, but at least it can claim to have worked well under many different, and some very trying, conditions. It has not only given us a fair division of responsibility and labour in the highest branches of the Service, but it has fostered a spirit of independent action, accompanied by personal responsibility, throughout the Service as a whole. The conditions of the army and navy, one need hardly say, are not the same, but nothing has been established more clearly by our recent experiences than the fact that the army badly needs a system of decentralisation, so far as its administration is concerned, and the cultivation of the spirit of independent responsibility among all its substantial units. The proposals of the Committee over which Lord Esher presided were accepted *en bloc* by the Government, and as the Royal Assent was forthwith given to them they at once became law. Their adoption involved the abolition of the great office of Commander-in-Chief, and the retirement of the whole of the distinguished men who filled the chief positions under the old system at the War Office. The only reason for regretting the abolition of the Commandership-in-Chief is that it has the appearance of treating with a certain amount of ungraciousness the last distinguished holder of that post. But the need for reform was urgent, and neither the claims of Lord Roberts nor those of his distinguished colleagues who fell with him could be allowed to stand in the way. In fairness to them it must be said that the responsibility for a lamentably defective and obsolete system of administration did not rest upon their shoulders. They had done their work admirably within the limits assigned to them, and the country cannot forget the debt which it owes to them for the zeal and ability with which they did their duty. But the Government evidently felt, as Lord Esher's Committtee did, that an entirely new system could only be worked effectively by new men; and when we remember the absolute necessity for breaking free at once and for ever from the vicious traditions, both social and professional, which have so long paralysed our army system, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that in this matter, at least, they were in the right.

The reconstitution of the Defence Committee on the lines indicated by Lord Esher and his colleagues is an innovation hardly less important than the reorganisation of the War Office; but it is impossible to discuss the far-reaching proposals in the space at my command. There is a subject, however, of even greater importance.

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than any dealt with by the Committee that, up to the moment at which I write, has not been brought in any definite form before the public. It is one thing to reform the War Office, and quite another to reform the army. Those behind the scenes are only too well aware that army reform is at least as urgent and imperative as War Office reorganisation. The *quidnuncs* of the Service clubs are full of alarmist stories tending to illustrate the lamentable breakdown of the present system. I have no desire to exaggerate the importance of these panic-inspired rumours, but with the Army Estimates still advancing by leaps and bounds, and with the knowledge which most of us have of the condition of our land forces, it is impossible not to await with impatience the proposals which the Secretary for War will have to lay before the House of Commons on this subject. He may, indeed, already have made his statement when these lines appear in print. Whatever his scheme may be, I do not doubt that it will be a bold one, and that Mr. Arnold-Forster will be as anxious to escape from the fetters of red-tape and tradition in reforming the army as he has shown himself to be in reorganising the War Office. The question is one that rises far above the field of party politics; one can only regret that it should have to be faced under existing conditions, in the presence of a grave crisis in foreign affairs, and at the hands of a Ministry which has not only a weakened hold upon the House of Commons, but which has, apparently, forfeited the confidence of the country. Whatever the proposals may be, it is to be hoped that they will be judged upon their own merits, without regard to those of the Cabinet responsible for them. Continuity of policy is not less necessary in military than in foreign affairs.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

LAST month opened with what I may call a military transformation scene. On taking up my paper on Monday the 1st of February, I, in common with the rest of his Majesty's lieges, learnt with astonishment—I might almost say with trepidation—that the British Army was to dispense henceforward with the services of a Commander-in-Chief. I confess that even now I can hardly realise the magnitude of this *coup-d'état* executed by a committee of vigilance composed of Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke. What next? was, and is still, my mental comment. Gradually, however, my apprehensions died away as I recalled the fact that I could never recollect a period when the British Army was not said to be in need of a drastic reconstruction, or when, after being reconstructed, it was not said to be still in urgent want of wholesale reform. I was further consoled by the reflection—to quote a saying of Emerson—that however marvellous and however complicated any machine may be, it can never work unless there is a man's brain at the head of the machinery. If we are to have no more commanders-in-chief, we shall yet have somebody who will hold the command. What the name or title of the supreme authority may be is a matter of indifference. I have had too much experience of companies not to be keenly alive to the defects of the board system. Still, I have found the system works fairly well when one director takes the lead; and I trust that the new administration of the Army, whatever it may be in theory, will be in fact a one-man board. There are two subjects—theological controversy and military administration—on which I decline, as a rule, to express any opinion of my own. I feel that these subjects 'are too high for me.' But there are two conclusions on the subject of army reform on which even an outsider may venture to make a suggestion. The first is that, however we may remodel and reconstruct our military mechanism, we shall never get an army capable of holding its own, as a second line of defence, until we adopt some form of compulsory service. The second is that until we consent to pay our officers a living wage we can never expect them to study their pursuits with the same energy and zeal as Englishmen of the same

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class display in other occupations. Having contributed my probably worthless opinions on army reform, let me conclude by saying that, after careful perusal of the Esher Commission report, I gather that military promotion is to be regulated in future more directly than it has been hitherto by the Sovereign, who constitutionally is the head of the British Army, and by whom every officer's commission has to be signed before it becomes valid. In my opinion, the fact of the duties of the Commandership-in-Chief being exercised in future by the King is likely to prove of advantage directly to the Army and indirectly to the country. His Majesty has always taken the greatest interest in military affairs, and no one of his subjects has more keenly at heart the welfare, efficiency, and repute of the Army. Moreover, under his command, party interests will cease to possess the same influence as they have hitherto exercised in the selection of officers for important commands. The gracious farewell letter addressed to Lord Roberts, in which the King speaks of 'My Army' marks, I expect, the commencement of a new and better era for our military administration.

The King's Speech on the opening of Parliament, delivered on the day following the publication of the ukase in question, contained no allusion to this constitutional *coup-d'état*, though the report of the Commission was declared to have received the full approval of his Majesty. Indeed, the speech was one of the most meagre I can recall having perused for many years past. The ministerial programme hardly even suggests any legislation which could reasonably be expected to occupy more than a few weeks' languid discussion. The scantiness of the bill of fare thus provided for the Session just commenced has been interpreted as showing that the Government contemplates an early dissolution. I question the correctness of this interpretation, but I cannot doubt that the possibility of such a contingency was taken into consideration by the Ministry in drawing up the King's Speech. Very little Parliamentary experience is required to realise that when once, from whatever causes, a Ministry begins to fall to pieces, an unexpected ministerial defeat may occur at any moment upon some minor issue. The resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Ritchie, the replacement of the outgoing Ministers by comparatively young politicians who have not had —and are perhaps not likely to have—the opportunity of acquiring any such hold on public opinion as that possessed by their predecessors, and the virtual secession from the Conservative party of a considerable section of the Liberal Unionists have undoubtedly inflicted a severe blow upon the authority of the Ministry. Misfortunes never come singly; and the sudden illness of the Prime Minister, which has prevented his presence in Parliament, has, to say the least, added to the weakness of the Government. For the first time since the close of the war the Opposition have apparently made up their minds to confront the risk of an appeal to the country.

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Whatever the organs of their party may choose to say, the Liberals are alive to the extraordinary effect produced upon the public mind by Mr. Chamberlain's crusade in favour of the revisal of our fiscal policy. They think that their chance of obtaining a majority at a general election is far greater now than it is likely to prove after Mr. Chamberlain has propounded his policy before the agricultural constituencies. In their opinion office lies for the time within their reach; and they have consequently agreed to postpone all personal and political differences in their own ranks till they have succeeded in forcing on a general election. They are holding out proposals of joint action to the malcontent Unionists; they are assuring the Irish Nationalists that they are not averse in principle to Home Rule, however much they may have hitherto dissembled their love; they are making friends with the Labour party, and expressing their readiness to relieve the trade unions from any legal liability in respect of outrages committed by their members. Such action is justified by the rules of the party game, however inconsistent it may be with deep convictions or principles. There is no doubt that, even assuming the followers of the Duke of Devonshire should transfer their votes to the Liberals, the Ministry would still nominally command a decisive majority in the House of Commons. But there are, I suspect, a very considerable number of Unionist members who, though they would not vote against the Government, would personally be glad to have the elections over as soon as possible. If this is the case, the Whips will find it difficult to secure the attendance of the non-official members of the party, and in these circumstances an unforeseen defeat is always on the cards.

The debate on the Address was not one likely to take high rank in our Parliamentary annals. Mr. George Wyndham, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Arnold Forster, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Mr. Asquith scored heavily in the course of the debate; but the Ministerial speakers were handicapped by the absence of the Premier and of the late Secretary for the Colonies, while the Opposition were even more heavily burdened by the weakness of their case. They were afraid, as a body, to declare that no reform is needed in our fiscal system, but contended that the idea of any reform, even if advisable in itself, could not be entertained, because it might hypothetically lead to some infraction of orthodox free-trade principles. The whole argument of the Opposition was based upon what may be aptly called 'the thin end of the wedge' theory. It was admitted that retaliation might be essential to the interests of the country, but that these interests ought to be sacrificed because the employment of a retaliatory policy might lead in the future to an abandonment of free trade in favour of protection. The fact that the Government stands pledged not to adopt retaliation till after the propriety of its adoption has been submitted to the arbitrament of the constituencies was studiously ignored.

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In plain English, the Liberals and their new Unionist allies created an imaginary issue and then proceeded to demolish it to their own satisfaction. Mr. Morley's amendment was defeated by a majority of fifty-one. Of the 276 votes given in favour of this amendment—tantamount as it was to a vote of censure—sixty-nine votes were contributed by the Irish Nationalists, whose attendance at the division had been secured by an urgent summons on the part of their Whips; while twenty-six Unionists screwed up courage to vote with the Home Rule party against the Unionist Government. Of these malcontents nine are described in Dod's *Parliamentary Companion* as Liberal Unionists. These gentlemen, who were elected as supporters of the Unionist cause, and who now claim to be so wedded to free-trade principles that they are bound in duty to desert their party, must, I think, have felt somewhat uncomfortable when they marched into the 'Ayes' lobby side by side with the Irish Home Rulers, who had just before announced, by the mouth of Mr. J. Redmond, that free trade had proved disastrous to Ireland, and who had made no secret of the fact that they voted for the amendment because they were anxious to see a Unionist Government replaced by a Liberal Home Rule administration. I greatly doubt the debate on the Address producing any marked effect on public opinion. The truth is the time has gone by when Parliamentary debates excited much attention outside of Westminster. Every year the interest of newspaper readers in reports of Parliamentary speeches becomes less and less, if we may judge by the growing curtailment of these reports in almost every influential paper except the *Times*. Nowadays, if you really want to influence the electorate, you have got to stump the country, as Mr. Gladstone did in the Midlothian campaign, and as Mr. Chamberlain has done in the manufacturing districts. It is idle to imagine that the electors peruse long columns of Parliamentary reports. The decline of public interest in the debates of the Legislature may be matter for regret—to my thinking it is matter for regret—but the fact of this decline cannot be doubted by any person cognisant of the statistics of the journalistic trade.

The debate was drawn out for some fourteen days, when it might with advantage have been concluded in a couple. The principal amendment, which was avowedly a vote of censure upon the Government, was moved by Mr. John Morley, who possesses the rare merit of impressing his hearers with the conviction of his own sincerity. He disapproves of war in general, and of our war with the Boers in particular; he hates imperialism, and, above all, the imperialism of Great Britain. In accordance with the teachings of Comte, he holds that the influence of England, as at present constituted, is a barrier to the progress of humanity, and he is therefore a staunch supporter of any policy, such as Home Rule, calculated to reduce England to her befitting position in the community of nations. But

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just because my friend Mr. Morley is a rigid and convinced doctrinaire, he is not an effective party speaker. Earnestness is a high moral quality, but its possession is not conductive to success in Parliamentary debate. The greater part of his speech was devoted to a wholesale eulogy of Cobden, and of the principles associated with his name. The obvious answer to this indiscriminate praise of the Anti-Corn Law League and its author is to be found in the subsidiary title which Sir Walter Scott affixed to *Waverley*—'Sixty Years Ago.' With the exception of a few fanatics who believe that the economic doctrines of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham are as immutable as the laws of arithmetic, no man of sense will deny that a fiscal policy which may have been sound and beneficial three-score years come and gone may have become unsound and injurious under the altered conditions of the present day. Yet if this is granted all appeals to the Cobden tradition fall to the ground. However, I do not flatter myself that anything I or others can say will alter Mr. Morley's conviction that Richard Cobden, though he proved himself utterly incompetent to manage his own business affairs, was eminently qualified to conduct the public affairs of the United Kingdom. All I venture to suggest is that, by the showing of his own biographer, the apostle of free trade had no claim to the reputation of statesmanship. If space permitted, I could produce scores upon scores of passages from Mr. Morley's *Life of Cobden* which prove that whatever the latter's merits may have been, either in his private or in his political capacity, he had absolutely no claim to be described as a statesman. I must content myself with one brief quotation. In 1842 Cobden wrote a letter to his friend Mr. Ashworth, in which I find the following words:

> It has struck me that it would be well to try to engraft our free-trade agitation upon the peace movement. They are one and the same cause. . . . The efforts of the Peace Societies, however laudable, can never be successful so long as the nations maintain their present system of isolation. *The colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect process of free trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest.*

The italics are my own. In face of this declaration that the aim and object of Cobden's free-trade agitation was to sever the connection between Great Britain and Greater Britain, Mr. Morley asks us to believe that Cobden was not only a British patriot but a British statesman. If Cobden was in the right, every vote given in favour of Mr. Morley's amendment was a vote virtually given against the British Empire.

The most noteworthy speech delivered upon the Address was that of Mr. Chamberlain, not only for its own intrinsic merits, but for the disclosures which it elicited. The facts speak for themselves. In June 1899, when the possibility of war had become imminent, the

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Government came to the conclusion that in the interests of peace it would be desirable to send out reinforcements to our army in South Africa, and to provide adequate means of transport for the forces already stationed in the Cape Colony and in Natal. At this time the chief hope of maintaining peace entertained by the then Colonial Minister and his colleagues was to impress upon the Transvaal Government the fact that, in the event of the peace negotiations resulting in failure, England was prepared to go to war. They had every reason to anticipate that the proposal to send out reinforcements would be opposed by the Liberals, as a party, on the ground that it would give umbrage to Boer susceptibilities, and thereby endanger the prospects of a pacific settlement. If the Opposition took up an attitude of open hostility to any military preparations with the view to strengthening our position in the event of war, this attitude would certainly confirm President Kruger in his belief that the Liberal party in England was opposed to war, and that the British Government would be unable to carry out a warlike policy. In order, if possible, to remove any such misapprehension on the part of the South African Republic, Mr. Chamberlain, in accordance with his usual custom of going straight to a point, proposed to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as leader of the Liberal party, to take counsel with him as to how far the despatch of reinforcements to South Africa could be so arranged as to receive the joint support of the two chief parties in Parliament. Sir Henry, after being made acquainted with the military preparations the Ministry had in view, absolutely declined to entertain any suggestion to the above effect. He was within his full right as a party leader in so declining. In common justice it should also be borne in mind that Sir Henry was probably aware of the communications which were passing at that time between Pretoria and the Pro-Boer members of the Liberal party. Anyhow, he refused all kind of co-operation with the war policy of the Government, and stated, in his answer to Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, that 'we [the Liberals] are strongly of opinion that in the present state of feeling in South Africa any military preparations should be done, if done at all, on a moderate scale, and in an unostentatious way.' Upon this refusal the Government, wisely, as I think, determined to postpone any further military preparations sooner than run the risk of an anti-war demonstration on the part of the Liberal party in Parliament, which would infallibly confirm the Boers in their rooted conviction that the British nation was not united in favour of a South African war. The suggestion of military preparations conducted, '*if at all, on a moderate scale, and in an unostentatious way*,' was so manifestly imbecile, if judged by later experience, that its author has endeavoured to defend himself by the plea that Mr. Chamberlain had given him to understand that these warlike demonstrations were intended to be part and parcel of a policy of bluff, and that to such a policy he, as the leader of the Opposition,

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did not feel himself justified in being a party. The correspondence which has since been published fully confirms the statement of the late Colonial Secretary, while all Sir Henry can allege, as proof of his original charge, is that after the interview in question he had stated in conversation with two friends that he had been invited to take part in a policy of bluff. He further asserted in his own defence that Mr. Chamberlain, at the interview under discussion, used the following words, or words to a like effect: 'You need not be alarmed; there will be no fighting. We know that these fellows [the Boers] won't fight. We are playing a game of bluff.'

It is no imputation on the good faith of Sir Henry and his unnamed friends that, after the lapse of four eventful years, they should not be able to report correctly the exact words of a casual conversation, of which no written record seems to have been taken at the time. It may, however, be worth while to point out that Mr. Chamberlain could not possibly have described the policy on behalf of which he desired Sir Henry's co-operation as a policy of bluff.

On referring to Dr. Richardson's English Dictionary, published in 1856, I find that bluff is described as 'a word not found in our older lexicographers, nor common in composition. It is applied to a bluntness, coarseness, roughness of manner.' If my memory serves me right, the word, in its modern sense, came into use in England some thirty odd years ago, when the late General Schenck, as the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James's, introduced the Emma Mine to the City and the game of poker to the West-end.

Now it is obvious that Mr. Chamberlain could never have regarded the idea of sending out reinforcements to South Africa while the peace negotiations were going on as being of the nature of bluff. The head and front of all the vindictive and scurrilous abuse brought against Mr. Chamberlain is that he was from the outset of the Bloemfontein negotiations determined upon going to war. Nobody in his senses can doubt that he felt confident, whether reasonably or unreasonably, of ultimate success, and that he regarded the outcome of the war as a foregone conclusion in favour of England. If this is so, to call the proposed despatch of reinforcements to South Africa while negotiations were still pending a piece of bluff is a flagrant absurdity. The only intelligible explanation of his action in soliciting Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's co-operation is that he hoped thereby to show that England really meant war in case of need, and that by so showing he might even at the eleventh hour avert the necessity of an armed conflict. Whatever opinion may be held as to the offers made by Mr. Chamberlain and declined by the sometime Minister for War under the Rosebery Administration, these overtures were clearly made with the aim of thwarting the very object Mr. Chamberlain is alleged to have had at heart. To say that his policy was one of bluff is simply childish.

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Mr. Chamberlain will carry with him the sympathies of the British public in the well-earned rest he is about to enjoy in Egypt. The effect of his temporary absence from the stage of politics will only serve to show how great is the position he now holds. His dauntless courage, his sublime indifference to abuse and invective of any kind, his frank determination to look facts in the face, his marvellous lucidity of utterance, and his power of speaking common-sense to common people, have won for him the confidence of the great mass of his fellow-countrymen. This confidence has been increased by the virulence and unscrupulousness of his detractors.

The news of the Progressive victory at the Cape elections will be some consolation to Imperialists for the animosity displayed towards the Imperialist cause by the Liberal party at home. At the time of the Jameson raid, when the Liberals went mad in their crusade against Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, and when the mildest of their censors exulted in declaring that their career in South African public life was henceforth at an end, I ventured to express my conviction that, notwithstanding all that had come and gone, Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson had a great future before them in the land where they were both honoured and respected. My anticipation has been even more than fulfilled. If Cecil Rhodes had lived, he would long ere this have been Prime Minister of the Colony; and now Dr. Jameson, in virtue of his political connection and his personal friendship with the dead South African statesman, has become the leader of a United British party, which for the first time in Cape Parliamentary history commands an absolute majority in the Legislature. The prospects of the introduction of Chinese labour will probably benefit by the success of the Progressives. The conditions of the Cape Colony and of the Transvaal in respect to labour are entirely different. If I were a settler in the Cape, I should probably have deprecated the introduction of Chinese labourers on the eve of a general election; if I were a settler in the Transvaal, I should advocate it by all the means in my power. Now that the Progressives have carried the day the Bond has no further interest in making Chinese immigration a party question; and the issue will, I hope and believe, be decided on its intrinsic merits.

I find I have more than exceeded the space allotted to me without even alluding to by far the most important event of last month—the outbreak of war in the Far East. I hope there is every prospect that England may not be called upon to exchange the position of a spectator for that of a participator in the war now waging between Russia and Japan. But hope is not the same thing as certainty, and it would be folly to ignore the possibility that in certain contingencies England might be compelled to act as well as to advise. After all, the words '*Tua res agitur*' apply, in as far as England is concerned, to the attempt of Japan to prevent Russia from extending her

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dominions over China and Korea, if not over Japan itself. I have no sufficient knowledge of the conditions under which the Russo-Japanese conflict is being fought out to the bitter end to express any opinion of my own as to its ultimate result. My sympathies, as an Englishman, are with Japan as against Russia; and, in as far as I can judge, the opening of the campaign has shown the world that the contest is not likely to prove as unequal as was anticipated. I have a strong belief in the saying of Napoleon that somehow Providence is always on the side of the big battalions; and the numerical superiority of the Russian Army—upon paper—is perfectly overwhelming in comparison with that of Japan. I should feel more sanguine of the future if I could see any reason to believe that, supposing war should become imminent, both parties in the State would dismiss party considerations and adopt a common national policy. But 'of this consummation, so devoutly to be wished,' I, for my part, can see no sign. I have been a good deal recently in Paris, and was glad to find that the enthusiasm in favour of the Russian alliance had apparently suffered a grave decline, and that the general wish of the French public seemed to be to abstain from participating in a war in which France has few real interests concerned. If this view is correct, it strongly militates against the possibility of England having to interfere in favour of Japan.

The superstitious belief in the invulnerability of Russia has been rudely shaken throughout Europe by the disastrous defeats she has already sustained at sea, and even more by the hysterical utterances of the Czar and his official spokesmen. The spectacle of a great nation crying out the first moment she meets with opposition, uttering blood-curdling threats as to the vengeance she intends to inflict upon her antagonist, and trying to account for her own incompetence by the assertion that she had made insufficient preparation for war owing to her intense love of peace, is not calculated to command respect abroad. But it seems to me over-early yet to assume that the superiority of the Japanese will prove equally decisive when it comes to operations on land.

EDWARD DICEY.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

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THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

THEIR PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE RELATIONS

The past few years have been notable for the pricking of bubbles. Spain was supposed to have a navy, England an organised army, Russia an unassailable military force, and America an impregnable industrial preponderance unparalleled in modern history. These bubbles have been pricked. Spain with characteristic hauteur has taken her true position at the end of the line, England is trying to create the organised army she supposed she had, Russia grieves at this moment over the wounds inflicted upon her by the Japanese onslaught, with the impotent emotion of a quivering jelly-fish, and the United States have discovered that their title to the earth cannot be sustained in a competitive court. These nations have been found out; whether others, subjected to similar tests, would suffer similar shocks can be a matter only of conjecture. One fact, however, is certain: the pricking of these bubbles has taught the lesson of

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interdependence to the Anglo-Saxon race at least, with so much of force and clarity that, for the first time since Paul Revere rode out of Boston, that race is now practically a unit in its relationship with the remainder of the world, not as a result of written words, but as the effect of that intuitive understanding which is more potent and more enduring than explicit covenants, for the reason that it combines the quality of chivalrous sentiment with regard for material self-interest.

I

The antipathy which long existed between the two English-speaking peoples, which often threatened to culminate in war between them, and which did once (in 1812) plunge them into a fratricidal contest, was due, partly to their ignorance of one another, partly to an actual or supposed lack of common interests, and partly to an absence of kindliness born of services rendered and welcomed. After the disappearance of the generation of colonists which had grown to maturity before the outbreak of the revolutionary struggle, there was less social and friendly intercourse between Americans and Englishmen than between Americans and Frenchmen; and misconceptions became rife in the mother country and the daughter state concerning their respective ideas, sentiments, and intentions that would have been grotesque had they not been lamentable. For three-quarters of a century after the Peace of Versailles, Englishmen were content to take their notions of American civilisation from a few superficial and prejudiced observers, of whom Mrs. Trollope and Dickens were examples, while Americans imbibed from their school-books and newspapers the conviction that in England their nation had a rancorous, an implacable, and a sleepless enemy. This mutual misunderstanding might have been corrected gradually had there been more personal contact between intelligent and influential representatives of the kindred peoples. Up to the close of the Civil War, however, Englishmen of education and of station seldom visited the United States. On the other hand, nearly all the graduates of American colleges, who at that time sought a supplemental course in a foreign university, went to Germany rather than to England, while of those rich Americans who desired to sojourn in a European capital, not London but Paris was the bourne.

It is not surprising that, for many years after the Revolutionary War, Americans and Englishmen should have failed to recognise the community of their material interests. Throughout the long contest of the Allied Powers against the French Republic and the French Empire, the United States and England were rivals for the carrying-trade between the European Continent and the New World. This rivalry continued until, in the decade preceding our Civil War, the ocean-borne commerce of the daughter state had grown to

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equal nearly that of the mother country. On the other hand, it was not until after the repeal of the Corn Laws, or near the close of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, that the British people realised in any measure the importance of the United States as the principal purveyor of breadstuffs imperatively needed to eke out Britain's domestic supply. It is true that, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the cotton-mills of central Britain had become dependent upon American growers of the raw staple; but, as cotton was a product of the Southern States alone, it could be plausibly argued in 1861–65 that British manufacturers would have no less, if not indeed more, to gain by the triumph of the Confederacy than by the maintenance of the Union.

The failure to perceive any community of economical interests between the American Union and Great Britain undoubtedly explains in part the sympathy for the Confederacy which was felt and expressed almost unanimously by the British governing class; and which wounded the people of the Northern States deeply and not unreasonably. When that sympathy took concrete forms in a hasty recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent, in a failure to prevent the building of Confederate cruisers in British shipyards, and in the escape of such vessels therefrom, it not unnaturally provoked on the part of the American people a widespread feeling of resentment, which, for at least a generation, outlived our Civil War. The good-will evinced by cotton-spinners and weavers, amid great privations, and the few eloquent voices raised on behalf of the North in Parliament and in the press by such men as John Bright and Goldwin Smith, were by no means unappreciated; but the fact could not be overlooked that they did not reflect the opinions and feelings of that section of society by which Britain was governed.

It appears then that, up to a few years ago, there was no historical basis for the idea that there is an instinctive sympathy between the United States and England, such as is sometimes alleged to be irrepressible because of the possession by these two nations of a common language, and, to a large extent, of a common law and common political institutions. Experience indeed has shown that such incentives to international harmony do not suffice. Thucydides records that the first example of a sea-fight on a large scale among the Greeks was between the navies of Corinth and of her daughter state, Corcyra. An identity or a close similarity of race, language, laws and institutions did not prevent Italians or Germans from warring against each other for centuries. Moreover, while we Americans have always been proud of the great poets, philosophers, jurists, historians, and novelists of England, we have regarded the debt as personal, not national. So, too, while recognising a fellowship with the stout Britons who sheared the Stuart kings of their prerogatives, and with the British martyrs who died

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for freedom of worship, we are grateful to *them*, not to the Government that persecuted and repressed them.

How, then, has it come about that now, in the opening years of the twentieth century, the relations of the two English-speaking peoples are more sympathetic than they were a generation or even a decade ago? It is evident, in the first place, that our knowledge of one another has been signally increased. It is safe to say that, for one educated English gentleman who, in the days of Palmerston, visited the United States for the purpose of studying their people and their institutions, such a tour is now undertaken by scores, even by hundreds. For one graduate of an American college, who, thirty or forty years ago, matriculated at a British University, there are now at least a dozen, and the number will be increased by the Rhodes bequest. I would not exaggerate the unifying effect of international marriages, but there is no doubt that matrimonial alliances between Englishmen and American women, which were very rare before the Civil War, have contributed materially to a better understanding. It is certain that the colony of American residents or sojourners in London is at the present day much larger than it was thirty years ago. The existence of personal contact at such a multiplicity of points, and the incessant interchange of ideas, have rendered difficult, if not impossible, the persistence of the old misconceptions on the part of one English-speaking people with reference to the other. Each has gained knowledge of the other at first hand, and from such knowledge has drawn logical and just deductions. The once conventional caricatures of Yankees on the British stage, and of Britons on the American stage, no longer convince or even amuse. They have been relegated happily and finally to the limbo of stale and outworn stage properties.

Simultaneously with the enlightenment due to an extension of social intercourse between the natives of the two countries, has come an awakening on the part of Great Britain to the immense economical importance of the friendship of the United States. It is not only cotton, the raw material of a single industry, for which the mother country is now dependent upon her daughter state; there is a far more fundamental necessity, to wit, England's food supply, without which her industries would wither, because her workmen would starve. To the paramountcy of this factor in the international situation Englishmen have become thoroughly alive only within very recent years. Nor is it strange that this should be the case. Since free trade in breadstuffs became the settled policy of the United Kingdom, its population has doubled, while the production of wheat at home has decreased by about one-half. Even the imports from the transmarine dependencies of Great Britain, viewed collectively, have dwindled during the last ten years. The result is that the dependence of the United Kingdom upon foreign countries for wheat

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has grown to such an extent that at least three out of every five loaves that come to British tables are the products of grain received from the United States, from Russia, or from Argentina. Under the circumstances it is difficult to see how England could be shielded from famine should she ever be engaged in war with both the United States and Russia. It may indeed be asked: Would not the British navy be able to assure the transportation across the ocean of adequate quantities of wheat from Canada, Australia, and Argentina, even if the customary supplies from the United States and Russia were cut off? For the present, at all events, and probably for many years to come, the answer must be that the wheat surplus of Canada, Australia, India, and Argentina would bridge but a fraction of the vast and constantly increasing gap between England's demand for wheat and her home supply. In the supposed contingency, moreover, the surplus wheat of Canada could hardly be relied upon, because, if the event were war between the United States and Great Britain, the Canadian granaries would be overrun by the American land forces. It is equally probable that the transportation of wheat from Australia and Argentina would be seriously interrupted by commerce destroyers.

Happily for the English-speaking world, it is now extremely improbable that England will ever have to confront the United States and Russia at one and the same time. Such a contingency indeed might have occurred during our Civil War, had England attempted intervention on behalf of the Southern Confederacy. It might have occurred in 1896, had England, in defiance of Mr. Cleveland's unwarranted Venezuela Message, persisted in refusing to submit the boundary of British Guiana to arbitration. It might even have occurred six years ago, had England forbidden us to undertake the deliverance of Cuba, as she did forbid us at the time of the 'Virginius' affair. But not now; the danger time has passed.

I have endeavoured to indicate the economical grounds upon which the friendship of the United States has become of incomparable value to England. They obviously imply that to us also a quarrel with Great Britain would be disastrous. If her ports were closed to us, we should lose our principal customer, not only for our surplus cotton, but for our surplus breadstuffs. To the farmers of our prairie States and to the planters of our Southern States, such an obstruction to the export of their staples would mean catastrophe. Our nation's agricultural interests would once more experience, now on a vastly extended scale, the species of strangulation to which they were subjected by Jefferson's Embargo. Never, without galling provocation, could we be prevailed upon to face such a calamity. Neither would we for a moment allow England's enemies to restrict our neutral right to furnish her with requisite food-supplies and the raw material needed for her manufactures. Never would we submit

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to an attempt on the part of the Continental Powers to make cotton and breadstuffs contraband of war. Irrespective of sentimental reasons, we would fight rather than leave our best customer in the lurch.

These are but a few of the reasons why England's friendship has become, during the last decade, extremely valuable, if not necessary, to the United States. Within that period we have renounced our age-long policy of isolation. From a strictly continental we have become, almost inadvertently, a colonial Power. We have incurred the responsibilities and perils inseparable from such a status. Our nation's dignity, prestige, and interests are no longer shielded against foreign aggression by an impregnable geographical position. By acquiring Hawaii, islands in the Samoan group, Porto Rico, Guam and, above all, the ten-mile canal strip in Panama and the Philippine archipelago, we have given hostages to fortune. At six points—seven, if we include Alaska—we are now vulnerable to the attack of strong naval Powers. The day is far distant when we shall be able to defend our transmarine possessions against France alone, much less against a coalition of France and Russia, or of Russia and Germany. The time may be near when we too may find an ally indispensable. And where could we so reasonably look for a co-adjutor as to the chief purchaser of our exports, whose unparalleled navy, arrayed on our side, would make us invincible on the ocean? Have Englishmen so little appreciation of our acumen as to doubt our understanding of the material situation?

II

The sentimental cause of the remarkable change in the existing and prospective, as compared with the past, relations of the United States and England is due mainly to two unexpected and, partly for that reason, most creditable acts of the late Lord Salisbury. That statesman, whose name will ever be honoured in America, represented in his own person, in an altogether unique way, the revolution—for it was scarcely short of that—which the last two or three decades have brought about in the sentiments of the governing class of Great Britain towards the Great Republic of the West. An aristocrat of the aristocrats, his distrust of democracy, which even deepened into contempt, had long given colour to his thoughts regarding its greatest national exemplar. But when, with the destinies of his country in his charge, he was called upon to deal with a situation which threatened to bring monarchical England and republican America into conflict, neither political nor social predilections or prejudices availed to darken his judgment, or to divert him from the path of wise and patriotic statesmanship. The recourse to arbitration which the United States demanded in the

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course of the diplomatic exchanges, regarding the Venezuelan boundary, between Washington and London, had been systematically refused by the latter. When, therefore, Mr. Cleveland's historic message proclaimed that the United States would take independent steps to ascertain for themselves what the Venezuelan boundary should of right be, and pledged the power of the United States to the vindication of the boundary thus determined, it remained for Lord Salisbury to choose between taking back his own words, with whatever of personal discredit that course might involve, and accepting for his country the disastrous alternative of war. He scarcely hesitated in making his choice. Appraising at their correct value considerations of national pride and prestige, he courageously took upon himself and his Government, in the interests of peace between the two English-speaking peoples, the humiliation of yielding to a violent threat what he had declined to a diplomatic request. This magnanimous act of self-effacement in a high cause won the admiration of the American people, and the ardent good will which it excited in their breasts extended from Lord Salisbury himself to their kindred over-seas, whose official representative he was.

Lord Salisbury's second opportunity to improve the sentiment with which England was regarded by her daughter state came in the spring of 1898, on the outbreak of the Spanish war. It is well known that some of the Continental governments were disposed to intervene between the United States and Spain with a view to preventing the emancipation of Cuba. A European combination against the United States, especially if it embraced England, with her surpassing naval strength, would have made it impossible to carry out the humane policy towards their island neighbour upon which the American people had set their hearts. Here was an opportunity for retaliation, if Lord Salisbury had been in search of an occasion for returning humiliation for humiliation. The British Government had, up to that time, claimed for itself a voice in any question concerning the ultimate disposal of Cuba, and Lord Salisbury's adherence to that policy would have enabled the Continental partisans of Spain to realise their purposes. Instead, he caused it to be known that England would regard with disfavour any hostile movement against the United States on the part of any of the Powers. That the importance of this action to the interests of the American people was gratefully recognised by the American Government is a fair inference from the published testimony of Mr. R. A. Alger, Secretary of War in President McKinley's Cabinet, who said:

> When, under the not too friendly observation of some of the Powers, we were discharging our duty as the guardian of liberty and humanity in the Western Hemisphere, Great Britain stood conspicuous among the nations as our friend. Nor was her cordial sympathy valueless. She remained strictly

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neutral; but her whole attitude towards us was so unmistakably friendly that its influence in preventing what might otherwise have occurred in the way of European intervention will never be capable of full measurement. . . . We owe her a deep debt of gratitude.

That his action was perfectly understood and appreciated by the *people* of America was sufficiently evidenced by the fact that, at the ensuing annual dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in New York, the second toast was to Her Majesty the Queen.

III

It has been usual of late for Englishmen to express surprise that Americans have taken so much time to discover that, after all, their blood relations are their best friends. Rather, will not the future Mommsen record the period as one of exceptional brevity? Consider that Britain is the only first-rate Power we have ever been compelled to fight: the only one which has been represented here by ministers who meddled so officiously in our political affairs that it was necessary to send three of them home; the one of all others that most desired and none too secretly connived at the disruption of the Union; consider that the personal attitude of her people, and hers alone, towards ours, has until recently been characterised chiefly by condescension and arrogance; that she so mismanaged the affairs of her Irish subjects that they emigrated *en masse* to American cities, with ready tongues and sympathetic manners for the dissemination of the bitterness and hatred of her which was in their hearts—consider, in conjunction with these underlying facts, all the minor causes of irritation, imagined or justified, and is not the mere accomplishment of amity far more surprising than the time taken in the doing?

That genuine friendliness of the American people has been won, Englishmen may assume without qualification. They ought indeed to know that, just as the greatest bitterness in personal quarrels is engendered within the individual family, so it is in a wider sense within the greater race family; and just as no reconciliation is so complete, so full of subsequent consideration and generosity, as one following a clannish estrangement, so it is with kindred nations.

So, at any rate, it is with America to-day. We could not, if we would, escape the conviction that our material interests, especially in the East, must necessarily be identical with the mother country's; our mere business sense therefore tells us at least to welcome and perhaps to seek co-operative action. But, better and more important than that, we have come to believe that the English people tell the truth when they say they want to be our friends. Unlike Russia, which has lost America's best will because her acts in Manchuria have continually belied her fair words in St. Petersburg, England

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has not missed an opportunity, while all these bubbles have been bursting, to demonstrate in the most effective and practical manner that sincerity to which at last we frankly confess readiness to pin our faith. Whether the success of Mr. Chamberlain's project of discrimination against us would result in any deeper antagonism than would inevitably ensue from the prompt reprisals which we should necessarily make, as evidence of our worthiness of our businesslike ancestry, is a speculation, the discussion of which may prove, after all, to have been only academic and therefore superfluous. Broadly speaking, however, an act of any character whatever, political, diplomatic, or social, to really offend America or any material part thereof, even to the descendants of the Irish, would now have to be very offensive indeed. The prodigal son has no intention of returning home; but, chastened himself, he is more than willing to work shoulder to shoulder with his equally chastened parent in their common interest, and to accept and give freely of aid whenever and wherever and against whomsoever needed.

GEORGE HARVEY.

New York, March 11th, 1904.

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BRITAIN'S APPEAL TO THE GODS

Extract from Author's Letter to Editor.

'My aim has been to show your countrymen how absurdly grasping they are, how *unreasonable*. Never has the world seen such a nation, and there is much excuse for the feeling that Britain is entitled to continue to inherit the earth. She still wants more, when what surprises everyone conversant with her position is how she ever succeeded in getting and doing so much. I am impressed every time I look into the figures.'

HEAR us! hear us! mighty Jove, and ye dread gods who dwell upon Olympus.

Mark ye, our Foreign Commerce is only 903,363,000*l.* per year.

Chorus.—Ungrateful favourite of the gods! It never was so great either in Imports or Exports. No nation ever approached it in amount. *Per capita* it is 21*l.* 10*s.* France has only 8*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; Germany, 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; United States, 6*l.* 3*s.*

Neptune, great god of the Sea, and thou, Triton the Trumpeter!

Mark ye, guardians of Britannia's rule over the waves, our Shipping is only 16,600,000 tons.

Chorus.—Insatiate greed! It never was so great and is constantly increasing. All the other nations combined have not as much. Beware lest thine ingratitude offend the gods. Think not that one nation can long continue to possess more than all others. Thy fleets shall increase, though thy world's share may fall as new nations grow. Thou wert first; now others build ships and must share with thee.

Midas, great king of Gold, help us!

Our National Wealth is only 11,806,000,000*l.*

Chorus.—To none of thy sister nations has so much been given *per capita*, and to none, even to the largest, such sum in the aggregate. Only the American Union, forty-five nations combined, exceeds thine hoard, but even it—thy child beloved of the gods—has much less *per capita*.

Mighty Vulcan, god of the subterranean realms! Turn thy gaze upon us and help us!

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Only nine million tons of Iron, and only five million tons of Steel, do we now produce per year. Even our product of Coal (230,000,000 tons) is no longer greatest of all.

Chorus.—This is the highest product of Iron and Steel thou hast ever reached, greater *per capita* than Germany both of Iron and Steel. Not even the giant Republic equals thine Iron product *per capita.* Hear thou the counsel of the friendly gods. Until a new supply of iron ore be discovered, draw not upon thy present store one ton more per year. Unless discoveries come, thou wilt regret having so rapidly drained thy supply. Consult thy wise sons of Vulcan and learn what impends. The lands of the Norsemen give some hope of new supply; but for this all were dark indeed. Thy product of coal is almost double that of the Republic and of Germany per man. Thy consumption per man is greatest of all.

Oh! god of Increase, great Deucalion! hear us and help us!

Our people number only forty-two millions and increase slowly. Russia has one hundred and twenty millions and increases apace. Germany has increased until she has one third more than we, and her yearly rate of increase is nearly double. America has double our number, and has increased in the last three years more than two millions yearly. Our yearly increase is not four hundred thousand. We dwindle in comparison. Pray, thou god of Increase, lend us thine aid!

Chorus.—Thou knowest not what thou askest. To England and Wales have already been given more than five hundred people per square mile. No leading European nation has as many. Germany has only 270; France but 190; Russia 15; the United States less than thirty; Canada less than two.

Consider the lessening stamina of thy sons, the numbers rejected as unfit for military service, the millions upon the brink of starvation. The gods in their mercy deny thy prayer for much denser population. This must not be; for Britain's good it must not be. Much increase of population would drag the standard still further down.

Hear us and help us, Minerva, goddess of the loom, only fifty-four millions of spindles turn in our land!

Chorus.—Thou incensest the gods! Not to all the leading countries combined have so many been given. What will satisfy thee, spoiled darling of the gods? Beware thou temptest them not to withdraw their favour. Not even the American Union has half as many spindles, though double in population. Hear this and pause. More and more is cotton being woven where it is grown. New England feels this as Old England must. Even the gods cannot

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prevent it. Only by the unequalled ability of thy cotton lords has the industry been carried to its gigantic proportions. Should they succeed in sustaining the present production they deserve enduring fame. To expect much increase is to expect the impossible.

O Jupiter, and all the gods together, listen to our prayer!

Explain to us why in nothing do we increase as fast as our rivals. This is the main source of all our woe.

Chorus.—Because to thee the favour of the gods was first given, and continued till thy cups were full and running over. In recent years what thy brimming cups could not hold has necessarily been bestowed upon other lands. What they get lessens not thy store—far otherwise. Thou sharest their prosperity. To thee the gods have placed under tribute the nations of the earth: none escapes. Rejoice therefore in the rapid advancement of the world, for upon this thine own undiminished prosperity assuredly depends. Thou must decline if the world prospers not. If it prosper, thou prosperest. Not even the gods can make thy tiny cups hold and supply what the world requires, covering as these do only one hundred and twenty thousand square miles. The cups of others must be used, chiefly those of thine own race across the sea, or the world would suffer. Reproach not the fates because thy cups are small. They cannot now be enlarged. Thy kingdom is almost developed to its limit. None has ever approached it in development. Cease to be as children crying for the moon.

To thee, Ceres, goddess of the Harvest, we turn.

Help us to become a self-sustaining empire. Keep us no longer dependent upon the Republic for our food and our cotton. Not all the rest of the world combined could in emergency supply in sufficient quantities for us either the one or the other. Terrible though the suffering would be were the cotton supply withheld, this would be but trifling, for there would not only be famine prices, but grim famine itself upon us, were the ports of the Republic closed and our food supply interrupted. The slightest whisper of this danger would create panic even while we yet had food, of which we have never more than a few weeks' supply.

Thinkest thou the friendly gods have not foreseen this and ordered all for Britain's safety? Consider war, with the combination of powers which drove Japan from her spoil—France, Germany, and Russia. Where then would be thy food supply if dependent upon thine own empire? Every ton of it subject to capture upon the seas. How different thy position with the Republic demanding that her flag be respected, and food not contraband of war, every ton of thy needed food protected, or the Republic thine ally? Think of all this, and render thanks to the gods for their prevision.

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Thanks, thanks, guardian Ceres! Thou reasonest well; but what if we should ever be at variance with the Republic, our food provider?

Hellish thought! Trust us, the gods would compel peaceful arbitration of differences between you. This for your own ear. The gods have made it impossible that there can ever be war between thee and thy child across the sea—simply impossible. Strike her and thou starvest. The closer thy blockade of her ports, the sooner thy defeat. Her chief seaport cities are beyond the range of thy guns whenever the distant narrow channel mouths are filled—the work of a day. Equally impotent has the Republic been made to attack thee in thine island home. Neither can strike the other. Impotent as foes, as allies invincible. One word more. If ever there could be war, which the gods have made impossible, food for thee from Canada would never reach Canadian seaports. Dismiss from thy thoughts such phantoms and chimeras dire; never again are English-speaking men to stand face to face in battle; when they fight it will be side by side for noble causes. Thus have the gods decreed.

Know this, therefore: the best and safest position possible for thee, dependent as thou art and must remain for food from across the sea to feed thy people, is that thou be not dependent for thy chief supply upon thy colonies, thy food subject to capture, but upon the independent Republic of thine own race. This the gods have decreed for thy safety. Madness it were upon thy part to disturb present friendly relations, conditions, and tendencies which are constantly drawing you closer. Hear this and mark us well. Stir not up strife with your kin beyond sea.

Mightiest of the mighty, dread Jupiter!

Reveal to us our destiny, lest we despair! If it be impossible that we in our island can increase materially over present figures—pronounced by the gods as filling our cups—either in population, manufactures, shipping, or commerce, and therefore in wealth, as compared with nations of larger area and population, these must soon dwarf us, and our race, chief favourite hitherto with the gods, foremost and commanding in the world, fall to the base and abject rear, and become, as one soothsayer has proclaimed, 'a fifth-rate power.' Save us, preserve us, O Jupiter!

Chorus.—Fear not, Heroic Mother of the conquering strain. No such destiny for thy race impends. Prime favourite of the gods in the past, prime favourite still, prime favourite still to be! To thy race in the future have the gods assigned sovereign sway and masterdom over all the earth. The mother member thou, all others thy children, none so beloved, so revered as thou, none so proud, so happy

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in her destiny as she of the sceptred isle, whom Albion loves so deeply and guards so well. Be of good cheer and of stout heart. Let this suffice: trust the gods. Farewell!

Stay! Stay! Let us know more! How? When? What shall we do?

Muta, goddess of silence, floated above. No audible response came, but the babbling air seemed to spread abroad in whispering sounds—'Seek to know no more: how all is to be wrought lieth upon the lap of the gods; to the one mortal who has presumed to forecast their plans we waft this message: "Thy lips are sealed."'

So keeps the mortal his own sweet reveries, happy in the knowledge that for his native land all is well, since all is to be better than yet has been, which is saying much, and for his race—the English-speaking race (language makes race)—its future is far to surpass its past. To it the gods have decreed the leadership of the world for the good of the world. The day of its power is not afar. There be many who read these lines who shall behold its dawn.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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JAPAN'S FINANCIAL POSITION

BEFORE the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war Russian official personages and the Russian press used to declare that Japan was economically exhausted by her armaments, that she was financially unable to conduct a campaign, and that a great war would inevitably make her bankrupt. These statements seem at the first glance extremely plausible, for even wealthy Powers, such as Great Britain, France, and Germany, groan under their military burdens, and it was natural to conclude that her military and naval expenditure would prove overwhelming to a State which had but recently begun to acquire those industries which have created the wealth of Europe.

In reality Japan bears her military and naval expenditure very easily, for if we investigate her financial position we find that, though her military progress has been marvellously quick, her economic progress has been considerably quicker. Japan has astonished the world by her military successes, but she will astonish it still more by her successes in manufactures and commerce, in shipping and finance, in agriculture and mining.

The figures used in the following pages have been extracted from various statistical handbooks published in Japan, which have been placed at my disposal by the kindness of Viscount Hayashi and of Mr. Yamazaki, the late Chief of the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Finance of Japan. For this reason only the original Japanese weights and values can be quoted.

In passing it might be remarked that the Japanese statistics may serve as a model of excellence to all other nations. Until lately the American and the German statistics have been considered to be the best, but at present the Japanese statistics are in many respects far superior to those issued in any other country. For instance, we find only in the Japanese abstracts exact statistics relating to the production of all domestic industries. As far as the Japanese statistics can be checked, they seem to be as reliable as they are comprehensive, and they give a full and clear account of the country's position.

If we wish to understand the financial position of Japan, we must constantly bear in mind two factors of the greatest importance:

(1) Japan had the silver standard up to the year 1897, when the present gold standard was introduced. As the average price

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of silver gradually declined from $60\frac{5}{16}d.$ per oz. in 1872 to $27\frac{9}{16}d.$ per oz. in 1897, the purchasing power of a yen gradually diminished by about one-half between these years. This process has constantly to be allowed for if we look at the growth of Japan's revenue, expenditure, exports, imports, &c., because 100 yen went about as far in 1897 as 75 yen went in 1887, and as 50 yen went in 1872. This accounts for some portion of the progress that is shown by all Japanese statistics between 1872 and 1897. Owing to the adoption of the gold standard, the value of the yen became fixed from 1897 onward, and it is now worth a fraction more than 2*s.* in English money.

(2) If we compare the national debt of Japan with the indebtedness of other newly developed countries, we must bear in mind that her foreign indebtedness is limited to a part of her national debt. Her railways, tramways, waterworks, factories, mines, &c., are exclusively financed by Japanese money, and her corporations have not raised any loans abroad. On the other hand, Australia, Argentina, Uruguay, Spain, Russia, and many other countries, are in debt to foreign nations not only for Government loans, but for corporation loans, harbour loans, &c., and many railways, factories, mines, and other enterprises in these countries have been built with foreign money, and are in reality foreign property. These amounts increase the indebtedness of these countries to foreign nations—though they do not appear under the heading 'national debt,' which comprises only the debts of the Government—and increase the 'tribute' which has yearly to be sent abroad to foreign creditors.

According to the last issue of the 'Stock Exchange Official Intelligence,' the national debt per head of population was the following for some of the most important countries:

National Debts in 1901.

	£	s.	d.	
Commonwealth of Australia .	51	3	4	per head of population.
Portugal	33	1	0	" "
France	28	4	9	" "
Uruguay	27	11	7	" "
Argentina	18	14	11	" "
Great Britain	18	9	11	" "
Italy	15	17	11	" "
Egypt	10	12	2	" "
Russia	4	19	8	" "
Sweden	3	15	5	" "
Mexico	3	14	0	" "
Japan	1	6	4	" "

From these figures it is clear that Japan's national debt is insignificant when compared with those of other countries, and particularly insignificant when we bear in mind that the huge

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indebtedness of Australia, Uruguay, Argentina, and other countries is swelled still further by the additional foreign indebtedness on account of vast corporation loans and on account of harbour works, railways, mines, factories, and other enterprises. The interest annually due on the Japanese national debt comes to but 1*s.* 2*d.* per head of population, which is equal to a single day's wage of the average Japanese workman. Japan can, consequently, easily provide the interest on her national debt. The yearly interest on the British national debt comes to about 10*s.* per head of population, which is equal to 2½ days' wages of the average British workman. Therefore it is clear that, measured by the wages standard, Japan should find it much easier to pay the interest on her national debt than does Great Britain.

The capital of Japan's national debt, which in English money amounts to 56,350,000*l.*, appears not to be a heavy burden to the country, for it is equal to the budgetary revenue of only two years. The Italian national debt is equal to seven years' revenue, the French national debt is equal to eight years' revenue, the British national debt is equal to five years' revenue. That Japan carries her national debt easily seems proved by the fact that two-thirds of that debt are held in Japan. According to the very reliable statistics which the Japanese Ministry of Finance has collected, Great Britain held at the end of 1899 Japanese bonds to the value of only 154,565,150 yen, which is equal to about 15,500,000*l.* This sum represents practically the whole of Japan's foreign indebtedness. How small her foreign debt is may be seen from the fact that the Russian Government bonds held abroad amount to at least twenty times that sum, whilst the whole of the foreign capital invested in Russia is probably at least forty times greater than the foreign capital invested in Japan.

The impression that Japan is financially strong, whilst Russia is financially weak, has been strengthened by the measures which these two nations have taken for financing the war. Japan has, with characteristic self-reliance, immediately issued an immense war loan at home, which has proved a complete success; whilst Russia has taken to her traditional expedient of printing bank-notes, and has tried, so far in vain, to borrow money abroad.

It is true that her armaments are a very heavy burden to Japan. Nevertheless, the prosperity of the country and the ability of the population to pay the taxes have astonishingly increased, concurrently with the increase of the national armaments. The following figures show the rapid growth of Japan's Budgets:

	Japan's Revenue.	*Japan's Expenditure.*
	Yen.	Yen.
1883–84	83,106,858	83,106,858
1893–94	113,769,380	84,581,872
1903–04	251,681,961	244,752,846

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Japan's national expenditure increased particularly quickly after the Japanese-Chinese war of 1895–96, when vast sums were yearly spent on her army and navy. However, a very large part of these increased expenses came out of the indemnity paid by China, which amounted to 37,836,127*l.* Out of this amount 194,738,302 yen, or about 20,000,000*l.*, was appropriated between 1896 and 1904 for extraordinary and non-recurring budgetary expenses.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the huge increase in Japan's yearly expenditure was solely caused by her vast armaments, and that her warlike expenses prevented the application of money to domestic purposes. On the contrary, the following figures will show that Japan has, during the last decade, spent far more money on the construction and improvement of railways, waterways, telegraphs and telephones, on the foundation of universities, high schools, technical and commercial institutes, on the creation of an iron foundry and of a number of banks, and on the promotion of agriculture and commerce, than she has spent on the army and navy.

National Expenditure (Ordinary and Extraordinary) on some Important Departments.

—	Army	Navy	Justice	Education	Agriculture and Commerce	Communications
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1893–94 . . .	14,721,226	8,100,921	3,527,472	1,067,802	1,422,119	6,871,256
1903–04 . . .	42,171,968	29,196,270	11,107,439	6,659,366	10,413,701	45,480,200
Difference . . .	+27,450,742	+21,095,349	+7,579,967	+5,591,564	+8,991,582	+38,608,944
„ per cent. .	+187%	+260%	+215%	+524%	+632%	+562%

If we analyse the foregoing figures, we find that the increased expenditure on army and navy amounted to 48,546,091 yen during the last decade, whilst that for justice, education, agriculture, commerce, and communications, which, rightly considered, is reproductive expenditure, amounted to no less than 60,772,057 yen. Measured by her expenditure, Japan's progress in culture and civilisation has been more rapid during the last ten years than her progress in military and naval matters.

Between 1893–94 and 1903–04, Japan's revenue increased from 113,769,380 yen to 251,681,961 yen, and it is interesting to see how that great increase was effected. The following figures relating to the principal branches of Japan's revenue give a clear idea as to how the greatly increased receipts were obtained:

—	Receipts from public undertakings and State property	Sake tax	Land tax	Customs duties	Income tax	Stamp receipts
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1893–94 . . .	11,602,974	16,180,471	39,291,495	5,755 456	1,353,518	761,531
1903–04 . . .	52,739,522	66,585,404	46,996,212	16,570,655	7,412,801	13,532,121
Difference . . .	+41,136,548	+50,404,933	+7,704,717	+10,815,199	+6,059,283	+12,770,590

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The foregoing six branches of Japan's revenue account together for an increase of 128,891,270 yen, or for more than nine-tenths of the total increase of the revenue. This elasticity of the revenue of Japan is marvellous; but it is still more marvellous that this vast growth of revenue has not weighed down the labouring masses of Japan. The land tax has been increased only by a fraction, and the increased tax on sake, the rice beer of Japan, can hardly be considered a great hardship on the masses.

The rapid growth of Japan's prosperity can be seen most clearly when we look into the receipt from the principal public undertakings, the State railways and the post-office.

—	Receipts of post and telegraph offices	Receipts of State railways
	Yen	Yen
1893–94	6,487,688	2,709,760
1903–04	25,915,940	8,785,089
Difference . . .	+ 19,428,252	+ 6,075,329
„ per cent. .	+ 300%	+ 224%

A State in which, during a decade of greatly increased taxation, railway takings more than treble and postal receipts almost quadruple must be considered prosperous, for such enormous increases can only be founded on a very great increase of productive power.

If Japan was being exhausted by taxation, the takings of the railways, the post-office, and the telegraph would remain stationary, or would even decrease, for people would not be able to afford the use of these institutions.

The rapid growth of Japan's productive power is visible in every direction, whether we look at agriculture, mining and fishing, at the manufacturing industries, commerce and banking, or at the carrying industries, the Clearing-House statistics, and the insurance statistics.

The following table shows the progress in the productive power of agriculture, by giving the changes which have taken place in the most important products raised:[1]

—	Rice	Barley	Potatoes	Sweet potatoes	Leaf tobacco	Tea	Silk cocoons
1887 .	Koku	Koku	Kwan	Kwan	Kwan	Kwan	Koku
	39,999,199	15,852,044	28,382,572	561,407,587	5,987,359	7,011,221	* 1,480,705
1901 .	46,914,943	20,640,207	73,682,653	711,639,519	7,820,206	6,850,497	2,526,181
Difference	+ 6,915,744	+ 4,788,163	+ 45,300,081	+ 150,231,932	+ 1,832,847	− 160,724	+ 1,045,476

* 1892.

The increase in agricultural production has been rapid and continuous, owing to improved and more scientific methods, and that increase has been particularly important with regard to silk, which is Japan's most precious agricultural product. Only in the

[1] 1 koku = 4·9629 bushels; 1 kwan = 8·2673 lbs. avoirdupois.

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production of tea is there a slight decline, which promises to be but temporary.

The mining production of Japan has expanded most marvellously during the same period, as the following figures prove: [2]

—	Gold	Silver	Copper	Iron	Coal	Petroleum
	Momme	Momme	Kin	Kwan	Tons	Koku
1887 . .	138,838	9,498,097	18,439,613	4,071,546	1,746,296	30,303
1901 . .	660,653	14,598,749	45,652,927	18,680,043	8,945,939	983,799
Difference	+521,815	+5,100,652	+27,213,314	+14,608,497	+7,199,643	+953,496

During the short period under review the production of copper has increased almost threefold, that of iron more than fourfold, that of gold and coal fivefold, and that of petroleum more than thirtyfold.

The number of workers in the various mines rose from 86,917 in 1893 to 154,780 in 1901, and the value of the minerals produced in 1901 was no less than 58,343,038 yen. Since that year the mineral production has very considerably increased, and it seems likely that this progress will be greatly accelerated in the future. Japan possesses an enormous mineral wealth, but the development of that mineral wealth has, in the past, been hampered by very restrictive mining regulations, which of late have been amended.

Fishing is one of the most important industries of Japan, for 900,000 fishermen, or a population of 3,000,000 people, live upon it. The fishing statistics, unfortunately, reach only from 1896 to 1900.

—	Value of catch	Value of marine products
	Yen	Yen
1896 . . .	38,132,001	24,155,239
1900 . . .	56,833,150	32,725,411
Difference . .	+ 18,701,149	+ 8,570,172

This great increase is solely due to the much-improved methods in fishing, which have been introduced by the Japanese Government by means of fishery schools, bounties, subventions, &c.

Evidently, the primary industries of Japan are all extremely prosperous, and their progress has been great; but that progress appears insignificant if compared with the expansion of the manufacturing industries, as is apparent from the following table:

Output of Principal Manufacturing Industries.

—	Raw silk	Cotton yarn	Cotton piece-goods	Porcelain and earthenware	Matches	Japanese paper	Foreign paper
	Kwan	Kwan	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887 . .	805,181	1,165,073	27,475.408	1,184,612	—	4,600,023	410,057
1901 . .	1,750,427	33,115,829	153,595,919	6,935,176	9,266,689	12,650,647	7,140,945
Difference	+945,246	+31,950,756	+126,120,501	+5,050,564	+9,266,689	+8,050,624	+6,730,888

[2] 1,000 momme = 1 kwan = 8·2673 lbs. avoirdupois; 1 kin = 1·3251 lbs. avoirdupois; 1 koku = $\frac{1}{10}$ ton.

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Since 1887 the production of silk has more than doubled, that of Japanese paper has trebled, that of porcelain has quadrupled, that of cotton piece-goods has quintupled, that of foreign paper has grown seventeenfold, and that of cotton yarn thirtyfold.

How enormous Japan's industrial progress has been may be gathered from the fact that in the cotton-spinning industry the number of spindles increased from 113,856 in 1888 to 1,181,762 in 1901. During the same period the number of operatives employed increased from 3,403 to 63,021.

The statistics relating to companies do not reach further back than to 1894. In that year the authorised capital of companies amounted to 245,251,624 yen. Seven years later, in 1901, it had increased fivefold to 1,201,080,355 yen.

Japan's exports grew, naturally, *pari passu* with her increased production, and expanded from 52,407,681 yen in 1887 to 258,303,065 yen in 1902, growing fivefold. The following figures show the expansion of Japan's most important export products during that period:

Export of Japan's Staple Industries.

—	Tea	Copper	Raw silk	Silk tissues
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887 . .	7,603,841	2,081,514	19,280,003	none
1902 . .	10,484,017	10,261,984	76,859,478	24,685,408
Difference .	+ 2,880,676	+ 8,230,470	+ 57,579,475	+ 24,685,408

—	Cotton yarn	Coal	Matches
	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887. . .	none	496,291	941,576
1902. . .	19,901,522	17,270,417	8,169,966
Difference .	+ 19,901,522	+ 16,774,126	+ 7,228,390

From these figures we may conclude that Japan will soon become a serious industrial competitor of Great Britain, the United States, and Germany in foreign markets, especially as the greatest and the most rapid expansion is shown in the exports of cotton goods to the continent of Asia, where Japan is displacing Europe and the United States.

Japan's imports increased sixfold during the last fifteen years, or more quickly than her exports; and it is significant for the economic progress of Japan that the chief increase took place in raw cotton, iron, and machinery—in short, in articles which serve to make her a great industrial country. The following important import and export figures show most clearly the economic revolution of Japan during the last fifteen years and the drift of her development:

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—	Import of cotton yarn	Import of raw cotton	Export of cotton yarn
	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887 . .	8,235,204	711,952	nil
1902 . .	1,747,875	78,779,858	19,901,522
Difference .	−6,487,329	+78,067,906	+19,901,522

Within the short period of fifteen years Japan has not only learnt to dispense almost completely with foreign cotton yarns, but has become a great exporter of cotton yarn and a serious competitor to Lancashire in the East.

Japan's shipping expanded hand in hand with her foreign trade. Between 1887 and 1901 the gross tonnage of Japanese shipping increased sixfold, from 179,781 tons to 919,968 tons. Whilst the Japanese steam shipping entering from abroad amounted to only 162,303 tons in 1887, it stood at no less than 4,309,164 tons in 1902. In the former year only one-sixth of the steamships entering Japan flew the Japanese flag; now almost half the steamships entering from abroad fly the flag of the Rising Sun, and Japan bids fair soon to acquire almost a monopoly of the carrying trade in the Eastern seas. Already the tonnage of her mercantile marine is greater than that of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, and Holland. During the last fifteen years the fleet of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha increased its tonnage from 67,517 tons in 1887 to 221,871 tons in 1901, and this company is now one of the largest shipping concerns in the world, and makes a net profit of about 500,000*l.* a year.

If we now turn to the Japanese banks, we find again a marvellous progress. The Bank of Japan, which is the Government bank, has increased its capital from 10,000,000 yen in 1887 to 30,000,000 yen in 1902, and its business on deposit account has grown from 276,991,510 yen in the former year to 2,298,054,687 in 1902. The Yokohama Specie Bank, which finances Japan's foreign trade, has increased its capital from 4,500,000 yen in 1887 to 18,000,000 yen in 1902, and its deposits have grown more than thirtyfold, from 1,866,811 yen to 58,461,549 yen, during that period. The ordinary banks show the following progress:

Ordinary Banks.

—	Number of banks	Paid-up capital	Deposits	Amount transacted
		Yen	Yen	Yen
1887	221	18,896,061	15,644,295	?
1894	700	87,410,781	46,540,017	849,431,149
1901	1,867	251,700,869	438,684,701	3,732,628,411

The Japanese savings banks statistics, which only go back as far as 1893, show a similar progress, the deposits having increased from 6,035,455 yen in 1893 to 74,210,256 yen in 1901.

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The figures relating to the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the ordinary banks, and the savings banks show that the savings of the nation have of late increased with marvellous rapidity, probably owing to the industrial development of Japan.

The Clearing-House returns tell a similar tale of prosperity. For instance, during the last decade the amounts cleared at Tokio increased from 113,576,595 yen in 1892 to 1,350,791,066 in 1902, and at Osaka the amounts cleared rose from 49,610,071 yen to 663,659,703 yen during the same period.

The growing wealth of Japan has led to a surprising increase in insurance business. Here we find the following truly startling progress:

Amounts Insured.

—	Life insurance	Fire insurance	Marine insurance
	Yen	Yen	Yen
1889 . .	5,258,800	147,710	20,884,081
1901 . .	196,571,087	294,379,999	730,619,475*
Difference .	+ 191,312,287	+ 294,232,289	+ 710,285,444

* 1900.

Japan's unparalleled economic progress is due, to a very large extent, to the energy with which the Government has developed postal service, telegraphs, telephones, and railways. Therefore it is worth while to see what has been accomplished in that direction during the last ten years:

Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Statistics.

—	Postal messages	Postal parcels	Telegraphic messages	Telephonic messages
1892–93 .	280,280,135	40,902	5,466,095	3,171,940
1902–03 .	903,789,030	10,384,346	17,635,461	111,597,714
Difference .	+ 623,508,895	+ 10,343,444	+ 12,169,366	+ 108,425,774

The relative importance of these figures becomes apparent only when we compare the statistics of Japan with those of European countries. Then we find that the post-office of Japan employs a greater number of men than either Austria or Russia, and that more letters and parcels are transmitted by the post in Japan than in Italy or in Russia, though the inhabitants of the latter country are three times more numerous than those of Japan. As regards telegraphs, Japan has more miles of wire than either Russia or Austria, and she sends more telegrams than Russia, Austria, and Italy. Her telephone service has, likewise, more miles of wire than are to be found in Russia, Austria, or Italy. As we may fairly measure the degree of culture in a country by the length of its telegraph and telephone

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wires and by its postal statistics, the full significance of these figures can hardly be understated.

Telegraphs and telephones abound in almost every street in nearly every town throughout the country, and, according to Lord Charles Beresford, it cannot be doubted that, as regards the use of electricity as a motive power, Japan is far ahead, not only of Great Britain, but of every other country.

Railway Statistics.

—	Mileage	Engines	Passenger cars	Freight cars	Passengers carried	Goods carried
						Tons
1892–93 . .	1,870	318	1,369	4,572	28,463,715	2,701,720
1902–03 . .	4,237	1,427	4,864	21,505	111,211,208*	14,409,752
Difference .	+2,367	+1,109	+3,495	+16,933	+82,747,493	+11,708,032

* 1901–02.

Japan's railways have not only shown a marvellous progress as regards length, equipment, and services rendered, but they are also highly profitable undertakings, notwithstanding their recent creation and the great natural obstacles that had to be overcome at very great expense. The railway service is only in its infancy, and is capable of an almost unlimited expansion. Yet the net profits were recently 8·4 per cent. for the State lines and 8·2 per cent. for the private lines. These profits should greatly increase in the future.

The economic development of a country can be gauged to a very large extent by the trend of general wages. In a prosperous and progressive country wages have a tendency to rise. In an economically stagnant or impoverishing country wages remain on the same level, or have a tendency to decline. For these reasons it is worth while to look at the movement of wages in Japan:

Daily Wages in Japan.

—	Carpenter	Plasterer	Stonemason	Joiner	Shoemaker	Blacksmith
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887	0·224	0·225	0·250	0·209	?	0·217
1894	0·300	0·306	0·346	0·287	0·306	0·289
1901	0·598	0·590	0·670	0·588	0·505	0·488

These representative wages figures show a continuous, general, and rapid rise in the remuneration of labour. In 1894 the general average of wages was 40 per cent. higher than in 1887, and in 1901 wages had risen about 150 per cent. above the wages figures of 1887. In 1887 the average wage in the occupations enumerated was about 6*d.* a day in English money; in 1901 it had risen to about 1*s.* 2*d.* a day, English money.

The position of the Japanese masses is improving for several reasons. In the first place, the rise in wages that has taken place

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owing to the greater demand for labour benefits the industrial labourers. In the second place, a higher price for all agricultural products benefits the agriculturists, who form the majority of the population. Owing to its improved position, the masses of the population are able to buy more and better food, and the physique of the Japanese has of late strikingly improved under a better and more generous diet. How much the importation of food into Japan has increased of late may be seen from the following table:

Food Imports into Japan.

—	Flour	Beans and peas	Rice	Sugar	Fresh eggs	Salted fish
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1887. . .	96,194	425,205	129,315	5,779,226	46,068	760
1901. . .	2,873,302	5,328,136	11,878,958	33,529,803	1,196,455	2,011,487
Difference .	+2,777,108	+4,902,931	+11,749,643	+27,750,577	+1,150,387	+2,010,727

The enormous increase in the imports of sugar, flour, and eggs is particularly noteworthy, because these articles were hitherto considered as luxuries in Japan, as may be seen from the smallness of the quantities imported in former times.

If we now survey the progress of Japan's agriculture, mining and fishing, and that of her manufacturing industries, her railways, her mercantile marine, her banks, her insurance companies, &c., we must come to the conclusion that the economic progress of Japan has been far more rapid than that of any other nation. If we, furthermore, bear in mind that the wonderful prosperity of Japan is almost entirely created by herself; that her productive enterprises are not mortgaged to foreign bondholders, as is the case with so many newly developed countries, but that all her harbours, railways, waterworks, electrical works, telegraphs, telephones, steamships, factories, mines, &c., are entirely her own, that they have been paid for with Japanese money, and that, notwithstanding these enormous expenses, huge and rapidly increasing quantities of liquid capital are accumulating with the Japanese banks, savings banks, mortgage companies, insurance companies, &c., we must come to the conclusion that Japan is not only progressive, but also highly prosperous and on the road to wealth. Her prosperity has a more solid foundation than that of numerous European and extra-European countries, which are more or less stagnant, and yet require constantly foreign monetary assistance merely in order to keep the State going, and where, rightly considered, the most remunerative commercial and industrial enterprises belong to foreign capitalists.

Japan is certainly indebted to the world for ideas, but she is not in debt to the world for money. The 'tribute' which she has to send yearly abroad for borrowed money comes, probably, to no more than one million pounds sterling.

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Though Japan has spent much money, she has not been a spendthrift, for she has spent it wisely. The money which the Government has expended has been the seed from which the great economic prosperity of Japan has sprung. Neither her army nor her navy, neither her schools nor her model factories, neither her commercial missions nor her scientific institutions, have been shams and make-believes. If we look through the most detailed Government accounts, we find efficiency and economy, forethought and prudence, writ large everywhere. Consequently we are justified in concluding that Japan's financial position will prove as strong as have proved her army and navy.

The war will, no doubt, be expensive, but it will certainly not be conducted wastefully on Japan's part. It may cause a severe financial strain to the country, but that strain should not be too great to be borne. Japan may possibly find it necessary to borrow money abroad; but if she should have to borrow, she can show a clean record, point to a very progressive and prosperous land that is almost entirely free from foreign debts, and give excellent security.

O. ELTZBACHER.

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COMING CONTINENTAL COMPLICATIONS

THE hope and belief, held by the majority of people almost to the day of rupture, that there would be no war between Japan and Russia is now the hope and belief that the struggle will not spread, and that the peace of Europe at least will remain undisturbed. Yet we should remember that, despite the most strenuous efforts by the most influential persons to avert it, war came in the Far East. Those efforts were beyond example, for if diplomacy ever gave up its choicest secrets, it would be seen that England never made a more serious or sustained endeavour for the maintenance of peace than she did last year, that she actually obtained an adjournment of the struggle for six months, and that at one moment the preservation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance was subjected thereby to a rude strain. How, then, can the present confidence be justified in the avoidance of further complications when no similar potent agency in the interests of peace is at work, and when the uppermost desire of many Continental statesmen is to derive the maximum of their ambitious longings and designs from the embarrassments of the moment? 'It is in troubled waters that are caught the biggest fish,' says a Japanese proverb. Optimism is a good thing in itself, but in the affairs of States it should never blind the rulers to the possibility of things turning out differently, or be found combined with a condition of unpreparedness.

The Continent is waiting expectantly for the results of the first serious encounters on land to decide the attitude of its leading members. The Japanese success at sea has not impressed Continental races as it has done us because they do not understand the full significance of naval power and the command of the sea, and it may be asserted that the conviction of an overwhelming majority throughout Europe, irrespective of nation, is that on land the Japanese, to use a graphic French phrase, are sure to 'trouver son père.' That is the prevalent conviction, and the nations wait in the expectancy of seeing it soon realised, but until fact has displaced anticipation and prediction the floodgates of Continental opinion remain closed. Once the arbitrament of the god of battles has been clearly pronounced on land they will be opened. If Japan proves the victor it will be the Yellow Peril as the common danger of Europeans; if Japan is the loser, then

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it will be England that has sustained a damaging blow which will give her enemies on all sides the opportunity either of injuring her directly or of taking advantage of her ally's discomfiture.

Leaving these general or main considerations aside and proceeding to the study of the particular details that make up the whole problem of international relations, the first subject that attracts notice and requires the closest attention is the relationship of England and France, handicapped as that relationship undoubtedly is by the obligations of the one country to Japan and of the other to Russia. It is perfectly clear that if neither of the Dual Alliances existed the *entente cordiale* would have a more solid foundation at the present time, but as neither France nor England has any intention of departing from its engagements it follows that we must take things as they are, and estimate, as well as we can, the risks of collision with the view of adopting the most practical and honourable means of averting the dangerous, and, in a lofty sense, disastrous alternative. While French and English are exchanging hospitalities and drinking to toasts of concord, it may seem ungracious and uncalled for to introduce subjects of rivalry, discord, and strife. But if there is any durable basis for the *entente cordiale* it must be clear that it cannot be jeopardised by a frank examination of the possible perils to its continuance. It is an inquiry, an investigation, that should claim the immediate attention of all loyal and candid minds in the two countries.

Their examination must result in one discovery at the very outset. The terms and the conditions of the Anglo-Japanese alliance are clear. They are also well known, for there are no secret clauses. Japan being at war, if a second Power proceeds to attack her, whether that Power be France or any other, England is bound to go to her help. There is no question that England would fulfil that condition. France, like the rest of the world, must accept that fact. There can be no deviation from and no qualification of it.

If we turn to the other Dual Alliance we find that the obligations of France to Russia are neither so brief nor so simple. They certainly cannot be expressed in a sentence, and if proper allowance is not made for the considerations and facts to which I am going to draw somewhat detailed attention, it may be feared that the loudest protestations of momentary regard between us and our neighbours will not be proof against the strain imposed by a sudden and stormy crisis.

The Franco-Russian bond is, in the first place, a written treaty with set conditions and mutual obligations, some known and others only guessed at. The original text has been amplified by later secret clauses, which, like codicils, do not affect the main purport of the original will. But the Franco-Russian Alliance is a great deal more than a paper union. In the minds of the French people it is the instrument that restored to France her self-respect, her self-confidence. It has been dearly, too dearly, paid for; but that accurate calculation

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is the sentiment of the few, the *élite*, as it may be, of the cosmopolitan class which speaks in the name of France, but which does not guide her action. The real heart sentiment of the French nation is that France owes much, almost everything in these later days, to Russia, and it will need a long period of disillusionment to destroy that conviction. It is unfortunate that the period of disillusionment is only just commencing, while vital decisions permanently affecting the whole system of international relations will probably have to be taken within the next few weeks. Regarding the situation as it is, the opinions of the rational party in France, which a reader of newspapers at this time would believe to be the only party with a voice in the country, may prove singularly inaccurate, and lead us far astray. The real drift of French opinion, unfortunately, is not expressed by these Anglophil philosophers. At any moment a wave of generous and misguided but irresistible feeling may sweep temporising Governments from its path, and commit the country to a course of action not contemplated in the reasonable and well-reasoned dispositions of M. Delcassé.

The danger then lies not at the Quai d'Orsay, but in all the households of France. Russia, they are saying with scarcely a dissentient voice, gave us her countenance. She stood beside us. Standing beside her, France recovered her place in Europe. The French nation is still chivalrous and emotional. Russia, in distress, would not find that it stood on the letter of the bond. There is nothing in France's obligations to compel her to assist Russia against any *single* opponent —even Germany, much less against Japan—but if the moment of distress comes quickly not a Frenchman will say 'No' to a Russian appeal for support, and, it may be, succour. If the Government of Messrs. Combes and Delcassé would not execute the popular will it would be swept out of existence; the hour for the return of the Napoleons might even have arrived. The peril is a real one and probably not remote. The best chance of averting it lies in the fact that Russia may be restrained from calling out for assistance until the French people have been far more effectually cured of their infatuation about Russia's power than is yet the case, notwithstanding the undoubted and encouraging revival of the old and unquestionably sound belief that between England and France there is no reasonable cause of strife or quarrel.

The peril of French intervention is certainly not diminished by the fact that the considerations in favour of it are not altogether of the sentimental order. A very large part of French savings is invested in Russia. The value of this investment is already depreciated, or, in other words, a portion of French capital has been lost. Any Russian defeat on land must further depreciate its value and thus increase French loss. A Russian disaster might, indeed, imperil the whole of this vast investment. The Russian Government, if it finds

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itself placed in sufficient difficulty, or if its calculations for the realisation of its plans in China lead it to wish to enlarge the field of combat and to bring fresh Powers into the arena, will not fail to use this argument, and the counsels of reasonable men, like M. de Lanessan, would be of no avail in restraining the public from committing their country, as well as their savings, to the cause of Russia. The argument that if we do not aid Russia our investments will be irretrievably lost, as well as the memory of the fact that it was the Russian alliance which enabled France again to take a foremost seat in the councils of the nations, will have far more weight than the counter-assurance that England is our best customer and that the English people sincerely desire to be our friends. The race that has so long been nourished on tales of England's perfidy cannot, in a few short months, get accustomed to the idea that she may in reality be a truer and less exacting friend than the 'nation amie et alliée.' Time is needed for making that discovery not by a few individuals but by a whole nation, and the progress of events during the coming spring is likely to be too rapid to allow of much deliberation.

The question does not rest with France alone. Her action will be biassed, or at least accelerated, by that of Germany. It is never agreeable to the French people to act in co-operation with the Germans, but they have done it and they would do it again. They did so diplomatically at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, and again more actively in the combination against Japan in 1895; but if France be led to follow Russia into the field in 1904 this co-operation would never have possessed so great a justification, for the combination of the French and German fleets is essential to their having any chance of surviving a collision on the sea with that of England. France, we are told, did not go to war with England on the question of Fashoda—a trivial cause, it may be remarked, for two great countries to fight about—because she learnt that her navy had no chance of victory in 1898. But this fear will not exist when the mere adding up of the battleships in European waters suffices to show that France, Germany, and Russia have half as many battleships again as England. That superiority on paper may not make victory certain, but at least it will prevent Frenchmen from now dreading the extermination of their navy and the loss of their colonies, which alone kept them quiet when the mere name of Fashoda had raised their bellicose temper to fever heat.

The main point for us to recollect during the critical months that lie before us is that, despite courtesies and hospitalities, we have as yet acquired no real hold on French opinion. Neither its prejudices, nor its interests, nor even its fears as in 1898, seem to it to point to the indispensable *entente cordiale* with England which is a new growth that has not had time to strike its roots.

But if it is necessary to watch the course of events in France with

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care, and even with the apprehension that action may be forced upon us contrary to our own most sincere wishes, it is from Berlin that we should most apprehend the hoisting of the signal for benevolent action on behalf of Russia. Germany is not the 'nation amie et alliée' of Russia, yet it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that the two Courts are on more intimate terms than those prevailing between the Czar and the French President. In the present struggle the German Government has been far more sympathetic to Russia than the French has been. It has shown deference to her wishes and even eagerness to reveal its friendly desire for the success of Russia's arms. The value of these assurances is increased, not diminished, at St. Petersburg by the knowledge that they are not due to emotional excess, but to calm and deep calculation, for they signify that Germany approves of Russia's policy, and is willing to make her own accord and harmonise with it. France's friendship is that of the loyal friend who, while willing to sacrifice everything for his ally, reserves to himself the right of uttering unpalatable truths, as, for instance, in this case: 'Russia has not turned French money to very good account in her naval arrangements.' But Germany never says unpalatable things—at least to Russia. She accepts the situation, and decides to turn the opportunities of the hour to the best account for her own advantage. She is sympathetic to Russia because she sees her opportunity in the present imbroglio. How far she will carry that sympathy depends on the extent to which Russia will be able to draw France over to her side in the way of positive overt action in the Far East.

English politicians and publicists who have never been brought into close contact with the evidence of the intense dislike and hatred that practically all Continentals have for England and English-speaking races, are convinced that France and Germany cannot act together in harmony, and that we have only to make an effort, as we please, at either Paris or Berlin to have a choice of allies. This is the old belief, and unfortunately nothing will destroy it but the proof to the contrary. Before the Russo-Japanese contest reaches its final phase there may be ample proof to the contrary unless our policy takes upon itself a far more active *rôle* than now seems possible. The British Government has to discover and put in practice a policy that will counteract and defeat that of Berlin and St. Petersburg; but whatever form it takes it will not be a policy of inaction and temporising.

The policy of Germany and its secret springs claim all our attention. The opinion is widely held that Germany can have no possible object in playing Russia's game. A second opinion, not less general, is formulated in the question, Why should Germany desire to weaken England when she may herself have to reckon one day with France and Russia combined? This opinion, which was perfectly sound

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down to ten years ago, let us say till Bismarck's famous insurance treaty with Russia, has been based on an antediluvianism since Germany aspired not to a position of tolerance, not to the *second* place on the sea, but to the FIRST. The late Lord Salisbury is entitled to the credit of having emphatically refused in 1878 to go to war with Russia over the Afghan business because, as he said with remarkable foresight, 'Germany is our real and most formidable enemy,' and now, a quarter of a century after he wrote those words to Lord Lytton, it seems as if the hour for the verification of the prediction were very near at hand.

What are Germany's ambitions? It is useless for any one to offer conjectures about Germany's political action unless it is first clearly realised what these are. They are first the desire to obtain the mastery of the sea. Now this desire seems to the English people proof of a 'swollen head,' and not the result of a cold and well-calculated mathematical exegesis; and, as it is understood in England, the conclusion is not unreasonable. But unfortunately the German objective is not precisely what it is assumed to be in London. No German is so insanely over-confident as to believe that, in a single naval campaign, even with France and Russia as Germany's allies, the maritime supremacy, or rather superiority, for it is no longer supremacy, of England can be ended. What many shrewd persons at Berlin do think is that by a swift and stealthy blow the English fleet might be so struck in the Thames and the Channel that there would be 'an *end to its reputation for invincibility*.' I put these words in italics because they are taken from a German official memorandum, and this belief is held in the result of the action of Germany herself single-handed. Whatever shortcomings Germans may have, it cannot be laid to their charge that they neglect the study of history, and there they have learnt that Holland disputed the mastery of the seas with England for a century, while France contended with us on equal terms during a still longer period.

But it will be said that the mastery of the seas is too vague and indefinite a prize to tempt the German Government to make war upon England. The German people would never give their approval to so risky an enterprise, or at all events they would prefer waiting until their own naval power could be shown to possess something like an equal strength to ours. This argument, the force of which is considerable, not as affecting the object but merely the date of the moment for attempting to achieve it, loses all value if Germany's alliances bring her at once the naval co-operation that will compensate for the still unwrought products of her own shipyards.

But in the case of German sympathy and co-operation with Russia we have not to go to the vague or the conjectural for the explanation of Germany's motives. The prize that she contemplates securing is definite and tangible. An experimental tussle with England on the

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high seas may or may not be an incident in its realisation, for if the prize can be gained without it the incident may be omitted from the programme. Japan and Russia are warring in the Far East for no uncertain prize. There are minor points that attract momentary notice, but the real stake is represented by China and the control of her fortunes. That is the subject which appeals to the Germans scarcely less than to the Russians and the Japanese. We are told that Germany is a party to the 'open door' policy. It may be so, but no State has gone so far in practice to realise the policy of 'partition.' Shantung is a German province. The German railway in it now extends for 250 miles into the interior from the port of Kiaouchou. The Emperor William has recently declared that this is only a beginning. From Tsinan, its present terminus, it would not be difficult to continue the line to a point on the existing railway south of Peking, which is in course of further construction to Hankow. An understanding with Russia, effected at a moment of difficulty, might well be rewarded by railway and other concessions which would extend German influence beyond the border of Shantung into Pechihli. So much for the positive and direct reward. But Germany has also ground for indirect apprehension. Her position in Shantung, sanctioned by our weakness, is as clear an infraction of the 'open door' policy as Russia's attempt to dominate Manchuria. Will a victorious Japan tolerate that? Will China when her feeling of independence has been stimulated by Japanese success and example tolerate that? The robbers, anticipating what lies before them, will raise the shout of the Yellow Peril, but it is really only the natural desire of any race to free itself from alien rule, and that desire will be the keener in proportion as the rule is despotic and unsympathetic.

It will thus be seen that Germany has both a direct and an indirect incentive to coalesce with Russia in the Far East. She can have a share in the spoil when it has been secured; she postpones, if she does not eliminate, the risk of being called to account by Japan for her own proceedings in Shantung. It is not sentiment but self-interest that explains the compliments and handshakes now passing between Berlin and St. Petersburg. Nor must we exclude from the picture Germany's still greater ambition to oust England from the Yangtsze Valley and to establish herself in the sphere which the British Government at one time foolishly thought Germany had resigned to her, although it is now admitted in official parlance that 'there is a different interpretation put upon the Anglo-German convention in Berlin from ours.' What Germany thinks about it is very graphically told in the American Senator Beveridge's interesting book *The Russian Advance*, the twelfth chapter of which should be the incentive to every Englishman in the Far East to strain his utmost for the preservation of our pride of place in China, which no one dared to question till after the death of Sir Harry Parkes. But, as Mr. Beveridge wisely says,

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words and vauntings will not suffice to retain what we have got, to recover what we have lost. Yet perhaps the tortuous dealings of Berlin diplomacy may before long give us the opportunity of showing that Germany is not so far advanced on the road of over-sea empire as she fondly imagines.

It may be taken as certain that in the struggle with Japan, Germany is heart and soul with Russia. Whether she will openly ally herself with her eastern neighbour is a question that will depend exclusively on the action of France. Reasons have been given to show that the natural impulse of the French nation is to fly to the aid of its ally without counting the cost, or closely calculating to which side the balance of its own self-interest inclines. There are also, it must be admitted, some material considerations that exercise influence in the same direction. French opinion has been somewhat stirred by a fantastic scheme imputing to the Japanese the intention of attacking Indo-China. We might as reasonably tremble for the safety of Hong-Kong or Singapore. In the way of direct advantage Russia, too, might promise France, or encourage her to take, a large slice of Southern China, including the city of Canton, where I must record that the French have of late years been more active than we have been. No one can say that these efforts may not be crowned with success, and that before the end of the summer Japan and England may not be confronted with a triple alliance of France, Germany, and Russia. Such an alliance could not fail to attract to itself several minor members, such as Holland anxious for Java, and Belgium seizing so favourable a moment to repudiate its worn-out neutrality and to manifest its resentment for the attacks on the Congo State. Nor should we slight the value of such allies because they are small States, seeing that they would bring with them obvious strategical advantages.

That is not a confederacy of which we could prudently afford to make light, nor shall we prevent its becoming a reality by merely sitting tight and believing that, because some organs of the Paris press write civilly, the French people are going to place limitations on the force and value of their bond with Russia. What we have to accomplish, if we can, is to stop the development of the German-Russian plans to bias France and to draw her into the field. We may try to do this by action, but we certainly shall not succeed by inaction. The chief step to be taken is to bring home to the mind of the French people, and to demonstrate in an inoffensive but effectual manner, that the proposed Triple Alliance would not be sure of success on the sea even against England alone. The French have tasted the bitterness of defeat, and they can have no desire to rush rashly on a repetition of disaster. But the difficulty will be to find a way to combat and disprove the optimistic statements of the other Powers to the effect that this new Triple Alliance need not fear any serious conse-

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quences in a struggle with England. No one can foresee how not the present but the next French Government will be influenced by these arguments and assurances. There is, indeed, one step—which does not, however, depend on England—that would enormously increase the weight of English influence and thus strengthen the Anglophil party in France, and, as it would be a distinctly pacific measure, President Roosevelt might be disposed to sanction it. If the United States were to send half-a-dozen battleships across the Atlantic to pass the next few months at the mouth of the Thames, the evidence thus afforded that England did not stand alone in the world would effectually baffle German machinations, and procure the interval needed for French opinion to become solid on the point that sentimental grounds are not sufficient for France to risk her whole future on behalf of Russia, and to destroy at the same time all chance of a genuine, uncostly, and disinterested accord with England.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

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THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: NEW RULES AND OLD CIRCUMSTANCES

WHAT are still called the New Rules of Procedure in the House of Commons have been in force for the full period of two Sessions. The time seems adequate and convenient to inquire how they have worked. The House, open to conviction in political matters, has always shown itself stubbornly conservative where its procedure is concerned. When twenty-two years ago Mr. Gladstone, faced by organised obstruction led by Mr. Parnell, made a deliberate and elaborate attempt to introduce reform he stirred profound resentment, not wholly confined to the Opposition benches, then peopled by the Conservatives. The closure in particular raised a storm of vehement resistance. Of thirty-three days spent in considering the New Rules brought forward in the Session of 1882, fully one-half were appropriated for debate on that particular point. Mr. Gladstone, with characteristic subtlety, declined to call the process the closure, much less to use the French term *clôture*. 'Putting the question' was the official term with which he endowed it. The phrase deceived no one and pleased few. At first there was a tendency to talk and write about *clôture*. Speedily the English word assumed dominancy. It is interesting to note that to this day Mr. Gladstone's phrase officially survives. A member desiring to hasten a division does not 'beg to move the closure.' He moves 'That the question be now put.'

The closure machinery organised by 'prentice hands during the height of Irish obstruction in 1882 proved hopelessly unwieldy. The initiative was entrusted to the Speaker or the Chairman of Ways and Means. When one or other considered enough had been said, he was empowered to order a division to be straightway taken. The privilege of members and the freedom of minorities were safeguarded by the stipulation that in order to carry the closure no fewer than two hundred members must take part in the division deciding the question. There followed from the rule thus framed the inevitable conclusion. The Speaker and the Chairman of Ways and Means, shrinking from the invidious position of peremptorily closing debate, the Standing Order became a dead letter. Five years later, a Conservative Government being in power, the salutary rule was made really

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effective. To-day the closure may, with the consent of the Speaker or Chairman, be moved on the initiative of any member, and the presence of over a hundred members is required in the division. This allotment of initiative and confirmation works admirably. If the Speaker thinks the closure motion is an abuse of the rules of the House or an infringement of the rights of the minority, he may, and frequently does, refuse to put the question.

A Liberal Government introduced the principle of the closure. Successive Conservative Governments have perfected it. Mr. W. H. Smith, whose name will be found in every division list in the Session of 1882 hostile to the closure, four years later becoming Leader of the House of Commons, habitually and gratefully invoked it in the interests of public business. So constant was the habit that a familiar word came to have a new parliamentary meaning. When debate had dragged itself out to undue length, Mr. W. H. Smith would be observed to gather himself up and seat himself on the extreme edge of the Treasury Bench. This attitude came to be recognised as being 'on the pounce.' It was the familiar preliminary to moving the closure.

The greatest reformer of parliamentary procedure is the present Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone planted; Mr. W. H. Smith watered. Mr. Balfour has widely extended the range of culture. The Liberal Premier, as we have seen, hampered by prejudice, succeeded after long effort in driving through the House an unworkable machine. A Conservative Government under the leadership of Mr. W. H. Smith sharpened ends, the rough-hewing of which they had sturdily resisted. Both were content to closure by units, requiring a separate motion upon successive questions, with the inevitable division for each case. Mr. Balfour, ruthlessly going to the root of the matter, invented a system known as closure by compartments, applying it systematically and automatically to the process of Supply.

This was approached by an earlier reform, carried in 1896, that has done much to lessen the grave scandal of rushing Supply through a fagged House 'kept in' during the month of August or even September. Under the old order of things, Supply was taken at odd times when nothing else claimed precedence. The Estimates had to be agreed to before prorogation was possible. If they were not cleared off before August, then the House must sit all night if necessary till Supply was voted. Mr. Balfour's plan was as simple as it has proved effective and beneficial in the public service. In accordance with it, twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, are allotted for the consideration of the annual estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services. The Minister is permitted to move the allotment of three supplementary days, a privilege, as a matter of fact, regularly claimed. As soon as the Address is got out of the way,

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Supply is taken in hand, one whole sitting in every week being allotted for the purpose. The House knows precisely where it stands in respect of this important matter. It has twenty-three days wherein to discuss it, and shall have neither less nor more. On the twenty-second day the chairman will, on the stroke of ten o'clock, proceed to put the remaining votes to the question, with intent to terminate the labours of the committee at the current sitting. On the next, the twenty-third day, the report stage will be dealt with in the same fashion, and there will be an end of the business.

In the earlier Sessions of the operation of the first edition of this standing Order, the Mother of Parliaments presented a lamentable sight. The chairman was obliged to put every outstanding vote individually, his declaration that 'the Ayes have it' being answered by angry shouts from the Noes. Thereupon a division took place, the process lengthening out till the break of a new day gleamed on haggard faces. Two years ago Mr. Balfour boldly grappled with this absurdity. He amended the rule by directing that on the Civil Service estimates the question may be put with respect to each class of outstanding votes. With respect to the Navy, Army, and Revenue departments, the total amount of the votes outstanding on the final day is put from the chair, and only one division is possible. Thus, without varying practical effect, some hours of childish marching and counter-marching are saved, and the danger of shortening more or less valuable lives is minimised.

Like all other efforts in the same direction, these reforms were hotly denounced when first proposed. It was said that the priceless privilege of members to air grievances before voting Supply was tampered with. To-day there is no member who would uplift his voice in favour of repealing the new ordinances. As a matter of fact, the votes are more fully and sanely discussed than was the case under the old rules. The House comes to the consideration whilst its withers are yet unwrung. The fixity of the arrangement enables members concerned with particular questions so to shape their engagements as to be in their place when, on successive Thursdays, the House goes into Committee of Supply. This serves the interest of the State. The personal interest and convenience of members are accommodated by the automatic ending of the Session. Time was when neither Ministers nor unofficial members could make definite holiday arrangements in view of the long recess. The date of the prorogation was on the knees of the gods below the gangway on the Opposition side. Before 1882 they could, and did, defer it indefinitely. Up to 1896 they were, in spite of the closure, to a considerable extent masters of the situation. Now they are helpless. Whatever humour they may be in, Supply will be finally closed on the 8th of August, and the Session cannot be prolonged beyond the few days necessary for the process of carrying the Appropriation Bill

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through its varied stages. If these iron-bound rules meant restriction of opportunity for discussing Supply they would be open to grave objection. I repeat the assertion, which I venture to think will be supported by all members of old standing, that never before was Supply treated in so business-like a fashion as that which prevails under the new Order.

The most drastic, far-reaching alteration in procedure was adopted in May 1902. Four years earlier an attempt to limit late sittings was made by the Speaker taking the chair an hour earlier. Up to 1888 the Speaker was seated at four o'clock. The first half-hour was devoted to private business. If that were disposed of in time, questions commenced at half-past four, the business of the day coming on at an indefinite, ever-varied time. Looking back a quarter of a century, a period at which the archaic procedure was unreformed, it is difficult to understand how any measure of public business was achieved. It was done only by sitting far into the night and deferring Prorogation till the approach of September.

In those good old days a member, having had his more or less voluminous question printed at public expense, read out every word of it as a preliminary to the Ministerial answer. The consequence was that at the best of times the business of the sitting was not approached till nearly six o'clock. At one of the worst of times it was not reached till one o'clock in the following morning. That was the historic occasion when Mr. O'Donnell, dissatisfied with the answer given to a studiously insulting question affecting the French Minister at the Court of St. James's, moved the adjournment. An unseemly wrangle arose lasting till after midnight. It was one against six hundred. But the Standing Orders then in vogue made the unit master of the situation. Any member might interrupt the progress of questions by moving the adjournment. The new rules closely clip the wing of obstruction in this direction. No motion for the adjournment can now be made until all the questions are disposed of. Thereupon a member may rise and 'ask leave to move the adjournment, for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance.' The Speaker judges whether that description applies to the matter at issue. If not, there is an end of the matter. Leave to move is refused. If it be, the Speaker asks whether it is the pleasure of the House that leave be granted. If a quorum (forty) signify assent by rising, the demand is conceded. But the ordered business of the afternoon sitting is not disturbed. The motion must be made when, at nine o'clock, the House resumes its sittings after dinner.

Looking back over earlier parliamentary records, it is interesting to note that up to the year 1642 the House of Commons sat at seven o'clock in the morning. In that year it was resolved to meet at eight. Twelve months later Spartan habits weakened, and the House met at

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nine. According to Standing Orders now in force, debate is peremptorily closed on the stroke of twelve o'clock. In 1647 the House agreed that 'as soon as the clock strikes twelve the House shall rise.' The difference between the severed centuries is that of noon and midnight. It was at twelve o'clock noon that the Long Parliament, having foregathered at nine in the morning, struck work. In the time of the Georges the hour of meeting grew as late as four o'clock in the afternoon. That arrangement prevailed up to the opening of the Session of 1888, when three o'clock was fixed for the opening hour. Under the latest Standing Orders the House meets every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at two o'clock, adjourning at half-past seven for dinner, resuming at nine and going home at midnight.

As a considerable proportion of members, including some most to the fore, are engaged in private business during the day, meeting at two o'clock in the afternoon seems prohibitive of their attendance. The rule unquestionably acts in that direction, the muster at three o'clock, the latest moment at which the Order of the Day is reached, being scanty. The drawback is more apparent than real. There are always at hand members ready to sacrifice themselves by delivering speeches to empty benches. As these are unwound, members busy in the City or in the Courts of Law have time to assemble, and opportunity to take part in the debate and vote in the division.

The earlier hour of meeting has wrought a notable change in the fashion of attendance on the Treasury Bench. Ministers, having been at work in their offices through the morning, must needs, if questions be addressed to them, race down to the House after a hasty luncheon. As soon as they have read their reply they hurry off, either back to their offices or to their room in the House, in whose seclusion they continue their Ministerial work. In Disraeli's time, and so recently as Mr. Gladstone's second administration, questions not being approached till half-past four, Ministers completed their office work before coming down, and were at liberty to observe the unwritten law requiring the attendance of Ministers on the Treasury Bench throughout a debate, whether it interested their particular department or not. Only on rare occasions are there now found more than two or three Ministers on the Treasury Bench whilst debate is going forward.

The time-table of the sittings undoubtedly adds to the anxieties of the Ministerial Whips. The temptation to snatch a division in a nearly empty House is not infrequently superior to the virtue of the Opposition. The dangerous times are three o'clock and nine P.M., the first marking the opening of business; the second, the resumption of the sittings after dinner. The Irish members, having at neither epoch pressing engagements outside the House, are invariably present in full force, and find irresistible the national

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impulse to 'go agin' the Government.' Coalescing with the Radical contingent, equally free from the bondage of social engagements, they rush a division, and reduce the Ministerial majority to a parlous figure. As far as the dinner hour is concerned, that is not a new terror in the Whips' room. Before the dinner interval was established, the House was at nine o'clock in an equally deserted condition. A Scotch proverb cryptically affirms, 'Who will to Cupar maun to Cupar.' With a clearer view of the situation, it may be said of members of the House of Commons, 'Who will to dinner maun to dinner,' remaining at table for a lengthened period agreeable to digestion.

The meeting of the House as early as two o'clock in the afternoon is well enough in the case of a Government with a majority over a hundred. In such circumstances it was established. It is different when, as happened to the same Government in the present Session, circumstances reduce the majority and weaken the Whips' hold on the remnant. The arrangement would have been impossible with such a majority as Mr. Gladstone found at his command after the General Election of 1892. Its maximum was forty. Its working strength during Lord Rosebery's premiership dwindled away by one-half. After a brief struggle it was disposed of by a snap division taken after dinner. With the House meeting at two o'clock, its fate would have been accomplished some months earlier. The memory of defeat in a snap division fresh in his mind, Mr. Balfour, questioned on the subject, manfully stuck to his colours. It is probable that the next Ministry, if its working majority fall below fifty, will, from the instinct of self-preservation, revert to the three o'clock sitting.

Another alteration as to the convenience of which diversity of opinion prevails, is the transposing of the peculiar circumstances of Wednesdays and Fridays. Up to 1902 the House, in accordance with ancient custom, met at noon on Wednesdays, adjourning not later than six o'clock. This was a welcome break in the labours of the week. It had masterful effect on the social amenities of London. Wednesday became the chief parliamentary dining-out night, whether with private hosts or at public tables. Now the House sits on Wednesdays from two o'clock till midnight, meeting on Fridays at noon and not sitting after six. This rearrangement was avowedly made in the interests of what, in a newly coined word, are known as week-enders. Friday now being, as Wednesday was, allotted to private members, those not urgently concerned in the question at issue may make holiday from parliamentary duties from Friday morning till Monday afternoon.

This is a privilege prized or deprecated according to personal circumstances. Members who have country houses within easy access of London, and others who enjoy hotel life at the seaside,

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eagerly avail themselves of the opportunity. Members whose homes are too far distant to make it worth while repairing thither for a couple of days, regard the arrangement as frivolous, unworthy the dignity of a great deliberating assembly, traceable directly to the Prime Minister's guilty passion for golf. The arrangement has, however, come to stay. London society has readily adapted itself to the change. Friday has absolutely superseded Wednesday as the dining-out night and the gathering of political clans in the salons of the *grandes dames* of rival political camps.

Another controversial matter, personal rather than political in its bearing, is the season through which the parliamentary Session runs. It seems, appropriately enough, midsummer madness to be imprisoned at Westminster through the days of June and July when the country is most inviting. It was not always thus. Up to a period so recent as 1832 Parliament assembled in December, made brief holiday at Christmas, and remained at work till the first week in June. The fourth day happening to be King's birthday, loyal effort was made to honour it by proroguing. Fourteen years ago Sir George Trevelyan submitted a resolution insisting that Parliament should rise at the beginning of July, the time required for the due transaction of public business being provided by sitting longer in winter time. Lord Salisbury's colleagues in the House of Commons, attracted by the alluring proposal, resolved to make experiment in the direction of its recommendation.

The result was so disheartening that Parliament hurriedly returned to its former habit. Meeting on the 21st of November, 1890, it was not prorogued till about the usual time in the August of the following year. Last Session Lord Newton carried in the House of Lords a resolution on the lines of Sir George Trevelyan's. But the matter is essentially one for the Commons. As far as it has declared opinion, it approves the proposal. Thirty-three years ago a Select Committee reported in favour of the change. All the same, Parliament habitually meets early in February, sits through the summer, and, save for Mr. Balfour's time limit of small talk in Committee of Supply, might be found at Westminster in September.

With respect to two reforms introduced by the Procedure Rules of 1902, the rearrangement of the question hour and the disposal of private Bills, there is no divergence of opinion. Under both heads an appreciable saving of public time results. When Mr. Balfour proposed that the process of cross-examining Ministers should not extend beyond a period of forty minutes, lament was raised of outrage upon one of the most precious privileges of the private member. Judging from long experience, it seemed impossible to compress the exercise within that time. Even when questions were no longer read it was no unusual thing for the performance to run over an hour and a half. The precise arrangement now existing is that on

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the first four days of the week questions are taken at a quarter past two. None may be put after five minutes to three, the odd five minutes being reserved for inquiries of an urgent character relating either to matters of public importance or to the arrangement of business. In the two years that have run since this arrangement was made, the number of occasions when the allotted time has not proved adequate to the task may be counted on the fingers of one hand.

A subsidiary arrangement, admirable in its working, divides questions into two classes. In one class where, at the instance of the member concerned, the question is starred, it is answered orally.. In the other a printed reply is supplied and circulated with the votes on the day following that for which the query is set down. At first members fought shy of the second class. The cheapest and most effective method of advertisement for a pushful member is to address a question to a Minister—to the Premier by preference, or, when he was still in office, to Mr. Chamberlain. The newspapers in town and country gratuitously circulated a report of his appearance on the scene in contiguity with the Minister. A member to whom these considerations are important still insists on answer being made *viva voce*. The larger number, whose desire is bounded by honest intention to obtain information useful to the public or accommodating to a constituent, find the written answer has many conveniences. Each, with the question appended, is printed on a separate sheet of paper, of which the inquirer may obtain at the Vote Office as many copies as he pleases to distribute among those personally concerned. Nor is there any delay. On arriving at the House on the day for which his question is set down, he receives a copy of the Minister's answer, and is thus even in advance in point of time of the member who takes his turn at the oral inquisition.

The new rule has had wholesome effect upon the whole business of what is still called the question hour. A member interposing at a time when the attendance is small, there is no temptation to make a scene by wrangling with the Minister. The Irish members are still addicted to the old practice of putting a supplementary question 'arising out of that answer.' But the Speaker is watchful that due bounds shall not be exceeded, and the depressing influence of the hour discourages enterprise. No honest inquirer after truth is a penny the worse for the new restriction, whilst the House is on the average half an hour daily to the good.

Up to the close of last century the tyranny of private business reached a point incredible to ordinary business people. The House meeting at three o'clock, public business did not in any case open till half-past three, what was left of the first half-hour after prayers being reserved for private business. But there was no time-limit to this transaction. Any private Bill agent might put down his

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clients' measure for any day of the week most convenient to himself and to them. There was no appeal from the choice. Public business of whatever magnitude must needs stand aside till a local Gas or Water Bill had been fought out. It has more than once happened that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, waiting to expound his Budget, has been blocked by a private Bill. It was no uncommon thing for a measure upon which local feeling was excited or large monetary transactions depended to be debated up to five or six o'clock. Thereafter, and only then, Ministers waiting to answer questions might take their turn, the Orders of the Day succeeding.

Under the new rule if private business is not over by a quarter past two it is shunted till such time as the Chairman of Ways and Means may fix. It will come on at some convenient day when, at nine o'clock, the House resumes after dinner. Here, again, whilst the public service is guarded, no damage accrues to private interests. There is, indeed, the advantage of discouraging the lobbying which used to take place under the former *régime*. Members coming down as usual for questions, finding their approach barred by debate on a private Bill, became the prey of parties promoting or opposing it, who eagerly canvassed their votes. They knew nothing about the merits of the case at issue, but to oblige a friend voted in one lobby or the other. Private business coming on sharp at nine in the evening, the attendance is confined to members whose constituents are directly interested in the Bill coming on.

The Standing Order dealing with disorderly conduct was, two years ago, considerably strengthened. A member having been 'named' by the Speaker or chairman of committees for disregarding the authority of the Chair, or wilfully and persistently obstructing business, a Minister, the leader of the House if he chance to be present, moves that such member be suspended from the service of the House. Straightway the Speaker puts the question, and the House divides, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed.

This was the last rule dealt with by the House before the debate was indefinitely adjourned. The result is very curious, and has apparently escaped the recollection of Ministers and the House. A subsection directed that the suspension on the first occasion should continue for one week, on the second occasion for a fortnight, and on the third or any subsequent occasion for a month. This penalty was found to be absurdly inadequate. An Irish member, wanting a week's holiday without risking loss of a week's wage, had only to get himself named by the Speaker, and to the placid joys of his outing was added the enthusiastic applause of his constituents. It was proposed to make the penalty much more severe; to which end, on the 13th of February, 1902, particulars of the several terms of punishment were struck out of the clause, as a preliminary to

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enacting fresh penalties. Four days later, the House returned to consideration of the matter, the sitting being adjourned before it was settled. This 17th of February turned out to be the last occasion on which the new rules were debated. The consequence is that this important section of the penal clause remains comically truncated. It reads thus: 'If any member be suspended under this order, his suspension on the first occasion——' Afterwards is silence.

As the rule now stands, without the controlling subsection, a member suspended is sentenced for an indefinite time, certainly till the end of the existing Parliament. The difficulty arose in the case of Mr. John Dillon, and had to be met by a special order. Meanwhile, like the unfinished window in Aladdin's Tower, the rule remains a fragment, a flash of humour in the dull tome of Standing Orders.

Among the rules dealing with disorderly conduct is one that has not yet been put in force. It directs that in the case of grave disorder arising in the House the Speaker may, if he think it necessary, adjourn the House without question put, or suspend any sitting for a time to be named by him. This is founded upon the custom in the French Legislative Chamber, where the President temporarily closes a noisy sitting by putting on his hat. When the new rule was accepted, members obviously had in mind the memorable scene during the committee stage of the Home Rule Bill, when a free fight took place on the floor of the House. The difficulty that suggests itself is whether upon that particular occasion the Speaker's voice could have been heard above the tumult, and whether his quittance of the Chair would have had any appreciable effect upon the scene. For a certain period gentlemen above the gangway on the Opposition side were so earnestly engaged upon the task of pommelling each other in the avowed interests of free speech that they were not in a position to notice whether the Speaker's chair was empty or occupied. As it happened, the outbreak occurred in Committee, and when, after considerable interval, the Speaker appeared on the scene, party passion was stilled.

A reform of procedure the House of Commons has frequently coquetted with is the carrying over of unfinished Bills to the next Session. It seems a preposterous thing that a body of business men should occupy themselves through weeks, even months, of a Session in framing a measure of legislation, and see their labour lost by the arbitrary interference of a particular date. In Congress at Washington, where legislative work is conducted on strictly business principles, Bills dropped in one Session are taken up in the next, at the point achieved, and carried forward to the end. It is the same in France, Spain, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Greece, and even Portugal. The only legislative chambers that in this respect follow the British method are those of Germany and Italy.

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In 1890, Mr. W. H. Smith, with the enthusiasm of a convert, attempted to draft this proposal on his already far-reaching scheme of reform of procedure. He laid on the table a new Standing Order authorising the carrying-over of Bills left unfinished at the close of a Session. Mr. Gladstone, then leading the Opposition, objected to so grave a change in the usage of Parliament and the practice of the Constitution, before the matter had been carefully examined by a Select Committee. Such a Committee was appointed, with the result that the majority approved the proposal. Mr. Gladstone, his innate and ineradicable Conservatism touched, presented a draft report showing that similar proposals had been under the consideration of the House for forty years, and in every instance, in every shape, had been universally condemned. The same argument might of course have been used against the introduction of the Home Rule Bill of 1893.

This powerful, though individual, opposition prevailed. The majority report was signed and circulated, but no attempt was made to frame and pass a Standing Order. It is interesting to note that not only was Mr. Balfour among the majority of the Committee favourable to reform, but he wrote the report, an able, convincing document. When, twelve years later, having risen to the position of Leader of the House, he introduced a scheme of procedure reform, he did not include this particular proposal. The day is not far distant when it will be incorporated in Standing Orders. Save a feeling of reverence for the antique, there is nothing to be said in support of procedure that every Session leads to prodigious waste of time.

Another evil in parliamentary procedure crying aloud for intervention of the reforming hand is the inordinate length of speechmaking. As a rule, with few exceptions, it will be found that the length of a member's speech is in inverse ratio to the weight it carries. During the present Session, at a Friday sitting, with its maximum of five hours and a half debate, three hours and a quarter were appropriated by two members discussing a private Bill of third-rate importance. In debate on the Address carried on over three weeks few members spoke for less than an hour. There are exceedingly rare men in either House of Parliament whose information is so wide, whose counsel so sage, whose eloquence so alluring, that the House would willingly hear them beyond the space of half an hour. Save in the matter of explaining an intricate Bill or expounding a Budget, twenty minutes is the full limit to which speech should obtrude on debate. Mr. Asquith, admitted on both sides to be one of the most effective debaters in the present Parliament, rarely exceeds half an hour when taking prominent part in critical debate. But every sentence tells. Whereas a man of less intellectual capacity and dialectical skill goes mooning round to find the right word and most effective manner of introducing it.

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Major Rasch has made this subject his own. Ill-fortune has attended him at the ballot. There is a consensus of opinion as to the existence of the evil and the necessity for reform. Unhappily personal concern is unselfishly concentrated on desire to see a colleague or neighbour curb his tendency to verbosity. On the one occasion when opportunity presented itself of discussing the subject in the House, no contributor to the debate occupied less than forty minutes in lamenting the tendency to unduly long speeches.

It is a matter on which the Mother of Parliaments would do well to take a leaf out of the book of her vigorous daughter on the other side of the Atlantic. In Congress it is ordered that no member shall occupy more than one hour in debate on any question in the House or in Committee. When, sixty-four years ago, the rule was submitted, it was, after a fashion common nearer home, assailed as an attack on liberty of speech. It has been found in practice to work admirably. Only on rare occasions does a member avail himself of his full privilege. One in charge of a Bill, having an hour at his disposal, speaks for a few minutes, then makes way for another, usually an opponent of the measure. He in turn leaves verge and scope for a third speaker, and so brisk debate goes on. At the end of the hour its original proprietor demands a division which, if the House thinks enough has been said (as it usually does) is granted and the Bill is advanced a stage. In Committee of the whole House speeches are limited to five minutes, a rule that enables every point in a clause to be threshed out by a multitude of authorities. When, as frequently happens in the House of Commons, three or four members follow each other in discourses occupying from forty minutes to an hour in duration, what is said can hardly be regarded as representative of the sense of an assembly 670 strong.

It should be added that in Congress the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb. If a member may not deliver a discourse at the full length permissible at Westminster, he may have it published at the national expense. The fact that it was never delivered does not, in a free country, prevent its being reported verbatim. The *Congressional Record* is the sepulchre of this abortive eloquence. Each senator is entitled, free of charge, to eighty-eight copies of the daily issue, each representative being content with threescore. Thus are they enabled to gratify the family circle and cheer a wider range of personal friends with opportunity of studying their eloquence. Something over 41,000*l.* is paid by a grateful country for enjoyment of this intellectual luxury. It is money well expended, as making possible the existence of a rule of Spartan simplicity and severity that smooths and accelerates the wheels of the legislative machine. It would be a small price to pay for the accomplishment of similar results in the House of Commons.

HENRY W LUCY.

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IN CHINESE DREAMLAND

THE Chinese people have never associated dreams with indigestion. An outline of what they have thought and written about dreams during the past twenty-five centuries will be attempted in the following pages.

The *Book of History*, a collection of old historical documents, edited by Confucius in the fifth century B.C., records how in B.C. 1321 the Emperor Wu Ting dreamed that God sent him an able Minister to aid in the administration of government. On awaking, his Majesty was able to describe the man so minutely that a picture was prepared, and sent about the empire until the required sage was found, of course in a humble position. And it may be as well to state here that Chinese artists represent dreams pictorially by means of a spiral or curl, as of vapour, proceeding from the dreamer's head, and broadening out until large enough to receive the figures or scenery which enter into and compose the dream.

Turning to the *Odes*, the old ballads of the eighth, ninth, and possibly earlier centuries B.C., edited later on by Confucius, we find three entries in which dreams are mentioned, of which one will suffice as a specimen. Referring to a palace just built for the suzerain ruler of feudal China, the Pindar of the day writes a congratulatory ode in which these words occur:

With the rush mat below and the bamboo mat above,
May our prince sleep here in peace,—
Sleep and awaken! . . .
'Oh, interpret our dream:
Say what dreams are lucky:
Ours was of bears and gorillas,
Of serpents and snakes.'

Then the Grand Augur will interpret:
'Bears and gorillas
Are an omen of sons;
Serpents and snakes
Are an omen of daughters.'

The Grand Augur, we are told, reasoned thus: 'Bears and gorillas belong to the positive or male principle in Nature, the

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symbol of which is light. Their habitat is on the hillside, and their attributes are strength and courage; therefore their indication is of sons. Serpents and snakes belong to the negative or female principle in Nature, the symbol of which is darkness. Their habitat is in holes, and their attributes are softness and retirement; therefore their indication is of daughters.'

The *Ritual of the Chou Dynasty*, which carries us back to a date as early as that of the *Odes*, has several important references to dreams. We are told that part of the business of the Grand Augur was to deal with three particular kinds of dreams, viz.: (1) Those which were brought about by some special agency, (2) extraordinary dreams, and (3) those in which there was communication with the world of spirits. He would interpret the suzerain's dreams by examining the vaporous atmosphere around the morning sun, a method now said to be lost; or by means of the markings on the back of a tortoise; or by the conjunctions of the sun, moon, planets, and constellations. Towards the close of winter, it was his duty to inquire if the suzerain had dreamed of anything particular, and to interpret it with reference to the coming year. All dreams were classed under six heads, viz.: (1) Ordinary dreams, (2) supernatural dreams, (3) dreams of what has been uppermost in the thoughts, (4) dreams which are realised on waking, (5) pleasant dreams, and (6) terrifying dreams.

The *Su Wên* is an ancient medical work which has been referred to an extravagantly early age, but is not regarded by those among the Chinese who know as older than the fourth century B.C. Dreams had by this time come to be understood as resulting from the influences exerted upon the immaterial self by the positive and negative principles in Nature, acting separately or together. Thus the *Su Wên* says:

> If the negative principle prevails, the dream will be of great waters, accompanied by fright. If the positive principle prevails, the dream will be of fire, burning, and bright light. If both principles are equally present, the dream will be of fighting and wounds, given and received. If the influence of the vital fluid[1] is upward, the dream will be of flying; if downward, of falling. After a good dinner a man dreams of giving; hungry, he dreams of taking. If liver influences prevail, the dream will be of anger; if lung influences prevail, the dream will be of weeping.

We now come to Chuang Tzŭ, the brilliant mystic of the fourth and third centuries B.C., who taught that this life is really a dream, and that death is the awakening.

> Those who dream of the banquet wake to lamentation and sorrow. Those who dream of lamentation and sorrow wake to join the hunt. While they dream they do not know that they dream. Some will even interpret the very

[1] This vital fluid is the resultant of the two principles, and informs the universe, making all things what they are.

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dream they are dreaming; and only when they awake do they know it was a dream. By-and-by comes the Great Awakening, and then we find out that this life is really a great dream. Fools think they are awake now, and flatter themselves they know if they are really princes or peasants. Confucius and you are both dreams; and I, who say you are dreams, I am but a dream myself.[2]

Much more famous, however, than the above passage is that in which the philosopher records a dream of his own, from which he gained the sobriquet, now more than twenty centuries old, of Butterfly Chuang:

Once upon a time, I, Chuang Tzŭ, dreamed I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. I was conscious only of following my fancies as a butterfly, and was unconscious of my individuality as a man. Suddenly I awaked, and there I lay, myself again. Now, I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly dreaming I am a man.

Innumerable essays have been written by the leading literary men of various periods upon the fascinating problem involved in this dream, but not one seems to bring us perceptibly nearer to its solution.

In a more paradoxical vein is a dream by an imaginary personage named Lieh Tzŭ, to whom is attributed a work which probably belongs to the second century of our era:

A man of the State of Chêng was one day gathering fuel, when he came across a startled deer, which he pursued and killed. Fearing lest anyone should see him, he hastily concealed the carcass in a ditch, and covered it with plantain leaves, rejoicing excessively at his good fortune. By-and-by he forgot the place where he had put it; and, thinking he must have been dreaming, he set off towards home, humming over the affair on his way.

Meanwhile, a man who had overheard his words acted upon them, and went and got the deer. The latter, when he reached his house, told his wife, saying, 'A woodman dreamed he had got a deer, but he did not know where it was. Now I have got the deer; so his dream was a reality.' 'It is you,' replied his wife, 'who have been dreaming you saw a woodman. Did he get the deer? and is there really such a person? It is you who have got the deer: how then can his dream be a reality?' 'It is true,' assented the husband, 'that I have got the deer. It is, therefore, of little importance whether the woodman dreamed the deer or I dreamed the woodman.'

Now, when the woodman reached his home he became much annoyed at the loss of the deer; and in the night he actually dreamed where the deer then was and who had got it. So next morning he proceeded to the place indicated in his dream, and there it was. He then took legal steps to recover possession; and when the case came on the magistrate delivered the following judgment: 'The plaintiff began with a real deer and an alleged dream. He now comes forward with a real dream and an alleged deer. The defendant really got the deer which plaintiff said he dreamed, and is now trying to keep it; while

[2] Somewhat in this sense run the experiences of a convict of recent date. 'I used to go to bed every night pinched by hunger. I began dreaming of banquets, and would have thought nothing strange about it had not the same dream come to me every night.'

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according to his wife both the woodman and the deer are but the figments of a dream; so that no one got the deer at all. However, here is a deer, which you had better divide between you.'

Wang Ch'ung, a philosopher of the first century A.D., who maintained that the soul was a phenomenon inseparable from vitality, and which perished at death with the body, was a sceptic on the subject of dreams:

That dreams have any real purport seems to be a mischievous belief. In dreams the soul either remains passive within the body, and is there influenced for happiness or misfortune, or it moves actively about amongst men and things. Now, whatever remains passive within the body is to all intents and purposes dead, and the soul is no exception. As to its moving about actively amongst men, let us take the case of one who dreams that he kills or wounds somebody, or is himself killed or wounded. Next day neither on his antagonist nor on himself are there any traces of wounds to be found. The fact is that the soul which functions in dreams is a passive soul. And if even an active soul cannot injure people through dreams, how is it possible for a passive soul to be a source of injury?

The two following extracts, by an anonymous writer, have been attributed by some to the sixth century B.C. The sixth century A.D. is probably much nearer the mark:

In dreams, in mirrors, and in water, the whole universe is contained. If you abolish dreams the universe will have sleep, but no visions. If you abolish mirrors the universe will have form, but no reflections. If you abolish water the universe will have basins, but nothing to put in them. Objective existences are merely subjective phenomena; and therefore the true sage does not abolish the external universe, but abolishes cognition.

Thoughts are divided by mankind in general into two classes, one's own thoughts and other people's thoughts; but it is not equally recognised that the same classification of thought obtains in dreams, wherein the existence of self and others is not so obvious. Similarly, there are one's own pains and other people's pains in dreams as well as in ordinary life. Nor is there reason why this should not be so, any more than why our nails and hair should not feel pain, or our hands and feet should not think, though these are all ourselves.

A dream is usually regarded as something of which self alone is conscious, the waking state as something in which others share; but this view ignores the fact that an individual is often subject to spiritual influences in broad daylight, while two persons may dream the same dream at night. The two states of waking and dreaming are both of them the mental self; and it is a mistake to describe them as separate states, one permanent and the other transitory, respectively, both being equally the product of the positive and negative principles operating within the body.[3]

Omitting any notice of various other writers, one of whom gives a further classification of dreams under ten heads, we may pass on to the T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 618–906, under which considerable attention was directed to the subject by several well-known literary men. From this period dates the *Book of Dreams*, by an anonymous writer,

[3] 'Dreams of a kind are probably going on within us by night and by day, unchecked by any degree of tension of waking thought.'—*Human Personality*, i. p. 58.

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which is perhaps the first attempt to produce a systematic work of reference. We are here told that 'if you dream of a dwarf, things will not go well; your enterprise will stick halfway, and you will be a laughing-stock to all.' Also, that 'if you dream of sweet perfumes you will meet women and girls; if you dream of bamboos you will become a recluse; if you dream of combs there will be a separation; if you dream of willows you will shortly travel; if you dream of a broken bed some ill will befall your wife,' &c.

Po Hsing-chien, of the T'ang Dynasty, wrote a short note on dreams, illustrated by actual experiences, which appear to be pretty much of a piece with several of the incidents brought together in *Human Personality* by the late F. W. H. Myers. The Chinese writer shall speak for himself:

> There are certain dreams which are quite different from the ordinary run of dreams. These may be classed as (1) Those in which A. dreams he goes somewhere and B. meets him there; (2) those in which B. does something and A. dreams of it; and (3) those in which A. and B. are both mixed up in the same dream.[4]
>
> Towards the close of the seventh century there was an official named Liu, who was returning home after an absence on business. He had reached within three or four miles of his own door when he came to a Buddhist temple standing by the roadside, from which proceeded sounds of singing and shouts of laughter and merriment. The wall around the temple was low and dilapidated, and allowed a good view of what was going on inside; so Liu stooped down and peeped over. He saw some ten or a dozen young men and girls sitting at a table together and eating from various dishes, and among them sat his own wife, laughing and talking like the rest. Lost in amazement, he remained for some time reflecting that she ought not to be where she was, and that he could not possibly leave her there, until at last he made up his mind to see what it all meant. But the temple door was locked and he could not get in; so he shied a stone among the party, and hit the basin used for washing the cups, breaking it into a thousand pieces and scattering them in all directions. In a moment the scene vanished; and Liu, jumping over the wall with his servants, went into the temple, but discovered no trace of anyone, although the door remained locked as before. Still more astonished than ever, he hurried home, and when he arrived he found his wife in bed. Hearing him come in she sat up, and they passed a few conventional remarks. Then his wife said, 'I have just been dreaming that I was at a temple with ten or a dozen persons, all strangers to me, and that we were feasting in the courtyard, when suddenly someone from the outside threw a stone and smashed up the things on the table, at which I woke.' Then Liu told his story—an instance of A. dreaming she goes somewhere and B. meeting her there.

This story has been imitated in the *Méng yulu*, a well-known work on dreams. There the wife is discovered at table with a number of men, who insist on her singing song after song until the poor woman is quite exhausted. Then the husband, in a rage, flings one stone which knocks over the leader of the party, and another which hits his wife on the temple. Everything immediately vanishes,

[4] Class 3 is described by Mr. Myers (*op. cit.* i. pp. 419-421) as 'reciprocal dreams.'

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and the husband returns home, to find his wife in bed with a headache; and on questioning her he learns that she has had a dream with incidents precisely the same as those of which he had been an eyewitness.

As an illustration of Class 2 above we have the following story:

In A.D. 809 Yüan Wei-chih, of Honan, was a travelling censor. Some ten days after he had gone off on official business, I and an elder brother, together with a friend, made a trip to Ch'ü-chiang, and stayed at the Buddhist monastery there. We wandered all over the building, going in and out of the monks' cells; and when evening came on we betook ourselves to the cell set apart for our friend and his devotional exercises. We brought out our wine, and were enjoying ourselves thoroughly, when my brother, who had for some time been holding back his wine-cup said, 'Just now Yüan Wei-chih must be at Liang-chou.' So we scribbled the accompanying stanza on the wall of the cell:

'If spring comes and finds us aimless,
the spring brings us grief.
Drunken we pluck a spray of flowers,
for use in the wine-game of forfeits.
Suddenly our thoughts fly to the absent one,
far, far away,
And we calculate stage by stage that
he has now arrived at Liang-chou.'

Some ten days or more after these events an official arrived from Liang-chou, bringing a letter from Yüan Wei-chih, to which the latter had added this postscript in verse:—

'I dreamed of you, my brothers,
as on a visit to Ch'ü-chiang,
And I saw you roaming about
in the Tz'ü-ên monastery.
I ordered my servants to
have my horse got ready,
But waked to find myself
still in Liang-chou.'

The date of this dream, the 21st of the moon, coincided with the very day of our visit to the temple, when the stanza was written on the wall. Is not this a case in which B. does something and A. dreams of it?

Class 3 is illustrated by the following story:

About A.D. 795 two friends, named Tou and Wei, were on their travels together. One night Tou dreamed that he visited a certain shrine, and there saw a tall black witch, dressed in a green skirt with a white jacket, who came forward to meet him with a bow, and begged to be allowed to intercede for him with the spirits. Tou was rather taken off his guard, and allowed the woman to do so, her name, as he found on inquiry, being Madam Chao. Then he woke and told his dream to Wei. Next day they reached the shrine in question, and there he beheld a witch the very counterpart of the one he had seen in his dream. 'This is the fulfilment,' said he to Wei, and, turning to his servant, ordered him to give the woman three strings of *cash*. The witch clapped her hands and laughed, and cried out to her friends, 'This is just what I saw in my dream.' Wei asked what she meant; to which she replied, 'Last night I dreamed that two gentlemen came from the east, and that the shorter one, with

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a beard, gave me three strings of *cash* to intercede for him with the spirits. This morning I told my dream to everybody, and now it has come true.' Tou then inquired her name, which turned out to be Chao. From beginning to end every feature of the two dreams fitted like two halves of a tally—surely an instance of two persons mixed up in the same dream.

The *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* is in many senses a wonderful work. It is a large encyclopædia of miscellaneous literature, which was actually cut on blocks for printing so far back as A.D. 981, thus running the *Confucian Canon* very close as an early-printed book. The copy in the Cambridge Library is an edition of 1566; and in the section devoted to visions, &c., there are no fewer than 170 examples of historical and well-authenticated dreams. Besides these, there are numerous stories of apparitions, spiritual manifestations of various kinds, cases of resurrection from the dead, of bilocation, of animism, &c., &c., the authenticity of which, in the face of their almost classical antiquity, an ordinary Chinaman would scarcely venture to question.

The following is a short example of an historical dream:

Before the Emperor Wên Ti, of the Sui Dynasty, A.D. 589–618, came to the throne he often travelled about by boat for amusement. One night he dreamed that he had no left hand, and awaked with a feeling of disgust. Going ashore, he came to a poor wayside shrine, where there was an old Buddhist priest, to whom he told his dream. 'He who has no left hand,' cried the priest, rising up and congratulating him, 'must act *single-handed*, and will some day be the Son of Heaven.' By-and-by, when this interpretation was fulfilled, the Emperor built upon the spot the Temple of Joyous Omen, which may be seen some ten miles from Wu-ch'ang.

That the great scholar Chu Hsi, A.D. 1130–1200, to whose erudition we owe the modern interpretation of the *Confucian Canon*, believed dreams to be simple phenomena, brought about by natural causes, is beyond all doubt. Even if he had felt any inward bias towards a supernatural belief, as a loyal Confucianist he would have kept such feelings to himself. It is not, however, easy to understand the steps by which he reached his conclusion, exegesis of obscure or corrupt texts being more in his line than independent scientific investigation. For instance:

Conditions of waking and sleeping are for the mind conditions of energy and repose respectively. States of thought and the absence of thought are conditions of energy and repose, respectively, within the above condition of energy of the mind; and states of dreaming and not dreaming are conditions of energy and repose, respectively, within the above condition of repose of the mind. The waking condition, however, appertains to the positive or male principle, sleep to the negative or female principle; the waking condition is subtile, sleep is gross; the waking condition is under guidance, sleep is not; therefore it is during the quiescent condition of sleep that we are influenced, though we must be awake to tell of it.

A writer under the Mongol Dynasty, A.D. 1260–1368, who called

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himself 'Grandfather Patience,' put his views in a somewhat clearer light:

Dreams occur while a man is lying down asleep. Those who may be sitting by are not aware that anything extraordinary is taking place. The ears, eyes, mouth, nose, hands, and feet of the dreamer remain precisely as usual. His soul may fly abroad on wings like an angel, or may appear in full-dress at court; palaces, carriages, horses, women playing or dancing, may rise around him, and his glory and pleasure may be unlimited; but when he wakes to consciousness not a shred of his vision is left, and he laughs at the absurdity of the whole thing. The fact is simply this, that the mind is overstrained.

Much poetry has been inspired by dreams. Sometimes it is a narrative piece, such as that in which the sleeper dreams that he is a fish, and describes all the delights of fish life, saddened, however, by the agony of the hook. Sometimes it is a light lyric, such as the following, by Chang Pi (tenth century A.D.):

After parting, dreams possessed me,
  And I wandered you know where,
And we sat in the verandah,
  And you sang the sweet old air.
Then I woke, with no one near me,
  Save the moon still shining on,
And lighting up dead petals
  Which like you have passed and gone.

Or this psychological effort by Wang Ssŭ-jen of the fifteenth century:

I dreamed that I longed to be home, as of yore.
I went, and I joined in the circle once more.
I heard with distinctness each word that was said;
Then I waked from my sleep, and the vision had fled.

If you say that I wasn't the I of my dream,
Then someone else went to my house, it would seem;
But if you admit I was I, then I say,
If I really went thither, why didn't I stay?

I was I, wasn't I, or wasn't I I? . . .
The sparrows are cheeping the dawn in the sky.

We may conclude with an instance of bilocation which seems to be as well authenticated as, and possibly more curious than, some of the stories given in Mr. Myers's work.[5] It was recorded by Ch'ên Yüan-yu, a scholar of the ninth century:

In A.D. 692 a man named Chang I was holding an official post at Hêng-chou. He was by nature reserved, and had few friends. He had no sons, and of two daughters the elder had died in infancy, while the younger, named Ch'ien-niang, was an exceedingly beautiful girl. Then there was a sister's son, named Wang Chou, who hailed from T'ai-yüan, a clever and handsome young fellow, much esteemed by his uncle. In fact Chang used often to say that Ch'ien-niang was to be his nephew's wife;[6] and when they grew up the two

[5] *Op. cit.* i. pp. 230, 251, 263, 276.

[6] Marriage between cousins is tolerated, but not approved, in China, so long as the surnames of the bride and bridegroom are not the same.

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young people really fell in love with one another, though this passed unnoticed in the family. By-and-by an official colleague asked for her in marriage, and Chang gave his consent. At this the two lovers were in despair, and Wang forthwith pretended that his interests required his presence at the capital.[7] An attempt was made to keep him, but in vain; so after being well supplied with everything necessary he bade a mournful adieu and stepped on board his boat. By sunset he was already at anchor some leagues away; but at midnight he was still unable to sleep, when suddenly he heard sounds of someone running hurriedly along the bank, until the footsteps reached his boat. Calling out, he found that it was Ch'ien-niang, who had come alone and barefoot. Overcome with joy, he seized her hand and asked what it all meant; to which she replied, 'A sense of your deep love for me has forced me to this pass. I know that your feelings will never change. I make this sacrifice of myself to you, and that is why I have run away and come hither.' Delighted beyond all hope, Wang concealed her on the boat and set off, travelling day and night with all speed until, a month or two later, he arrived at his destination. Five years came and went, during which two boys were born to them, without any news of Chang I. Ch'ien-niang began to long to see her parents again, and with tears in her eyes said to Wang Chou, 'In days gone by, five years ago, I could not resist, but cast aside my duty for your sake. I would now see if any of my people are still among the living.' Wang pitied her and said, 'Don't cry; you shall go;' and very soon they all set out to return to Hêng-chou. On arrival Wang went ahead by himself to his uncle's house to make his peace; but the uncle said, 'Ch'ien-niang is lying ill in the women's apartments. Why these lies?' 'I have just left her on board the boat,' replied Wang; whereupon his uncle was astounded, and hurriedly sent off a messenger, who found that she really was there. Moreover, she joyously inquired from the messenger if her father was quite well; at all of which the messenger was greatly astonished and hurried off to tell his master. When the girl in the women's apartments heard what had happened, she arose rejoicingly and dressed herself up, smiling, but never uttering a word, and went forth to meet the newcomer. The two girls fell into each other's arms; and in a moment coalesced, so that there was only a single body left, dressed, however, in duplicate sets of clothes. The family hushed the affair up as being uncanny; but still it came to the ears of various relatives.

HERBERT A. GILES.

[7] T'ai-yüan, known as Pe-king (= northern capital) under the T'ang Dynasty.

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ÆSCHYLUS AND SHAKESPEARE

THE programme of the Annual Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon, recently issued by the Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, has for its leading feature the presentation of an English version of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus, in close conjunction with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Richard II.*, and *The Tempest*. The experiment is a deeply interesting one, and the attempt to illustrate Shakespeare's art by bringing it into comparison on the stage with the dramatic masterpieces of other times and other lands will be followed with close attention, and may lead to important developments. For the first essay in this kind, no better choice could have been made than the great trilogy of the first Athenian dramatist whose work has come down to us otherwise than in fragments.

Æschylus, the son of Euphorion, was born in 525 B.C., at Eleusis, of a family of the old nobility. His boyhood witnessed the downfall of the tyranny of the Peisistratids and the establishment of the enlarged democracy of Cleisthenes. His opening manhood was cast in the heroic days of the great struggle against the Persian hosts for the liberty of Greece, of which struggle Athens was the protagonist. He himself fought at Marathon in 490, and served in person in all the great battles of the second Persian invasion, Artemisium, Salamis, Platæa, of the second of which he has left a magnificent description in the tragedy of the *Persæ*. His riper years were contemporaneous with the extension of the democratic principle by the reforms of Pericles, by which the balance of power was transferred from the oligarchic families to the new democracy of the whole Athenian people. In more than one respect, therefore, his life experience presents analogies to that of Shakespeare, whose first twenty-four years coincide with the great struggle against Rome and Spain which culminates in the defeat of the Armada in 1588; while the latter half of his life witnesses the beginnings of that reaction against the power of the Crown which was to issue in the Great Rebellion.

The formative years of both poets, therefore, are lived in a period when national feeling has been raised to its highest power by a struggle in which the national existence itself is at stake; and the reflection of that struggle is seen not only in the general quickening of thought

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and imagination peculiar to such periods, but more specifically in the white heat of patriotic feeling which glows and flashes through their dramas. Take, for instance, the passage in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus in which the Chorus of Furies, overcome by the persuasion of Athene, consent to lay aside their wrath and to become patron goddesses of the Attic land (*Eum.* 862 *sqq.*):

Ch. What chant dost bid me raise to greet the land?
Ath. Such as aspires towards a victory
Unrued by any: chants from breast of earth,
From wave, from sky; and let the wild wind's breath
Pass with soft sunlight o'er the lap of land,—
Strong wax the fruits of earth, fair teem the kine,
Unfailing, for my town's prosperity,
And constant be the growth of mortal seed.
But more and more root out the impious,
For as a gardener fosters what he sows,
So foster I this race, whom righteousness
Doth fend from sorrow. Such the proffered boon.
But I—if wars must be, and their loud clash
And carnage—for my town will ne'er endure
That aught but victory shall crown her fame.
Ch. Lo, I accept it: at her very side
Doth Pallas bid me dwell:
I will not wrong the city of her pride,
Which even Almighty Zeus and Ares hold
Heaven's earthly citadel,
Loved home of Grecian Gods, the young, the old,
The sanctuary divine,
The shield of every shrine!
For Athens I say forth a gracious prophecy,
The glory of the sunlight and the skies
Shall bid from earth arise,
Warm wavelets of new life and glad prosperity.[1]

How close does the feeling of this passage come to the soliloquy of John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II.* (II. i. 40 *sqq.*):

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall
Or as a moat defensive to a house
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.
. . . . . .
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world.

Again, both poets live in a time when democracy—in neither case

[1] From the translation by Mr. E. D. Morshead, M.A.

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such a democracy as we to-day understand by the term, but a democracy in which political power shall be vested in what, for lack of a better word, we may call the middle class—is winning its way, step by step, against oligarchical privilege or royal prerogative. Æschylus, the man of action, the man who has fought side by side with his less nobly born fellow citizens, and thereby learnt the supreme lesson of human comradeship and brotherhood as underlying all distinctions of rank and class, is perhaps more in sympathy with the movement than Shakespeare, the man of quiet thought and of delicate and refined imagination. Yet in Æschylus there is again and again the warning against the unbridled wilfulness of popular rule, such as breathes in the following passage (*Eum.* 666):

> Therefore, O citizens, I bid ye bow
> In awe to this command, *Let no man live*
> *Uncurbed by law nor curbed by tyranny,*
> Nor banish ye the monarchy of Awe
> Beyond the walls; untouched by fear divine
> No man doth justice in the world of men.
> Therefore in purity and holy dread
> Stand and revere. . . .

And it is to preserve this sense of awe and reverence that in the *Eumenides* he pleads for the preservation of the ancient, sacred, incorruptible court of the Areopagus threatened by the reforms of Pericles. On the other hand, while Shakespeare's sympathies are strongly enlisted on the side of the strength and refinement of the aristocratic character, no less strong is his condemnation of irresponsible despotism in the person of Richard II. or Macbeth, and even the clamorous shifting mob of *Coriolanus* is introduced with the touch of sympathy and understanding—

> The gods know I speak this in hunger for bread, not in thirst for revenge.

But the times of Æschylus and Shakespeare are not only times of national struggle and democratic development; they present a deeper likeness in that each is a time when old moral and religious conceptions are breaking up, and the new conceptions which are to take their place are not yet formulated. As Mr. Haigh has well said in his *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*:

> The sixth century, in which Æschylus passed his early years, was one of great stir and movement in matters of religion and speculation. The old theogonies of Homer and Hesiod, with their primitive morality and simple conception of the gods, had long since failed to satisfy the higher minds among the nation. The prevalence of deeper aspirations and a more searching curiosity is proved by many symptoms. Associations such as the Orphic societies and the Pythagorean brotherhoods, with their ascetic rules of life and their doctrines of immortality, began about this time to acquire their wide-spread popularity. The mysticism of Pherecydes, the pantheistic dreams of Xenophanes, and the cosmic speculations of Thales and Anaximander, are equally typical of the new

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spirit of the age. All these various tendencies, philosophical and religious, must have had their influence in forming the opinions of Æschylus (p. 86).

And just as in the youth of Æschylus the old Grecian polytheisms were breaking up, so Shakespeare's boyhood was contemporaneous with England's final rejection of the great mediæval system of Christianity, while the reformed Christianity was still seeking its adequate expression and final form.

A dramatic genius born in such a time will use the old forms, the old beliefs, but in using he will transform them, make them vehicles for the deeper thought which is struggling to utter itself, symbols of the new conception of the universe which is dimly revealing itself to him.

Thus, in the *Oresteia* Æschylus takes the old story of the house of Agamemnon, the conception of the relentless Fate which in each generation brings upon its members the pollution of kindred blood, which causes Atreus to set before his brother Thyestes the banquet of his slain children's flesh, which compels Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis that the fleet Troyward-bound may no more be hindered by adverse winds, and thereby stirs Clytemnestra his wife to such deadly hate that she gives herself in lawless love to Ægisthus, son of Thyestes, and by his aid murders her husband even in the hour of his triumphant home-coming; the Fate that drives Orestes, her son, to avenge his father's murder by the shedding of his mother's blood, and then delivers him in turn to the Furies, which, with relentless vengeance, pursue the matricide. That conception of a mysterious inexplicable Fate Æschylus takes, and with it the kindred conception of the envy of heaven against over-great prosperity, but in using he refines and moralises them.

In the *Oresteia* there is, from the opening speech of the watcher for the beacon fire which is to tell of Ilium's fall, the sense of doom over the house, which recurs again and again in the musing of the Chorus of Argive elders. The very name given to Helen at her birth has foretold, with divine prescience, the woes of which she is destined to be the spring (*Agam.* 664): *ἑλένανς, ἔλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις.*

> Say from whose lips the presage fell?
> Who read the future all too well,
> And named her, in her natal hour,
> Helen, the bride with war for dower?
> 'Twas one of the Invisible
> Guiding his tongue with prescient power.
> On fleet, and host, and citadel,
> War, sprung from her, and death did lour,
> When from the bride-bed's fine spun veil,
> She to the Zephyr set her sail.

τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. What will be, will be (*Agam.* 1211).

But the Fate, as Æschylus conceives of it, is no blind force of

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whose working no account can be given. It is not prosperity merely as prosperity that wakes the wrath of heaven, but prosperity as the parent of overweening (*Agam.* 735)—

> Not bliss nor wealth it is, but impious deed,
> From which that aftergrowth of ill doth rise!
> Woe springs from wrong, the plant is like the seed—
> While Right, in honour's house, doth its own likeness breed.
>
> Some past impiety, some gray old crime,
> Breeds the young curse, that wantons in our ill.
> Early or late, when haps th' appointed time,
> And out of light brings power of darkness still
> A master-fiend, a foe, unseen, invincible.

It is retribution for past sin that avenges itself by calling forth new impulse to sinning, and so visits the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third generation. It is, in its ancient form, the doctrine of heredity (*Cho.* 413):

> Her children's soul is wolfish, born from hers,
> And softens not by prayers.

But, however the retribution work, it is informed by a moral purpose, a purpose of discipline, of reformation, of reforging of character on the anvil of suffering (*Agam.* 170):

> He hath ruled
> Men shall learn wisdom, by affliction schooled.
>
> In visions of the night, like dropping rain,
> Descend the many memories of pain
> Before the spirit's sight: through tears and dole
> Comes wisdom o'er the unwilling soul,
> A boon, I wot, of all Divinity
> That holds its sacred throne in strength, above the sky.

So, though the weak and wicked man is mastered by his Fate, it is essentially his own wrong-doing which has waked the curse anew, which else had slumbered. And when the strong man comes who dares at the divine command to defy Fate, he faces and breaks it as Orestes does. He does his duty with open eyes, knowing that the Fate will fall. He takes into his heart the counsel and warning of Apollo (*Eum.* 75 *sq.*):

> For they shall hunt thee through the mainland wide,
> Where'er throughout the tract of travelled earth
> Thy foot may roam, and o'er and o'er the seas
> And island homes of men. Faint not nor fail
> Too soon and timidly within thy breast
> Shepherding thoughts forlorn of this thy toil.

He faces the utmost that the Furies can do to him, and by enduring frees himself and all his house from the ancestral curse.

Not otherwise does Shakespeare in *Hamlet*, in *Lear*, and in *Macbeth* give us the sense of a brooding Fate by which the movement of events is guided to its destined end; but it is the treachery of Claudius, the

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arrogant selfishness of Lear, the ambition of Macbeth and his more guilty mate, that sets that Fate in motion. With Shakespeare, too, the Retribution has a moral purpose. The soliloquy of Lear (III. iii. 28)—

> Poor naked wretches, whereso'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
> Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these? Oh, I have ta'en
> Too little care of this! Take physic, pomp;
> Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
> That thou mayst shake the superflux to them
> And show the heavens more just—

what is it but a dramatic commentary on Æschylus's great principle: *πάθη μάθος*?

And with Shakespeare, too,

> Men at some time are masters of their fates.

This sense of an overpowering destiny both poets express in the forms and symbols of their time: Æschylus by the concrete presentation of the Furies; Shakespeare by the ghost in *Hamlet*, by the witches and Hecate in *Macbeth*. But in both the scenes of terror and pity are not the scenes in which the concrete machinery of the supernatural is introduced. In Æschylus the *Eumenides* leave us half convinced. The scene which stirs our deepest souls is the scene in which Cassandra—the seer to whom past, present, and future are alike revealed—in notes of rising horror utters the crimes which have stained the house of Atreus, and the crimes that are still to come. In *Hamlet* it is not the ghost scene which chills our blood, but the great soliloquies of Hamlet himself, the guilty King's fruitless prayer, the tragedy of Ophelia's madness and death. In *Macbeth* it is not the witch scenes which wring our inmost hearts, but the despairing cry of Lady Macbeth—

> Here's the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand!

or Macbeth's

> Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more: it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

For though they use the symbols of their time, Shakespeare and Æschylus alike are conscious that they are but symbols, that behind all the forms by which men strive to grasp the forces which mould and fashion the life of man, there is the infinite Unknown.

Transition periods in which old forms have proved inadequate to

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hold so much of the Infinite as men are able to grasp, while the new form which shall seem adequate to present apprehension has not yet been shaped, have this peculiar property, that they leave the highest minds face to face with the Infinity of the Infinite and compel them to acknowledge it as the Unknown.

In Æschylus this sense of a greater power behind the powers symbolised by current conceptions is constantly recurring. Zeus stands to him as the symbol of that greater power, but it is another Zeus than the Zeus of the popular mythology (*Agam.* 155):

> Zeus, if to the unknown
> That name of many names seem good—
> Zeus, upon thee I call;

and, again (*Agam.* 1461):

> Ah, woe, ah, Zeus! from Zeus all things befall—
> Zeus the high cause and finisher of all!
> Lord of our mortal state, by him are willed
> All things, by him fulfilled!

But of the gods in the ordinary conception of them it is true that

> Fate ordained of old
> Holdeth the will of gods constrained, controlled,

and the whole play of the *Eumenides* turns on the fact that the dire sisters are not subject to the command of the gods above, but must be bent by persuasion to their will, if bent at all.

Similarly, Shakespeare in *Hamlet* will not, as Dante would have done, allow his ghost to reveal the secrets of his prison house, and in Hamlet's soliloquy the world beyond the grave, clearly mapped out into distinct regions by the popular theology, is but

> The undiscovered country from whose bourne
> No traveller returns,

and the soul behind the phenomena of life shall not be more closely defined than this:

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will.

Victor Hugo, himself the child of a transition age, himself exhibiting this same quality of the sense of mystery, has summed it up in one word—'l'Infini'—and adds: 'Cela, c'est l'inconnu, cela, c'est l'infini. Si Corneille avait "cela" il serait l'égal d'Eschyle. Si Milton avait "cela" il serait l'égal d'Homère. Si Molière avait "cela" il serait l'égal de Shakespeare.'

It is this haunting sense of something vaster, more universal, more all-pervading than thought can grasp or human language express, of an unknown ocean of power and purpose encompassing and enfolding the power and the purpose which we can apprehend, which marks the supreme genius of the age of transition, which gives to the works of

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such a genius their eternally stimulating power. It is this which forms the essential likeness in diversity of Æschylus and Shakespeare. For the diversity is obvious. There is first of all the presence in the Attic drama of the Chorus which enables the dramatist to comment on the action of the play and the characters of the persons represented without putting his comment into the mouth of one of his *dramatis personæ*, the Chorus which gives him the unique advantage of being able to tell all the antecedent events which are necessary to the understanding of the plot without having recourse to the unnatural expedient of making his characters relate to one another what the hearer already knows. The existence of the Chorus is, as it were, an accidental result of the origin of Greek tragedy. It is none the less an auxiliary which adds immensely to the power of the dramatist. But, besides the Chorus, Æschylus has in the simplicity of his construction a second advantage, no less important in its bearing on the clearness with which his leading ideas are expressed. The Æschylean drama is like a noble bas-relief in which every figure stands out alone, clear cut and sharply defined. The Shakespearean drama is like a pre-Raphaelite picture in which not only is the canvas crowded with characters, some sharply outlined, others half hidden in the background or obscured in the shadow, but every detail of each is drawn with minute and careful observation; and the miracle of Shakespeare's genius is that on this crowded canvas every detail tells. Or, to vary the metaphor, the work of Æschylus is like the architecture of a Doric temple in which all is subordinated to clearness of the great architectonic lines, and the great architectonic lines strike the eye at the first glance; Shakespeare's work is like the architecture of a Gothic cathedral, in which the architectonic lines are hidden and overwhelmed by the mass of detail, until you find the right standpoint from which the whole falls into a harmony more rich, more inspiring for the very wealth of detail which seemed at first sight to mar it; and the wonder of Shakespeare's art is that it inevitably sets us, if we have eyes to see, at that right point of view. Æschylus gives us the awful onward movement and pressure of a relentless purpose by excluding from the stage all that has not a visible bearing on that movement—he isolates before he can express. Shakespeare gives us the sense of the Infinite, not as isolated from, but as permeating the Finite, taking up into itself the trivialities of life—the pomposity of Polonius, the peasant humour of the gravedigger, the foppishness of Osric, no less than the struggle in Hamlet's soul, or the remorse and fear that torture the heart of the guilty king. In one point of construction they are alike. Shakespeare, like the Greeks, ends his plays, not with the crash of catastrophe, but, even in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, with a slight continuation of the action which links the eddying of the play to the vast flow of the river of continuous life. As Professor Murray tersely puts it in his *Ancient Greek*

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Literature: 'Shakespeare was with the Greeks. He ends his tragedies by quiet scenes among minor characters and his sonnets with a calm generalising couplet. We end our plays with a point and our sonnets with the weightiest line.'

Pity that this delicate touch of Shakespeare's art should be so universally obscured in the acting editions of the modern Shakespearean stage.

And this gentle ending is the symbol of a deeper likeness. As the close of the *Oresteia* speaks of peace and redemption, so the great plays of Shakespeare's later period—*The Tempest, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale*—are dramas of reconciliation and forgiveness. In Shakespeare we can trace, as Professor Dowden has so admirably traced, the evolution of the poet's mind, and discern how it comes as the result of long experience of life to this calm and peace-bearing interpretation of life's mystery. In Æschylus we have not the material for a similar study; but we can hardly doubt that in the one as in the other the conclusion that the last word of the mysterious purpose which rules our life is the word of reconciliation, was the fruit of spiritual insight made clear, and mellow, and strong by the experience of spiritual conflict. A likeness closely akin to this is the sympathy of either poet with the more repulsive as well as with the more attractive of his characters. Both understand all that can be pleaded for the worst actions of men. In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* the wrongs, the intolerable wrongs, of Shylock are finely and sympathetically represented as the mainspring of his meditated revenge. In the *Oresteia* the pleading of the mother's heart for vengeance for her murdered child is so emphasised that even as we shudder we understand.

Mr. Churton Collins has admirably brought out in his recent book of *Studies in Shakespeare* the close likeness of Clytemnestra to Lady Macbeth, of the

γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ

to her who cries to her shrinking lord—

> But screw your courage to the sticking-place,
> And we'll not fail;

and to whom he answers:

> Bring forth men-children only;
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males.

To labour the point after so distinguished a critic would be something more than superfluous; but it may be permitted to dwell for a moment on what has been well called the bisexual power of the great poets, the man's understanding of the woman's heart, extreme in evil as supreme in good. Alike in Clytemnestra and in Lady Macbeth, the restlessness, the craft, the cruelty are painted with unflinching

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hand, and yet in both there is the touch of the woman's natural pity, and shrinking from the deed of blood even when she herself has set her hand to it.

> For me 'tis all-sufficient meed,
> Tho' little wealth or power were won,
> So I can say, '*Tis past and done.*
> *The bloody lust and murderous,*
> *The inborn frensy of our house,*
> *Is ended by my deed.* (*Agam.* 1551.)

> Had he not resembled
> My father as he slept, I had done 't. (*Macbeth*, II. ii. 13.)

The close juxtaposition on the stage of these two writers, so diverse, so similar, both so strangely modern in their dealing with the great problems of life and duty, of Fate and ordinance divine, will doubtless reveal to us many new contrasts and new analogies.

There could be no more fitting or more legitimate use for the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre which Stratford-on-Avon owes to the wise and generous initiative of the late Charles Edward Flower.

R. S. de Courcy Laffan.

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NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND NAVAL STRENGTH

Of all subjects of imperial importance the most abiding interest attaches to the navy. And two things with regard to the navy force themselves with special urgency at the present time on the minds of all who are really in the habit of thinking imperially. One is the enormous height to which naval expenditure in this country has now reached. The other is the problem of discovering a sure test by which we may satisfy ourselves whether all this expenditure is really justified or not. Nearly three years ago, in an article contributed to this Review at the time of what was known as the Mediterranean scare, I endeavoured to put together some part of the information available to, but not easily accessible by, the public on these two points. But the figures of 1901 are already out of date. I purpose now, not indeed to continue, or correct, or bring up to date the comparative statements of the former article, but to approach anew the consideration of the naval question in its two leading aspects—the financial, and what for want of a better term I will call the political aspect. We have to realise how much we are spending and have spent, and how much more we may be committing ourselves to in the future. We have also to consider what the true standard of our naval strength ought to be, and that, as everybody now admits, is essentially a political question.

The expenditure on the navy is large and growing, but it is only one element in a continually increasing total. If we were saving in other directions we might more easily acquiesce in our naval budgets, but in considering whether we can afford even our present naval expenditure we must have regard to our liabilities in other directions. Ten years ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer framed his budget on an estimated total expenditure of nearly 94,000,000*l.* The corresponding figure this year, Lord Welby estimates, will probably be 144,000,000*l.* The Army Estimates, which ten years ago stood at about 18,000,000*l.*, are now close on 29,000,000*l.* The Navy Estimates have risen from 17,000,000*l.* to about 37,000,000*l.*; the Civil Service and Revenue Estimates from about 32,000,000*l.*

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to about 47,000,000*l.* It will be seen that by far the largest increase has taken place in the expenditure on the navy. The figures I have given are for estimated as distinguished from actual expenditure, and for net as distinguished from gross estimates. In ten years the annual expenditure of the nation thus measured has increased by, say, fifty millions, and of this sum not less than twenty millions falls to the share of the navy.

But these figures do not tell the whole tale of naval expenditure. We have now what may be described as two naval budgets—one contained in the ordinary estimates for the year, the other in the Naval Works Act for the time being. The real expenditure on the navy for the financial year about to begin may be stated thus:

	£
Gross estimate (including appropriations in aid) .	38,827,838
Expenditure for naval service provided in Civil Service and other estimates	835,010
Anticipated expenditure on naval works provided for by loan (Naval Works Act)	5,000,000
	£43,662,848

From this sum should be deducted the amount of the annuities falling due in payment of interest and sinking fund for loans made in previous years—viz. 634,238*l.* The balance—viz. 43,028,610*l.*—is the true naval expenditure of the coming year. The whole of this vast sum, less contributions from India and the colonies to the extent of 431,400*l.*, falls on the resources of the United Kingdom. The outside Empire will this year contribute as nearly as possible 1 per cent. of the cost of the Imperial Navy. The true aggregate expenditure of 1894–5, calculated in the same way, would be as nearly as possible 18,600,000*l.*, and the real increase in actual expenditure would be about twenty-four millions and a half.

It is imperative that the country should realise the true aggregate of its naval expenditure and the rapid rate of its increase. But this necessary financial review would be incomplete if we did not emphasise once more the peculiar feature of naval expenditure which makes its increase so serious a matter for the future. You might conceivably call a halt in the civil or military expenditure of the nation by merely continuing without increasing the existing scale. There is no dominant item in that expenditure, as there is in the vote for the navy, automatically entailing future, though it may be distant, increases. The increase of the expenditure on what is called new construction—the making of new vessels of all kinds—involves an early increase in the number of men and in the total of the votes for pay and victualling, and a later but equally certain increase in the pension votes and other votes. In the last decade the estimate for new construction has risen steadily and rapidly from four and a half to more than eleven millions. If we resolve not to increase, but only

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to maintain, the provision for new construction, we shall not stop the automatic increase of the Naval Estimates. The other votes will grow in spite of ourselves. I admit that new schemes with respect to *personnel* may probably make the ultimate increase less serious than it would otherwise have been. But the fact remains that the rate at which we have been adding new ships to the navy necessitates a gross expenditure the full extent of which will not be apparent for many years.

It is not surprising that the First Lord of the Admiralty should have felt it necessary to offer some justification of this stupendous outlay. Usually the naval demands of the year have been laid before Parliament without any explanation beyond the statement that they were deemed necessary by the responsible advisers of the Crown. This year the First Lord's statement contains the following sentences:

> The Board of Admiralty are well aware that the charge they are asking Parliament to sanction is a heavy one, but Parliament must remember how heavy is the responsibility cast by it on the Board of providing the country with a navy strong enough to sustain a struggle with the navies of any two Powers, and also strong enough to ensure reasonable security to its vast sea-borne trade and to the food supply of the people.

These are remarkable words. There seems to me to lurk in the last lines some confusion of expression, if not of thought. I can hardly think that the First Lord meant to say that the navy must be strong enough to beat any two hostile navies and, over and above all that, to provide a defence for sea-borne trade and food supplies. The intention of the writer, I imagine, was to define the standard of strength and also to state one of the important objects for which a navy should exist. It is by being strong enough to defeat hostile navies that our navy will defend trade and protect food supplies. But it is probable that those who are interested in trade and food supplies cherish the belief that in time of war our navy, or part of it, will be told off for the special protection of the mercantile marine at sea by convoys, or by policing of trade routes or otherwise. The first object of our navy in time of war, it has been again and again declared, will be to obtain command of the sea by the destruction of the enemy's fleets. No minor purpose will be suffered to interfere with that dominating one. We should not divert strength into attacks on foreign commerce, and foreign navies, it may be supposed, would find it equally necessary to follow the same policy. The idea of making the destruction of commerce a prime object in naval warfare is condemned by Captain Mahan as a delusion:

> Especially is it misleading [he says] when the nation against whom it is to be directed possesses, as Great Britain did and does, the two requisites of a strong sea power—a widespread healthy commerce and a powerful navy. Where the revenues and industries of a country can be concentrated into a few

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treasure-ships, like the flota of Spanish galleons, the sinews of war may perhaps be cut by a stroke; but when its wealth is contained in thousands of coming and going ships, when the roots of the system spread wide and far and strike deep, it can stand many a cruel shock and lose many a goodly bough without the life being touched.[1]

From this point of view the very magnitude of our sea-borne trade is in a certain sense its salvation.

Assuming, then, that the official words are not intended to throw doubt on this doctrine, we may confine ourselves to the question of the standards. It will be observed that the First Lord speaks of the two-Power rule as having been imposed upon the Admiralty by Parliament. Historically the statement might be questioned. The formula was not invented by or in the House of Commons. It was an official inspiration; Parliament acquiesced in it, as it has for years been accustomed to acquiesce in official proposals and to accept the reasons alleged in support of them. But it contains an important admission which should be placed on record. It admits by implication that the question of the standards is essentially what I have called a political rather than a naval question. It is for the Government of the day, having regard to its own policy and its own international relations, to say against what or how many foreign Powers it must be on its guard. The types of ships, their distribution into squadrons, and all other technical questions must be settled by the Admiralty on the usual terms of official responsibility. But the size of the navy is not, any more than the size of the army, a question to be settled by the department in charge.

When the First Lord, therefore, lays down the two-Power rule as the last word of Parliament, the taxpayer will be justified in asking whether it is a sound rule. I have for some time doubted whether the handy formula of ten years ago is applicable to the circumstances of the present day. It appears to me that it is open to two criticisms. The international naval position is no longer what it was. And our naval energies, so far as they can be tested by means intelligible to laymen, appear to have been directed, perhaps unconsciously, by a rather different rule.

When the rule first became familiar in parliamentary discussions, the two Powers nearest to ourselves in naval strength were France and Russia. The apparently abstract formula had really a concrete meaning, and was so understood by those who took the trouble to think about the question at all. It was not really a naval formula; an international theory or policy lay behind. But consider for a moment the changes that have taken place in international relations and in the comparative strength of navies in ten years. Our relations with France appear to have wholly changed their character. There appears to be good reason to believe that a settlement has been

[1] *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 539.

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made of all the outstanding questions between the two countries—questions, be it observed, arising not from conflicting interests at home, but from imperial ambitions and obligations. Such a settlement—if it has really been effected, and if it has been wisely and justly conceived—must profoundly modify the naval policy of the two countries. France has already reduced her naval estimates by an amount which would represent in proportion a reduction of three millions in our own. Can it be pretended that the understanding between France and Russia is exactly what it was ten years ago, so far at least as this country is concerned? Again, without breaking through the wise reserve of recent parliamentary debates, it may be said without offence that in applying the two-Power standard now the impairment of Russia's naval strength must be taken into account. Further, since the rule was first formulated new elements have come into the problem. Ten years ago the only navies other than our own included in the official return [2] were those of France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Austria. In the last return Austria drops out and two new naval powers appear—the United States with, for example, nineteen first-class battleships built and building, and Japan with six. The navy estimates of the United States, which ten years ago stood at about five or five and a half millions sterling, have risen to sixteen millions, and will, it is said, in the coming year amount to nineteen millions. A glance at the two Comparative Returns presented dated 1893 and 1903 will convince anybody that so far as navies are concerned we are living in an altered world. Can it be possible that a rule which filled the conditions, naval and political, of 1893 is suitable to the quite different conditions of 1904? Has not the formula become an obsolete shibboleth? If it retains any vitality at all, it must be as the expression of an abstract standard, needing some justification and explanation. It would appear to commit us to building against the United States, and against our actual ally Japan—on the old principle, I suppose, that prudence requires us to treat our present friends as potential enemies.

But in any case, whether abstract or concrete, the two-Power standard is not the rule that has actually governed our naval expenditure. In the article already referred to [3] I gave reasons for believing that the actual standard was that of equality with one half of the rest of the world. The developments of the last three years have, I believe, still further fortified the argument, and I am not going to bring the figures up to date. But one or two salient facts may be mentioned. In the last Comparative Return, the tonnage of first-class battleships built and building amounts to nearly eight

[2] The return alluded to in these pages is the Comparative Return (Navies of the World) annually presented to Parliament—usually late in the Session.

[3] *Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1901.

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hundred thousand for Great Britain, a figure in excess of the aggregate of France, Germany, and Russia, and more than equal to one half the tonnage of all other navies combined. Armoured and protected cruisers of the first and second class number about ninety in the British, as against 106 in all other navies. In the year of the return (1903) we were spending 35,000,000*l.* on our navy, against a total of 57,000,000*l.* expended by the other six Powers. If the estimates now before Parliament are accepted, I calculate that we shall have added new vessels to the navy to the value of more than 80,000,000*l.* in ten years. I have given up the attempt to calculate the corresponding expenditure of other Powers, but it should be noted that one of the elements of our naval strength is the comparative cheapness of our production.[4]

Some particulars about a naval arm in which we were for a time supposed to be deficient may be in place here. Three years ago the question of adopting the submarine was pressed in this Review upon the attention of the Admiralty and the country. Mr. Goschen, when First Lord, refused to make any definite statement. In April 1900 he described the submarine boat as 'a weapon for maritime Powers on the defensive.' The question of the best way of meeting its attack was receiving close attention from the Admiralty, and it seemed certain 'that the reply to this weapon must be looked for in other directions than in building submarine boats ourselves, for it is clear that one submarine boat cannot fight another.' A few weeks later he declared that 'the nations which were likely to have the greatest use for these boats might gain from these experiments more than others, and he did not propose to make publicly any declaration as to these boats. Of course he did not wish to encourage or to discourage other nations, but he must ask the Committee to excuse him going into the question.' But the very next year's estimates contained a provision for five submarine boats. Lord Goschen was no longer at the Admiralty, but the preliminary steps had been taken under his *régime*. The explanation given by him in the House of Lords in July 1901 ought to be quoted, along with his previous declarations: 'It was in September last that, without parliamentary sanction, the then Board ordered five submarine boats, but we did not announce it, we allowed ourselves to continue to be criticised. It

[4] The Admiralty estimate for the *nine* years ending the 31st March, 1904, is as follows:

	£
Great Britain	69,981,708
France	32,499,491
Russia	28,667,102
Germany	22,153,247

The British figures represent actual expenditure (except for the last financial year); the others are estimates, information as to actual expenditure not being available. The British figures include gun-mountings, on which the expenditure was nearly five millions.

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is frequently necessary to bear criticism in silence for a long time rather than to make any premature declaration of the projects which you have in hand and of the work which you are undertaking. It is rather interesting, in connection with that, to note a French complaint that perfidious Albion had said nothing about the matter when she was going to build submarine boats, but had rather given the contrary impression, whereas England is now going to take advantage of all the experience which has been gained by other countries. Well, I do not think that is at all a bad result.' This is certainly in more respects than one a noteworthy explanation. I am quite satisfied with the decision of the Admiralty to build submarines, but the precedent of incurring large expenditure without parliamentary sanction is dangerous. It may be remembered that Mr. Goschen's supplemental programme of 1899 and the recent purchase of the Chilian ships were also undertaken without parliamentary sanction.

Every succeeding year has added new submarines to the fleet. The first five were avowedly experimental. Four new vessels were announced in 1902, ten in 1903, and ten more this year. Of this flotilla of twenty-nine I gather from the First Lord's statement that eight have been completed, eleven will be under construction in the financial year which begins to-day, and of these ten will be completed within the year, and ten new boats will be commenced. It is no longer said that the construction of these vessels is a mere experiment. The size of the programme forbids that supposition, and requires us to infer that submarines in our own as in other navies have come to stay. Meanwhile the secret of the weapon and its modification is well kept. The annual estimates omit the particulars which are usually given about other vessels, and it is difficult to make out from them what is the cost of the submarine. The first nine are entered in the Appropriation Accounts as costing in all about 127,000*l.* for hulls and about 286,000*l.* for machinery. The displacement of the first five (Holland type) is stated in the Comparative Return to be 120 tons, and they have one torpedo tube. The later additions—the No. A class—have a displacement of 200 tons, and some of them have two torpedo tubes, and the cost, we may infer, will be proportionately higher. A new special design is being prepared for the succeeding boats. Altogether a large and active programme to have taken effect in the period of three years since the question was first mooted in this Review.

How about other navies? The Comparative Return of 1903, which contains the last information to which I have access, gives the following results. Great Britain had then five built and fourteen building or about to be laid down; France had fifteen built and forty-three building or about to be laid down; the United States three built and five building; Italy one built and two building;

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Russia two building. Germany and Japan had none, either built or building. It will be seen that France still retains her lead, but it may be noted that a very large number of the French submarines that are building have a displacement of 67 tons. Some, however, reach 200 tons, and one is entered at 296 tons. A number of the French submarines carry as many as three and four torpedo tubes.

The recent manœuvres—brought to a premature close by the terrible disaster to No. A 1—have been described, and their results have been announced with a good deal of detail in various newspapers. We are told that the umpires have held that four battleships have been torpedoed by submarines. On the other hand, it is said on the same sort of authority that a netting has been devised which catches up the approaching submarine and brings it to the surface. It would probably be wise to receive all this information with a certain amount of scepticism. In due time we shall doubtless know all that prudence will permit to be told about a new naval weapon which all Admiralties treat as a close secret.

I should like to take this opportunity of adverting to two other elements of naval strength which are generally left out of account in comparative estimates. One—the less important—is the force of merchant cruisers. The other is represented by the expenditure on naval works—the least understood, I fear, of all the constituents of the naval budget. As to the merchant cruisers, I am not quite clear at present what the policy of the Admiralty is. Last session we were given to understand that the old system of subsidies, which with more or less doubt as to its utility successive Boards had maintained, was to come to an end. But a new and more ambitious system is apparently to take its place. The Cunard agreement provides for the construction of two reat vessels by the Cunard Company, with money advanced by the Government at a low rate of interest, and on the terms that a large annual payment is to be made by the Government by way of retainer. As this scheme has been definitely accepted by Parliament and is now being carried into execution, I do not think it worth while to recapitulate the objections, financial and other, to which it is open. The main purpose of the plan was to make sure of two British steamers having a greater speed than anything else afloat. There are three ships in the German merchant marine faster than any man-of-war or merchant ship belonging to Great Britain. The two new Cunard ships are to have a speed of 24½ knots, which will give them the advantage of a knot or more over the German vessels. A recent return, moved for by Lord Spencer, seems to show that under the agreements still in force, including the new Cunard arrangement, there will be a fleet of more than fifty vessels suitable for use as merchant cruisers, built or building, and having a speed of 13 knots or over. I imagine that this would establish our superiority in this

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arm, whatever its value may be, of much the same degree as our superiority in ships of the line already illustrated.

I now come to naval works, and I propose to state as briefly and as lucidly as I can the general scheme we are now working on. The Admiralty is not only an employer of seamen and a builder and buyer of ships, it is and must be largely concerned in works on land. There came a time when the expansion of the navy, on which attention had been concentrated, outran the land accommodation. At the close of the period covered by the Naval Defence Act of 1887 it was found that while all other elements of naval power had been strengthened this one had been neglected. In the period of ten years ending in 1895 the whole Navy Estimates had been increased by 50 per cent., the number of men had increased by 50 per cent., and the gross tonnage of the navy had all but doubled.[5] The provision for works alone remained stationary. The land accommodation—the docks and dockyards, the harbours, the barracks, and all the other works—are obviously as essential to the fleet as any other part of its equipment, and it was impossible that the expansion of the fleet should not be followed by a corresponding expansion in works. Further, the torpedo had introduced a new danger and necessitated a new system of protection—the protection of enclosed harbours within which the ships might lie in safety from torpedo attack. That was the situation which confronted Lord Spencer's Board of Admiralty in 1895. We had made a large addition to the general estimates both in ships and in men, but we found an accumulation of arrears in works which seemed to be beyond the scope of an ordinary Naval Estimate. Accordingly that Board proposed and Parliament sanctioned a great new programme of naval works to be paid for by money raised on loans. That is the origin of the long series of Acts known as the Naval Works Acts. That is why we have two naval budgets instead of one—the annual estimates and the programme of the biennial Naval Works Bill. It was at first intended that the works should be carried out under annual Bills, so as to give the House of Commons the same sort of control that it has over the annual Estimates, but an easy-going Parliament has been content with an opportunity for discussion every two years. I am aware that the whole loan system has been subject to criticism on financial grounds. It does undoubtedly disguise from a torpid public the true amount of its annual expenditure. As one of those who were responsible for the first step taken in 1895, I am still satisfied that the demands of the navy and the financial situation of the country, as it then appeared to be, justified Parliament in placing works of urgent necessity and permanent value in a special category, and spreading the burden of the expense, as we did, over a period of

[5] This was considered in 1895 as an enormous expansion. The figures of the present time given above show how we have progressed since then.

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years. To complete the financial part of the statement, I may add that the annual expenditure on works provided for in the Estimates has not been reduced, but has increased as much in proportion as any other votes. This year—apart from the annuities which formed interest and sinking fund for the borrowed money—the Works Vote calls for a round million. In the days before the Naval Works Acts the figures usually were under one half of that amount. In the coming year the gross expenditure on works (apart from the annuities) will be six millions as against the half-million of ten years ago. We began modestly enough in 1895. In the first Naval Works Act we took authority to spend about nine millions and a half, of which one million was expected to be spent in the next ensuing year. In the last Act—the Act of 1903—the total expenditure now authorised is given as 31,640,859*l.*, but there are some new items, such as the new 'establishment' at Rosyth, for which no estimate was given. We shall probably be within the mark if we say that the total of nine millions and a half proposed to be raised by loan on the original Bill of 1895 will be swollen to forty millions when the figures come in. This amount has been piled up by successive additions to the list of works to be constructed out of borrowed money. But we are within sight of the end. We are assured that no new items will be added to the list. Annual Acts will still be necessary to provide the instalments of the money required, but the great programme is at last complete. To be quite fair, I should say that although the total provision of the original Act is less than a quarter of the amount now required, the whole of the programme contemplated by the Admiralty in 1895 was not contained in the Act of that year. Many of the additions subsequently made would probably have been proposed by Lord Spencer's Board had it continued in office.

Now what are the great works which have necessitated borrowing on this extensive scale? They fall into three great groups. In the first come the enclosed and defensive harbours to which I have already referred—Gibraltar, Portland, Dover. In the second comes the adaptation of ports to naval needs, represented most conspicuously by the immense extension of existing dockyards. More than four millions in this way are being spent at Keyham dockyard, three millions at Gibraltar (where the establishment will be practically new), a million and a quarter at Malta, as much at Hong Kong, two million and a half at Simon's Bay, to say nothing of the as yet unestimated expenditure on the Chatham dockyard extension and the new establishment at Rosyth. The third, or miscellaneous, group includes as its present items: barracks, hospitals, gunnery schools, and naval colleges. The substitution of barracks on shore for hulks was an essential feature of the original policy, which has been continued and developed in all the later Bills. The naval interest of the whole scheme attaches chiefly to the first two groups—the

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immense provision for docks and harbours all over the world. The essential idea of the system may be expressed by saying that it was intended to provide *housing* accommodation for ships and men. It is worth noting that the Bill of 1895 was so favourably received by the House of Commons of that day that items not originally in the Bill, though avowed by the Admiralty as in contemplation, were inserted during the debate in committee. I rather think that Dover Harbour was one of those items, and the option of making more docks than one at Gibraltar was forced on the Admiralty by the prevailing sense of the House of Commons. The immense development of the scheme in later years must not, however, be taken as having the approval of those who supported the original proposals of the Government of 1895. The extensions at Gibraltar and many of the new items have been objected to, and the financial uneasiness has increased as the liabilities have increased.

I am less concerned here with the financial question than with the naval question. Surely this vast expenditure points to an element of naval strength which is almost entirely ignored in Comparative Statements. In applying the two-Power or any other standard are we to ignore naval works altogether? If our enclosed harbours, and docks, and dockyards, and all the rest of it, are part of the necessary equipment of the fleet—and if they are not they have no justification—is it not opportune to inquire how other navies stand in this respect? I have seen no such comparison, and the materials at my command would hardly justify me in making one. I doubt if all the nations of the world put together could match us in that form of naval activity which is represented by the Naval Works Acts. There is one official publication which might be consulted with advantage by anybody desiring to make a comparison between ourselves and other navies. I refer to the *Dock Book*, published by the Admiralty. The fourth edition was printed in 1900, and an Appendix of Additions and Corrections brings it down to May 1902. It contains particulars of the principal wet and dry docks, patent slips, &c., of the world, both public and private. It would be difficult perhaps to reduce the information to comparative schedules, but the preponderance of Great Britain seems to me very well assured.

Again, anybody who casts his eye over the list of our foreign stations subserved by the ordinary works vote of the Navy Estimates may well ask himself what foreign navies have to show in counterpoise. A chart of the world containing the stations and ports of Great Britain, scattered all over the world, and the locally limited positions belonging to foreign Powers, would be a useful addendum to the Navy Estimates. I should be greatly surprised if an expert examination of British naval resources as expressed in works did not show on our side advantages of the most serious import in any comparative estimate of the strength of fleets.

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I venture to sum up the naval position thus:

(1) The two-Power standard, whatever may have been its usefulness ten or fifteen years ago, has ceased to have an intelligible meaning now, and it has not, in fact, been applied.

(2) Many elements of naval strength, some but not all of which are indicated in this article, have been uniformly left out of account in the current estimates of relative position.

(3) The whole naval defence of the vast British Empire, numbering 400 million inhabitants, falls, less 1 per cent., upon the forty-one millions, mostly poor people, of the United Kingdom.

(4) However defective may be the hitherto accepted standards, it is extremely difficult to suggest an alternative standard.

(5) Our system of naval expenditure, such as it has been for the last ten years, undoubtedly involves increased expenditure in the aggregate, unless we reduce the shipbuilding vote.

(6) As we have long declared that our naval budgets are determined by the naval budgets of the rest of the world, and as other nations make, or would if challenged make, the like declarations for themselves, the only hope of relief from a ruinous competition in naval expenditure would seem to rest on international agreement.

(7) Both parties in this country agree in declaring such an agreement to be eminently desirable. The sole point of difference is the question who should begin. The minority in opposition, which within a few months may be the majority in power, has voted, practically without any dissent, that our supreme position in naval strength makes it the duty of Great Britain to take the initiative.

EDMUND ROBERTSON.

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UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

If we are to judge by the public prints, there are few questions which seem to interest the Irish public more than that of university education. This is shown by the various plans for reconstructing or reforming the existing university system which have been proposed by distinguished persons, and recommended or criticised in speeches and pamphlets which have commanded general attention. These speeches and literary productions have, however, often betrayed very imperfect acquaintance both with the history of universities and with their mission in the modern world. This want of knowledge considerably depreciates their practical value; for, although the lessons of history do not always admit of didactic exposition, some knowledge of the past in matters of education, as in other questions of public policy, is essential for wise action in the present.

In the dawn of civilisation men gathered together to investigate concurrently and discuss with one another the complex problems connected with the mystery of life. It was with that object that they congregated at Athens to ponder on the words of wisdom which fell from the lips of the poets, philosophers, and statesmen who lived in that city of light. 'It was,' says Cardinal Newman, 'what the student gazed on, what he heard, what he caught by the magic of sympathy, not what he read, that was the education furnished by Athens.' Alexandria, the birthplace of Christian theology, was also before the advent of Christ a great intellectual centre. The shrine of learning known as the Museum or Home of the Muses has made it famous for ever. In a remarkable discourse which Karl Ernst v. Baer delivered at St. Petersburg, entitled *Blicke auf die Entwickelung der Wissenschaften*, he suggests that the origin of our universities may be traced to the Museum of Alexandria;[1] and Dr. Sandys, in his *History of Classical Scholarship*, seems to hold the same opinion.[2] With great respect to such distinguished authorities, it seems to me, as ancient society vanished completely in the chaos of the declining Roman Empire, that Dr. Rashdall, in his work on universities, is right in considering that the origin of our present university system

[1] *Recueil des Actes de l'Académie de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1831–35.
[2] *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 106.

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must be sought for in mediæval thought and action. It is certain that the existing old universities of Europe sprang up in the middle ages when modern nations were forming. To comprehend their origin, we must understand the language in which they were described and the notions held about them.

No expression to describe a university is so common in the middle ages as 'Studium generale.' According to Denifle, the learned Tyrolese Dominican, one of the greatest living authorities on mediæval universities, it was used in the year 1233 to describe the school of Vercelli, although a very similar expression, 'Studium universale,' had been applied a few years previously to the school of Toulouse.[3] The same learned author tells us that it appeared for the first time in Papal documents of the 15th of May, 1247, and the 6th of February, 1248, during the Pontificate of Innocent the Fourth. On the 6th of April, 1255, Pope Alexander the Fourth used it in connection with Salamanca, and on the 15th of November in the next year to describe the great school of Paris. 'Studium generale' was not, however, the oldest expression to signify a collection of scholars. 'Studium' alone was employed. Peter de Veneis, the famous Chancellor of the Emperor Frederick the Second, speaks, for instance, of the 'Neapolitanum studium,' and in the thirteenth century 'studium' was used to designate the educational establishments of a city.

The question arises why was the word 'generale' added to it? Not certainly, as some people think, for the purpose of describing a place where every conceivable subject was taught. Very important faculties were wanting in the mediæval 'studia.' Montpellier was mainly a medical school, from the time it was visited by Adelbert the Second of Mainz in 1137 till it was swept away in the hurricane of the French Revolution. Bologna was mainly a school of law. Theology was not taught there till late in the fourteenth century. For a long period during the middle ages civil law was not studied at all in Paris. The notions which gathered round the expression 'studium generale' were, no doubt, vague. But for practical purposes it meant a place to which anybody, no matter who he was or what his views might be, could come and learn and aspire to teach. As time went on the term 'studium generale' gave way to the word 'universitas' in describing a scholastic body. This word, as we all know, means an aggregate of persons. It was applied at one time to the municipalities of towns and to guilds. When first employed to designate a scholastic body it was used indifferently with such words as 'Corpus,' 'Collegium,' 'Societas,' 'Communio,' 'Consortium.'

The scholastic guilds, to which the term 'universitas' was applied, were forms of the movement of association which arose in

[3] Denifle, *Universitäten*, pp. 2, 3.

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the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and has had so deep and abiding an influence on the life of the Western world. These guilds were more important at Bologna and Paris than in any other intellectual centre. Dr. Rashdall happily describes Paris and Bologna as the two archetypes of universities. These schools were the outcome of the intellectual movement of the twelfth century which found expression in Italy in the revival of Roman Law, and in France in theological speculation. The study of Roman Law was revived in Bologna, mediæval Theology had its seat in Paris. Nearly all the secondary 'studia generalia' not established by Papal or Imperial charter were formed by secessions from Paris or Bologna. Those who founded them naturally held to the traditions and terms of the two great schools. 'Universitas' was the expression employed in both of them to denote a scholastic guild, and so it came to pass that it was gradually used to signify the title of a scholastic gathering formed on the model of Bologna or Paris.

One of the greatest of the children of Bologna was Padua, which soon proved a formidable rival to the mother university, ultimately surpassed it in importance, and became in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in some respects the leading university of Europe.

The great universities which owe their origin to Paris are well known; the most distinguished of them all were her two eldest daughters, the twin sisters, Oxford and Cambridge.

But there was an older university than either Paris or Bologna. This was the university of Salerno. Its origin is imperceptible in the grey dawn of mediæval history. There are some indications that medicine was studied there as early as the ninth century. It would appear that the medical traditions of the old Roman world were preserved in Southern Italy, as the traditions of Roman Law clung to localities in the northern part of the Peninsula. In the tenth century Salerno was already known for the skill of its physicians. Its European celebrity, however, dates from about the middle of the eleventh. It was a purely medical school. About the year 1130 Adelard of Bath, who had travelled through Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt, visited Salerno, and he tells us that he heard there a Greek philosopher discoursing on medicine and the nature of things, and among the subjects of that philosopher's inquiry was the cause of magnetic attraction, which Adelard is, I believe, the first Western writer to mention. It is uncertain whether Salerno owes its origin to ecclesiastical or secular founders. Renzi, who has given the greatest attention to this subject, does not decide the question.[4] Haeser, although he says that the origin of the school is 'in sagenhaftes Dunkel gehüllt,' maintains that it was secular. In support of this view he says that some of the medical professors were women, but Denifle points out that this argument is not conclusive, for that,

[4] 'Storia documentata della scuola medica di Salerno.'

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although Paris was pre-eminently an ecclesiastical school, Manegold, a layman, was Professor of Theology there, and his daughter occupied the Chair of Scripture.[5]

What has to be borne in mind is that all mediæval universities were occupied with research and the advancement of learning, and that, in so far as they were engaged in this work, arbitrary tests of religious orthodoxy were unknown. It was under a *régime* of freedom that the great mediæval universities shaped the thought of Europe and laid the foundations of the world we live in.

During the centuries when modern nations were forming, there was no great centre of university life in Ireland to evoke and weld together the latent intellectual forces of the country. The foundations of earlier times had disappeared. Professor O'Curry, in his lectures on the manuscript materials for Irish history, tells us that, before the mission of St. Patrick, there was a body of men in Ireland devoted to learning. After the introduction of Christianity, monasteries sprang up in various parts of the island, and in the four centuries which intervened between the date usually assigned for the death of St. Patrick and the invasions of the Northmen, many of these monasteries had developed into considerable schools. Armagh, Cashel, Ross, Lismore, and Bangor became very remarkable seats of learning, and Dr. Sandys[6] mentions that, at a time when knowledge of Greek had almost vanished in the West, that language was cultivated so successfully in the schools of Ireland that any one who knew it was assumed to have studied there. But all this civilisation perished during the invasions of the Northmen and in the chronic state of disturbance which followed.

Various attempts were made to found a university in Ireland during the later middle ages. They all failed. In 1312 John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, established a university in that city. He died, however, immediately afterwards, and his university only lived for thirteen months. His successor, Alexander Bicknor, founded another eight years later. He had the sympathies and support of King Edward the Third, but that university also dwindled away. In 1466 a university was founded at Drogheda, when Edward the Fourth was king, but the times were unpropitious, and it also failed. In 1475 another attempt was made by the Dominicans. They were supported by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, who, at their request, issued a Bull for the erection of a university in Dublin. This Bull constituted the university as a self-dependent corporation, and with liberal elective powers bestowed on its members. The intention was to found an institution which could stand alone, manage its own affairs, and grow great and influential by the development of inherent strength. This project also came to nothing. Then came the Reformation. The

[5] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 281. Denifle, *Universitäten*, p. 233.
[6] *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 436.

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history of university education in Ireland in its general lines since then is well known. Trinity College was founded in the days of Queen Elizabeth, but its statutes were subsequently altered considerably in the reign of Charles the First by Archbishop Laud. This institution has always been looked upon by all Anglo-Irishmen with pride and satisfaction. They have good reason for these feelings. The contribution of Trinity to human thought and progress is known to all educated men. If that great institution could boast of no other name but that of Berkeley, that alone would be sufficient to give it a high place in the history of human thought. But among the Trinity men of our own time it would be easy to mention several of high distinction who have rendered brilliant and abiding service to the cause of culture.

Unfortunately, however, Trinity has only commanded the respect and regard of a part of the nation. The circumstance of its origin caused it to be connected with a particular school of theology and a particular Christian Communion. This was indeed the fate of all such institutions founded about the time of the Reformation, and even in earlier foundations with powerful traditions of freedom, the idea of liberty of teaching gradually faded. Religious tests began to be applied in the leading universities of Europe, with consequences fatal to that freedom which is as necessary for a university to rise to the height of its mission as air is for human existence. A university is not a place for instruction so much as for intellectual emancipation. What repression did to destroy the intellectnal life of the Spanish universities is written in the history of that country in characters so large that he who runs may read. What Oxford sank to in the eighteenth century we all know from the student life of Gibbon. It was, however, towards the end of that century that Trinity College, Dublin, admitted Roman Catholics to degrees. This action was followed by a succession of measures of consistent liberality placing that institution in advance, in point of comprehensiveness, of the two great universities of England. In spite, however, of these substantial reforms Trinity College maintained, throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, its essentially Protestant character, and all but Protestants were excluded from its highest distinctions. It could, therefore, not be said to afford adequate provision for higher education in a country where the majority of the people are Roman Catholics.

In order to make such provision it was determined to supplement Trinity College by institutions conceived in the spirit of modern times, and in which also it would be possible to obtain the highest education on conditions cheaper than at Trinity. No one took a greater interest in this policy than His Royal Highness Prince Albert. His great desire was to see introduced into Ireland the scientific methods which obtained in his own country.

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In 1845 two measures were introduced into Parliament. One was for the reconstitution of Maynooth with a liberal endowment as a seminary in which the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland should be trained. This college received an annual grant from Parliament from that time till the Irish Episcopal Church was disestablished and disendowed. Then the grant to Maynooth was capitalised, and the sum handed over to those responsible for the future of the institution. The other measure established three provincial colleges, in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, constituted so as to provide for members of the various communions. It was provided that in each college there should be Deans of Residence, clergymen who could attend to the religious wants of members of their Church. Unfortunately, there is no salary attached to the office of the Dean of Residence. In the Queen's College in Cork there are actually four Deans of Residence for each of the four non-Roman Catholic denominations, namely, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan Methodist, and the Association of Non-subscribing Presbyterians. Although there are at present 130 Roman Catholic students in that college, there is unfortunately no Roman Catholic Dean of Residence, because no Roman Catholic priest would be permitted by the authorities of his Church to hold such a position.

The Queen's Colleges were opened in 1849, and next year, in conformity with the original conception of the scheme, the Queen's University was founded. It must be remembered that these local colleges do not receive students in residence within their walls. The students live in the town, as in a German university, and go to the colleges for lectures. Indeed, Professor Cairnes, in one of his political essays, pointed out with great truth and force that the Queen's Colleges were a distinct step in the direction of introducing into this kingdom the system of education which has done so much for Germany. The main principle upon which they rest is now generally adopted in England, and in the Yorkshire College in Leeds, which is from a religious point of view similar to the Queen's Colleges, not only is no objection made to Roman Catholics frequenting that institution, but even nuns are allowed to use it. The Queen's Colleges seemed at first as if they were likely to meet with general approval. The statutes of the university were drawn up and shown to leading members of the Catholic hierarchy. Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was one of the original senators of the Queen's University. But in the very same year as the Queen's Colleges were opened, Dr. Croly, Archbishop of Armagh, died, and he was succeeded by Dr. Cullen, who, on the death of Dr. Murray a year or so after, was transferred to Dublin. Dr. Cullen was very much opposed to the new educational policy, and, under his influence, a synod of Roman Catholic bishops, which assembled at Thurles, condemned the Queen's Colleges and warned Catholics

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against making use of them. It has often been stated that the condemnation by the bishops was only adopted by a small majority; but this is really immaterial. The minority, such as it was, acquiesced at least officially in the views of the majority, and the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland has ever since maintained its position of hostility to these institutions.

The Queen's Colleges were also attacked from another quarter. Obscurantist Protestants were as much opposed to them as those who agreed with the views of Dr. Cullen. Sir Robert Inglis, who at that time represented the University of Oxford, gave them the name of 'godless colleges,' and this singularly inappropriate expression has been used as a catchword for the defamation of the institutions ever since.

In spite of opposition the Queen's University and Colleges were steadily growing in influence and usefulness when, under political pressure, and without any regard to the true interests of education. the system was overthrown and the present Royal University of Ireland created. This institution is in reality an examining board. It has been in existence now for some three-and-twenty years, and, judging from the evidence given before the recent Royal Commission, almost every one in Ireland who takes intelligent interest in the subject of university education is thoroughly dissatisfied with it. In these circumstances it is difficult to see how the Government of the country can long escape the obligation of dealing with the subject, however much politicians may strive to put off doing so.

I cannot but think that, if the question of reform of university education in Ireland be approached in a scientific spirit, although it is neither possible nor desirable rigidly to adopt the university system of one country and apply it to another, it will become clear that the true model to follow is the university system of Germany. It is the system which has been adopted by the whole of Europe, and, from the point of view of the spread of knowledge, the advancement of learning and the development of national life most suited to the modern world.

It is a remarkable fact that, up to the middle of the fourteenth century, no university at all existed in Germany. The great intellectual movement of the twelfth century found no expression there. The troubles which followed the Reformation, culminating in the Thirty Years' War, were unfavourable to culture and progress. At last, in 1648, the peace of Westphalia was signed; ten years afterwards, that of the Pyrenees and the history of modern Europe began. At that time a man of extraordinary genius was a sovereign of a small principality in Northern Germany. Frederick William of Hohenzollern, known in history as the Great Elector, realised the idea which was fatal to Wallenstein, and laid the foundations of a State in Northern Germany so deep and solid that they have been able to

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bear, not only the edifice subsequently built on them by his great-grandson, Frederick the Great, but also the imposing structure which has been erected during our lifetime. The history of the Great Elector, like that of so many members of his House, is intimately connected with the history of culture. No family has been more associated with universities than the House of Hohenzollern. Frankfort on the Oder was founded by Joachim the First in 1506; Königsberg in 1594; Duisberg by the Great Elector in 1656; Halle in 1694 by the Elector Frederick the Third, who afterwards became the first king of his house with the title of Frederick the First. Frederick William the Third founded Berlin in 1809, Breslau in 1811, Bonn in 1818, and Kaiser William the First Strasburg in 1871. The University of Duisberg, the foundation of the Great Elector, has its special place in history, because it was from there, under the influence of Clauberg, that the Cartesian philosophy spread over Central Europe. But, in truth, every one of these Hohenzollern foundations has a striking and characteristic history. As regards Königsberg, one has only to remember that it was the University of Kant. Halle and Berlin are of capital importance in the history of culture. Christian Thomasius assisted the Elector Frederick the Third to found the University of Halle. He was the man who gave from his chair in that university the deadly blow to the belief in witchcraft. This degrading and frightful superstition had been attacked previously with zeal by Spee, a Jesuit priest; but this excellent man did not produce much effect by his writings and was not supported as he ought to have been by his own Order. The delusion about nocturnal meetings with demons, enchantments and witchcraft, which was the cause of some of the most frightful cruelties in history, continued to flourish until the great attack on it by Thomasius. The further history of Halle is also interesting. On the 14th of October, 1806, the battles of Jena and Auerstadt took place, and three days afterwards Marshal Bernadotte drove the Prussian rearguard, under Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, out of Halle. Shortly afterwards that university was closed, and at the same time Wittenberg, the university of Luther and Melanchthon. After the fall of Napoleon, Halle was reconstructed on its ancient lines, and it has been, among other things, remarkable for the light it has thrown upon ancient Irish history. It was also the first great seat of learning which established, in connection with general university education, a department for scientific research in connection with agricultural work. Other universities have since followed in its footsteps. Leipzig, Giessen, Kiel, Königsberg, Göttingen, Breslau, and Jena have all similar institutions. The work accomplished by the University of Berlin is so well known that I need not allude to it at length. Notwithstanding the financial difficulties of the State at the time of its foundation, no money was spared to make it a success.

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Throughout the nineteenth century it has occupied a position in the world not unlike that which Paris held in the days of its glory. The list of those who lived and worked there, from Fichte, who was its first rector, to the present moment, contains the names of leaders of almost every branch of human thought.

One of those mostly responsible for the constitution of this university was Wilhelm v. Humboldt. He always kept before him the great truth that the end and object of a modern university is the scientific training of educated youth. It was therefore necessary that the Prussian schools should be required to train their youth to profit by university education. This is also the cardinal principle in the whole German system. It was entirely forgotten in dealing with the Irish university question. Döllinger remarked more than forty years ago on the difficulties of Irish university education in consequence of the inefficiency of the schools, and Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, in his recent book on the *Ruin of Education in Ireland*, explains with great force and clearness how the work of the Queen's Colleges was hampered owing to bad teaching in the schools. The corner stone of the German educational system is the so-called *Abiturienten Examen*, which has to be passed on leaving school and which is very much higher than any matriculation examination we have. After that, when the student goes to the university, he is free to follow any course of study he thinks fit. No German university will confer, however, any high distinction except for original work, and, for any student who wishes to make his way in the world, this work is the absorbing subject of his contemplation, and thus the mind of the intellectual youth of Germany is occupied with the solution of problems instead of being directed, as with us, to text-books, often of an inferior character. The consequence is that, when German young men go into business, manufacturers have at their command trained intellects, and this is one of the main causes of German success in business. Industries are now everywhere being transformed by science, and that is a matter to be borne in mind in reconstruction of university education. Polytechnics and technical schools for the multitude will not supply the place of a proper university system. The success and present power of Germany are due to the agencies of her universities.

But if university education is to bring home scientific culture to the great mass of the people, it is impossible for it to do so on centralised lines. Sir Dyce Duckworth, in his address at the opening of the medical faculty at Liverpool last October, says that the century now opening will be remarkable as regards the foundation of several new universities in England. There is no reason why the same policy should not be followed in Ireland. If we bear in mind that culture implies systematic training, and that distinct forms of culture imply independent institutions, we shall arrive at the conclusion that a

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perfect system for higher education would be one in which, in the words of Professor Cairnes, 'university degrees would represent, not a mere quantum of uniform attainment, but, along with knowledge, types of culture, and in which the number of distinct universities should correspond with the number of distinct types of culture which mental movement in a country may assume.' Holding this view, any scheme for dealing with Irish university education should, in my opinion, carefully avoid centralisation.

With regard to the changes that might be made in Cork, an obvious one would be the creation of double chairs for certain subjects, as is the case in universities in Germany. But there is no use in attempting any scheme of reform as regards Cork unless it is approached with the determination to place that college on a sound scientific footing. Laboratories would have to be built and large additions made. But what is of all things necessary if Cork is to be made an intellectual centre is that a really great library should be formed which should be at the disposal, with certain restrictions, of anybody who wished to use it. The latest of all the German foundations is the University of Strasburg. About 800,000*l.* has been spent on building since 1871, and 51,000*l.* a year on teaching. Besides this large expenditure 6800*l.* a year is spent on the library. There is a head librarian highly paid, several sub-librarians, and a large number of assistant librarians, all highly educated men whose business is to give their attention to any one who presents himself for the purpose of reading or research. This great expenditure, moreover, occurs in a place close to Freiburg, where there is another university and library, and not far from Heidelberg and Tübingen, to which the same observation applies. Altogether in Germany the State expends on universities about eight times as much as the universities derive from students' fees. According to Paulsen, the average cost of a student to the State in the kingdom of Prussia is 31*l.* In Strasburg I make it out to be nearer 60*l.* These facts alone will indicate what Germany does for the advancement of learning and science, and although so large a scale of expenditure would not be at all necessary in Ireland, they show the line that must be followed if any attempt to reform the Irish university system is not to add another failure to the numerous attempts which have been made in the past to develop university education in Ireland.

The main lines, then, to follow in any scheme of Irish university reform would seem to me—leaving Trinity to shake off all remaining trammels connected with its origin and become the great national University of Ireland—to reconstruct a university on the lines of the old Queen's, and to reform the Royal so as to enable it to meet wants not met either by Trinity or by a reconstructed Queen's. These universities should all be as free as possible of

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State control and preserved from the blighting influence of official interference. Such a scheme would, I am sure, commend itself to the Irish people, and have a most stimulating effect on national life, and on the formation of a sound public opinion. Mr. Goldwin Smith, writing about Ireland in the year 1867, said that the chief malady of the country was the void in the national heart caused 'by the want of any institutions commanding the reverence, love, or confidence of the nation.' Notwithstanding the share which the Irish possess in the privileges of British citizenship, the majority of them feel no concern about the greatness of the Empire. They take no pride in the long list of Irishmen, from Wellington to Roberts, who have rendered brilliant services to the Crown. If they are ever to be turned into citizens, taking active and sympathetic interest in the affairs of the Empire, it will be necessary to infuse into them new political ideas and to awaken new political life. This can be done, slowly but surely, by the steady, silent work of efficient universities in guiding national sentiment and forming national character.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT,
President, Queen's College, Cork.

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THE HISTORY OF PORT ARTHUR

THE history of Port Arthur may be said to date from 1870. In the summer of that year an outbreak of anti-foreign fanaticism occurred at Tientsin, culminating in the hideous massacre by an infuriated mob of Chinese of a large number of French Roman Catholic nuns and native converts. Before the news of the massacre could reach Europe, which was not then in telegraphic communication with the Far East, the Franco-German war broke out, and France had soon other things to think of than of exacting reparation by military force for wrongs suffered in the Far East, however great, and China escaped the usual penalty of the misdeeds of a section of her people. But the Government recognised the necessity of instituting a strong control over the disorderly population in Tientsin, and Li Hung Chang was the one man in the Empire whose previous record pointed him out as qualified for the task. He was accordingly appointed Viceroy of the province of Chili, in which Tientsin lies, and he continued to hold the office for nearly a quarter of a century, directing in connection with it the whole foreign policy of the Empire. He speedily stamped out anti-foreign rowdyism, and, having succeeded in establishing thorough order throughout the whole province, he gave his attention to the development of the military resources of the Empire. Among his efforts in that direction, which included the equipment and training of an army on European principles, the creation of a navy, and the fortification of Taku, at the mouth of the Tientsin river, not the least was the foundation of the fortress of Port Arthur. The important strategic position of this port, commanding as it did to a great extent the approach by sea to Taku and the capital Peking, was pointed out to Li Hung Chang by his foreign advisers. His own military experience and skill enabled him to see quickly the soundness of their advice. The design and carrying out of the fortifications, on the construction of which huge sums of money were spent, were entrusted to an able German officer of artillery, Major von Hannecken, and so efficiently carried out by him that, in 1884, when China became involved in hostilities with France on account of Tongking, both the land and sea defences were already

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so formidable that Admiral Courbet, the French Commander-in-Chief, positively declined to act on the suggestion of his Government to attempt to take possession of the port, unless furnished with a far more powerful fleet than that at his disposal and an army of at least 20,000 men. From an early date, Li Hung Chang had watched the growing power of Japan, and foresaw the possibility that, in time, China would have to measure strength with her. In anticipation of that time, Port Arthur continued to be strengthened: it was made the basis of the powerful fleet which was simultaneously organised, and when at last, in 1894, the long-threatened war with Japan occurred, it was in a far more formidable condition than in the previous decade when Admiral Courbet declined to meddle with it, and was considered by experts to be inpregnable both by land and sea.

Port Arthur is six miles from the most southern point of the peninsula of Liao Tung, on its eastern side. The southern part of Shenking, one of the three provinces which together constitute Manchuria, forms the peninsula of Liao Tung, which itself narrows very considerably as it approaches its southern end, and at one part its total width from sea to sea does not exceed two miles. When this isthmus, which is called in Chinese the 'Regent's Sword,' is passed, the peninsula again widens before Port Arthur is reached. The Russian railway runs along the west coast of the entire peninsula, but a main road also skirts the east coast, joining the railway in the isthmus. The harbour of Port Arthur faces almost due south, and is entered by a narrow channel, three-quarters of a mile in length, the navigable width of which is nowhere more than 250 yards and falls in one place to less than 100 yards. On the right of this channel is the small east port, 500 yards in length by 350 in width, in which are the dockyard and dock, and opposite the entrance of this port the channel takes a very sharp turn, almost at right angles, to the left, leading to the much larger west port. This is the natural harbour, oval in shape, two miles in length from east to west, and one mile in width from north to south. Its anchorage capacity for large vessels is, however, limited on account of the shallow water throughout the greater part, though since its acquisition by the Russians its capacity has been considerably increased by extensive dredging operations. Between the west port and the entrance channel, a low-lying spit of land runs northward from the coast, which is known by its Chinese name of the 'Tiger's Tail.' The very narrow entrance and the sharp turn, affording only the smallest space for manœuvring, render both the entrance and exit from or to the sea a matter of great difficulty for ships of large size. Some derisive criticism was made on the time occupied by the Russian fleet, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, in clearing from the harbour, and on the fact that the battleships

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were brought out, not by their own steam and officers, but by the aid of tugs and local experts. In the case of such a harbour, however, similar aid would be employed by the battleships of any nationality of the world. Powerful tugs invariably attend British battleships when entering or leaving Portsmouth and Plymouth harbours, and no merchant steamer ventures to enter or leave the Bristol Avon without similar assistance. Neither the time occupied by the Russian fleet nor the aid required by it reflected in any way on the professional skill of its officers.

The port is on its land side almost completely girdled with a chain of hills varying from 250 to 450 feet in height, and these, combined with its difficult entrance, render it an ideal spot for a marine fortress. Its natural advantages have been fully supplemented by science by the erection of a complete *enceinte* of powerful forts, carried from the eastern side of the entrance, where the great fort known as the Kwangihin San stands, from hill top to hill top, right round until the Wei Yuen fort on the sea front, west of the harbour, is reached. All these forts are mounted with guns of the heaviest calibre, most of them are so strategically placed that they can assist each other with their fire, and the guns on the Huangchin fort, 410 feet above the sea level on the eastern side of the entrance channel, can sweep round in every direction both on land and sea. On the Tiger's Tail there is also a continuous series of batteries along its entire length. No fleet in the world would dare to attempt to pass such a range of fortifications, and unless it falls to high angle fire, Port Arthur is impregnable from the sea. On the land side it should be equally so, and yet it fell before the Japanese in 1894 within thirty-one days from the time they first landed in the peninsula, ninety-five miles to the north, and was taken by storm, without even a preliminary bombardment, in one morning.

Twenty miles to the north of Port Arthur lies the capacious bay of Talien (*wan* is simply the Chinese word for gulf or bay), six miles wide and the same in length, on which is the newly built Russian town of Dalny. It was here that the British fleet and transports assembled in 1860, when on their way to Taku, and it was here also that the Japanese landed their heavy guns in 1894, after their army had successfully passed the isthmus. Their fleet was to have bombarded the forts by which it was protected, but the fleet was anticipated by the army, and when it arrived in the bay the forts were already in Japanese possession. The anchorage and landing facilities are both good. The guns of the fleet can sweep the narrow isthmus, and it is no doubt from here that the approaching investment of Port Arthur will take place in the present war.

At the conclusion of the China war, the Liao Tung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and the coast line of Manchuria as far as the boundary of Korea and extending some thirty miles inland along the

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northern bank of the river Yalu, was ceded to Japan. Her right to this cession was an indisputable result of the war she had successfully waged. The ostensible object of that war was finally to emancipate Korea from Chinese suzerainty. Japan's acquisition of the ceded territory completely cut China off from all the land approaches to the northern boundaries of Korea, and the command which it gave of the gulf of Pechili equally cut her off from the maritime routes. Korea was secure from all further Chinese interference, and any attempt of the powerful pro-Chinese faction among the Koreans themselves to open communication on their own part with China was equally inhibited. But Japan was not long allowed to retain her newly acquired territory. Hardly had the ratifications of the treaty been exchanged, when the three Powers, Russia, France, and Germany, 'advised' Japan to abandon her claim to any portion of the mainland of China, as her continued occupation of it would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the east. In conveying this advice, in the most courteous diplomatic language, the three Powers allowed it to be clearly understood that they were prepared in the event of its rejection to substitute force for it, and Japan, all her resources exhausted by the war, placed in a position in which she could not hope to hold her ground, in the face of a coalition irresistibly stronger than herself, had no choice but to accept it. She had, to use the words of the Imperial rescript, 'in the first instance taken up arms for no other reason than her desire to secure for the Orient an enduring peace,' and as 'the friendly recommendations of the three Powers were prompted by the same desire, Japan in the best interests of peace, and in the desire not to bring new trouble on the people or to impede the national progress by creating new difficulties, might unhesitatingly accept such recommendations.'

Not only the wrong which the nation believed to have been inflicted on it, but the humiliation which it suffered in the manner in which that wrong had been inflicted, sank deeply into the hearts of the whole people. The terms of peace which Japan proposed to offer to China had been known a full fortnight beforehand to all three Powers. None of the three had intimated any objection to them while the negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese plenipotentiaries were in progress; none had given to the Japanese diplomatic representatives at their capitals the slightest hint of an intention to raise any such objection; and it was only when the Treaty was concluded, the ratifications exchanged, and all the details publicly proclaimed, that Japan was called upon, in the face of all the world, to withdraw from her position and her Government to risk not only the loss of confidence but even the odium of its own people. She gave way with dignity, but a proud people, such as the Japanese are, though they may for a time smother their dissatisfaction at a national humiliation, are not likely to forget it, and one

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and all determined to await a convenient opportunity for repaying the 'kindness' of the three Powers at some future day. The most prominent of these Powers was Russia, although in fact it was by Germany that the co-operation of the three on this occasion was initiated. Germany had no material interests in Manchuria. At that time the fate of the whole province would, it seemed, not have been worth to her 'the life of a single Pomeranian grenadier.' France's only interest lay in her newly cemented friendship for Russia, but she may have felt bound to extend the understanding which existed between the two as regards European politics to those of the Far East. But Russia's interests were great and pressing. Japan's permanent occupation of the Manchurian littoral, the influence and protection which that occupation would have allowed her to exercise over Korea in the future, would have constituted an insuperable bar to Russia's advance southwards and to her ardently longed-for acquisition of ice-free ports on the Pacific. Japanese statesmen clearly saw that that advance was now only a question of time and that Russia might obtain a hold on the entire eastern coasts of Asia which would threaten Japan's own national existence. They also saw that they would have for the future to reckon with a strong bias on China's own part in favour of Russia. The Chinese had been saved by Russia from the crowning humiliation to their overwhelming defeat of having to part with an integral portion of their Empire to the despised Wojen (dwarfs) and an additional subject of gratitude was provided when, to this great service, Russia promptly added the further one of a loan of fifteen millions sterling, at moderate interest, wherewith to pay the first instalment of the war indemnity due to Japan. Li Hung Chang was now more than ever the guiding spirit of the Empire in its foreign politics. Had the cession to Japan of the Manchurian coast been completed, he, who had signed the Treaty which provided for it, would have been in the eyes of his countrymen the person primarily responsible and he would have suffered accordingly. Russia had saved him from an awkward predicament; he was henceforth devoted to her beyond all foreign nations, and Russian ascendency became the most prominent factor in Peking politics. Japan made one final effort to provide a safeguard for the future. She asked for a pledge that no portion of the retroceded territory should ever be given to any other foreign country. It was refused, and she then saw that the time must come when she would have to measure swords with Russia, and from the day she did so she steadily set herself to a development of her material and military resources which would enable her to face the struggle, when it came, with the same confidence as that upon which she had entered on the war with China.

The interference of the three Powers was dictated by a magnanimous desire to safeguard the future peace of the east and the

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continued independence of China as a sovereign nation. Suspicion of ulterior motives of course attended the action of Russia, but, as already explained, neither Germany nor France had even a figment of material interests in Northern China. Germany's co-operation was ostensibly explained later on when the Emperor published to the world his vision of the Yellow Peril, and France's only by the bonds of her friendship for Russia. It is now known that each of the three Powers had named her price beforehand, and that their terms had been accepted by Li Hung Chang as a less evil than the surrender of any integral portion of the Chinese Empire to the Japanese. Time was given for the payment in full to all the Powers, but the bond guaranteeing it was sealed, signed, and duly delivered. France was the first openly to enforce the bond, and she did not wait long. The ratifications of the final Treaty of Peace between China and Japan were exchanged in May 1895, and by a convention with China, concluded in the immediately succeeding month, France obtained a valuable rectification of her Mekong frontier and certain railway and mining concessions in Southern China. Nothing was known or suspected as to the reward to Russia and Germany until the 25th of October in the same year, when the following telegram, dated from Hong Kong and headed 'From a correspondent,' appeared in the *Times*:

> Private treaty between China and Russia concedes the right of anchorage to the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, and Russian railways from Nerchinsk *via* Tsitsikar to Vladivostok, and from Tsitsikar to Port Arthur, besides other trade advantages, in respect of which the favoured nation clause is inapplicable, but the Chinese reserve the option to purchase the railways after thirty-six years, the price to be arranged hereafter.

A few days later, a further telegram from the same correspondent appeared to the effect that, at a farewell banquet given at Vladivostok to the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia on the eve of his departure for Europe, the Governor in his speech stated that the community of Vladivostok might, notwithstanding the recent concessions of China in Manchuria, retain full confidence in the fact that that port would remain the headquarters of the Russian fleet in the Far East though a portion would subsequently be stationed at Port Arthur.

Both these telegrams were voluntarily sent to the *Times* by an English banker at Hong Kong. No glimmering of suspicion as to the existence of the engagement described in them between the Russian and Chinese Governments had ever dawned on the diplomatic representative of Great Britain at Peking. A prompt denial of any thought of taking possession of Port Arthur or of directly connecting it with the Trans-Siberian Railway was given by that of Russia in London, and although the *Times* correspondent was well known to be a keen, intelligent, and accurately informed student of Chinese

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politics, the denial was implicitly accepted by the British Government, in its simple faith that Russia would be content with the very valuable concession of the right of carrying the railway across Chinese territory direct from Nerchinsk to Vladivostok and so saving the wide *détour* which would have been necessary had the railway been confined entirely to acknowledged Russian territory. Her activity during the succeeding two years and the vigour and resolution with which she carried out her policy both at Peking and in Manchuria might have taught otherwise.

During those two years every proposal on the part of other nationalities to develop the resources of Northern China by railways or mines was successfully opposed by her. Her agents, military and civil, were to be found everywhere. The Russo-Chinese Bank was established in Peking with a former member of the Imperial customs service, one of the very ablest members of that service, enjoying the confidence of Li Hung Chang and other high Chinese officials, at its head. Schools teaching the Russian language were established in all the large towns of Manchuria. The Eastern Chinese Railway Company was organised, and Kirin, the capital of Central Manchuria, virtually became a Russian garrison town. All this time Russia consistently professed to have no ulterior designs on the territorial integrity of China, and her professions continued to be accepted by our own Government, despite every warning conveyed to it by the intelligent and far-seeing British mercantile communities of Shanghai and Hong Kong.

In the winter of 1897 the mask was at last thrown aside. In November of that year the murder of two missionaries afforded Germany the opportunity and a plausible pretext for exacting the implement of her own bond made two years before, and she took possession of the Bay of Kiaochow in the province of Shangtung, in order to obtain satisfaction for the murder of her subjects. A lease of the whole district for ninety-nine years, with the most complete rights of territorial jurisdiction, including those of erecting fortifications and constructing docks, was soon obtained from China, and Germany entered on the possession of her first Far Eastern colony, the lease being a mere euphemism for permanent cession. China was at the time said to have been forced to grant this so-called lease, but the most superficial consideration of the local relative positions of Germany and China should have shown that the term 'forced' was wholly inapplicable. Though beaten to her knees by Japan, China was not utterly powerless to resist, had she chosen, what seemed to be an outrageous violation of her sovereignty. The German fleet in Eastern waters was at the time an insignificant squadron of obsolete ships, utterly useless for modern fighting purposes. No reinforcements of any kind could reach it from Europe unless coaling facilities were granted at the English colonies on the line of

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route, and had China chosen to declare war against Germany such facilities must necessarily have been refused by England under the ordinary obligations of neutrality. Coal could only have been obtained locally from China or Japan. China naturally would not have furnished a weapon to be used against herself, and Japan, with the memory of 1895 still fresh, would have been only too glad to follow England's example in her construction of the duties of a neutral. Germany's fighting power would have been limited to the few ships she already had on the station, and their capacity for steaming to the supply of coal which they actually had in their bunkers at the moment. Li Hung Chang would for once have been wanting in the astuteness and perspicuity which characterised every political act throughout his entire public life, had he failed to see Germany's military impotency, and he would not have been wanting in the courage to take advantage of it had he chosen. When Italy subsequently demanded a coaling station at Sanmun, his contemptuous refusal showed no trace of pusillanimity, but to Germany he offered no opposition. China was said to have abjectly yielded to empty 'threats,' but she had merely honourably fulfilled the promises given by her two years before, and the German Emperor was still able to preserve before the world the reputation of his unselfish magnanimity of that time.

Russia's turn had now come, and she very soon showed that the telegram to the *Times* of October 1895, emphatically denied though it then had been by her, was only too true. Her fleet was sent to Port Arthur, and when two English cruisers followed it there, their withdrawal was curtly demanded by the Russian ambassador in London, on the ground that their continued presence would be a cause of friction between the two Powers in what was the Russian sphere of influence in the East. The British Government meekly complied with this demand, the cruisers were withdrawn, and from that time Russia was left to the unrestricted enjoyment of her own will. The terms of the secret agreement of 1895 were more than completed. Within a few months she obtained a lease, not only of Port Arthur, but of the whole southern part of the Liao Tung Peninsula, including the bay of Talien, and a concession to connect the port with the Trans-Siberian Railway, by a line passing, *via* the ancient Manchu capital of Mukden, right through Manchuria to Harbin. She had thus laid her grasp on both sides of Manchuria and the foundations of an ultimate acquisition of the whole province. The Boxer movement in 1890 furnished her with a plausible excuse for its military occupation, and her unbroken success in its steady Russification, the immunity which attended her continued cynical violations of the most unqualified engagements to evacuate the military positions she had taken up in it, tempted her at last to push her efforts into northern Korea. How she did so on

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the pretence of availing herself of the privileges of a trumpery timber-cutting concession, obtained by trickery, and how by doing so she at last transgressed the limits of Japanese patience and forbearance, has been described in a previous article in this Review. Since then the anticipated result of her action has occurred, and she is now at war with Japan.

It is somewhat difficult to write with moderation at the present day of the action of our own Government in withdrawing our ships from Port Arthur in 1898. Russia had then no acknowledged authority in the port. The British ships were there under a right most clearly provided in our treaty with China. Instead of insisting on this right, the British Foreign Office adopted almost an apologetic tone and the results of yielding were soon made manifest by the publication of an official announcement at Peking, 'that, in consequence of representations made by Russia, the British men-of-war had received orders to quit Port Arthur immediately.' Great Britain's national prestige in the East received a very serious blow, which was not redeemed by the subsequent valueless acquisition of Wei Hai Wei. It is the custom to ascribe the Boer war, with all its cost and suffering, to the surrender of the Gladstone Government after Majuba. That surrender was made to what was then a poor, thinly populated country, which no one in the world doubted England's ability to crush utterly, had the game been thought worth the candle. Her interests of every kind in the Transvaal, either actual or potential, political or commercial, then seemed too insignificant to be worth the cost of any struggle, and by the surrender at the time she suffered neither materially nor in prestige before the world. But even her purely commercial interests in Manchuria were, at the time of the withdrawal from Port Arthur, already of great value and of infinitely greater potentiality. Russia, it was true, promised that Talien should be open to the ships and trade of all the world on the same terms as the treaty ports of China, but Russian promises have never been observed when they conflicted with Russian interests, and if an object lesson had been wanted of the reliance that could be placed on them it was furnished in the case of Batoum. Her acquisition of Port Arthur meant the absolute exclusion for ever of England from all share in the commercial development of Manchuria and a fundamental alteration of all the conditions under which her prosperous trade with Northern China had been heretofore conducted. Her yielding was not to a poor weak Power, such as the Boer Government of 1881, but to what was believed to be the strongest military Power in the world, and had therefore not a pretence of magnanimity to palliate it. It is now well known that a firm refusal to meet the Russian demand, or to submit the legitimate movements of the British ships of war to the discussion of any foreign Power,

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would have been accepted by Russia, and that her Admiral at Port Arthur had the strictest orders to abstain from any risk of an immediate conflict. But had a conflict occurred, England's force on the spot was sufficient to destroy that of Russia twice over. Her whole fleet on the Chinese station was gathered at Chefoo, directly opposite to and only sixty miles distant from Port Arthur, and had hostilities occurred, had, as was thought at the time to be quite likely, the Russians made any attack, such as has been so brilliantly made by the Japanese upon themselves, the English fleet would not, as they were, have been found wanting. As the Russian ships were at Port Arthur, so were the English at Chefoo, anchored in an open roadstead, but, unlike the Russians, with no friendly forts behind them. But while the tension lasted all the ships were cleared for action, torpedo nets were out, picket boats constantly patrolling, and, notwithstanding the bitter cold, both officers and men, night after night, lay down on deck beside their guns, ready for action at a second's notice. No social functions at the gay and hospitable port of Chefoo tempted the officers on shore. A Russian torpedo attack would not have been the one-sided affair which that of the Japanese on their own fleet at Port Arthur has been. But England, with the ball at her feet, gave way, and her doing so was as bitterly felt by the officers of the fleet, from the distinguished Admiral who commanded downwards, as a humiliation to the flag, as it was by the entire British mercantile community in China as a blow to her commercial interests and prospects.

It is no exaggeration to say that, if there had then been a modicum of firmness on the part of the British Government, the present war would not have occurred. Russia concluded that Great Britain had ceased to exist as a factor in Eastern politics. Her protests might safely be disregarded, and the *Novoe Vremya* openly wrote: 'England will never go to any greater length than a protest. Her predominance in the Far East is gone never to return, and it will be the worse for her if she does not come to an agreement with Russia, France, and Germany in time.' Japan was the only other Power to be reckoned with, and notwithstanding the evidence she had given in the China war of her military strength and organisation, Russian officers in the Far East have never disguised the contempt with which they regarded her as a military Power. Her soldiers and sailors were, they said, no doubt formidable antagonists to other Asiatics, but neither their science nor valour would stand the test of a struggle with Europeans. By no one were these beliefs more implicitly held or openly expressed than by Admiral Alexeieff, who throughout a long service in the East had ample opportunities of studying Japan. And it was equally believed by all Russians that the mere name of Russia would ever be sufficient to keep the entire Japanese nation in awe. Japan could therefore be disregarded

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just as much as England, and Russian diplomatic agents might proceed on their careers of extending their master's dominions by fair means or foul, unchecked and unhampered by the most remote fear of armed opposition. To the last they have cherished this conviction. They have failed to recognise either Japan's real strength or efficiency or the stern determination to defend her rights at any cost which has permeated the whole nation from the Emperor down to the lowest commissariat coolie. In that failure, they have scarcely extended to her ordinary diplomatic courtesy, and when the functions of diplomacy were exhausted they were equally remiss in adopting the most ordinary military precautions for their own safety. For both they have now to pay a bitter penalty; it may be that of the entire annihilation of all their material interests and prestige in the Far East for a couple of generations to come. Their costly fleet has been reduced to impotency by a series of strokes as brilliant and dashing as any that are recorded in the most glorious periods of the naval history of England, and Japan has now undisputed command of the sea, and can land her troops where and when she will. Her marvellously efficient system of secret service—which disdains no instrument however humble—has made her acquainted with every available gun and soldier that are at Russia's disposal, and while she knows that the Russian soldier has never been wanting in courage or in the readiness to give his life for his country and the Czar, that physically he is superior to the best of Japan, she will take care to assure victory wherever they meet, by placing in the field five of her own to every single Russian. Her base is close at hand. She can feed and supply her army wherever it is, which Russia, fighting six thousand miles from her base, and dependent as she is for transport on a single weak line of railway, cannot. Every town and road in Korea is as well known to the Japanese staff as those of their own country, and there is not a town or village in the whole length and breadth of Manchuria or Southern Siberia in which, throughout the last ten years, there has not been a Japanese expert at work, under the guise, it may be, of a small tradesman or a barber, mapping and noting the configuration and every detail of the locality. Campaigns in Korea and Manchuria have been the favourite themes for prize essays in the Japanese army, and not only the staff but every regimental officer will enter on the war equipped with an accurate knowledge of the district in which he is to serve. Little reliance can be placed on any adequate supply of provisions in Port Arthur. Sufficient for two years is said to have been accumulated, and no doubt the cost of such a supply has been debited to the Government. But corruption, open, shameless, and wholesale, is and always has been rampant among Russian officers and officials in the East, and it may well be doubted

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whether, when the time of pressure comes, the available supply will be found sufficient for many more months than it is supposed to be for years.

When Port Arthur falls, and it is now hopelessly doomed, Japan's triumph will be complete, and she will have then repaid with interest Russia's share in her former humiliation. It is now at the mercy of a long-range bombardment of her fleet; but another course pregnant with greater triumph is open to her. By a land investment at the isthmus already described, the garrison can be starved into surrender, and then Japan will not only have the fortress but the splendid fleet which now lies in its harbour; and the prospect of seeing her own flag hoisted on the powerful ships which were meant to destroy her may induce her to take the more patient if less brilliant course. With its approaching fall, Port Arthur will close its second chapter in the history of the Far East. Its first terminated with its capture from the Chinese, when it became manifest to the whole world that China's reputation as a great military Power was a delusion and a fraud, rotten with corruption, incapacity, and cowardice. The close of the second will show that that of Russia, which has so long spread itself like a dark cloud over all Eastern affairs, had scarcely more real foundation than that of China. Her policy in the East has throughout been characterised by deception and tyranny, by the most shameless violation of engagements made with every formality that can bind a nation. Her agents have been arrogant and unscrupulous, and are now shown to have been equally incapable. They have been blind to the spirit, determination, and strength of Japan, to the glaring weakness of Russia, and reckless ambition has hurried them to their own and their country's downfall. No Russian can ever be accused of cowardice, and in that element alone can they now say they are better than the Chinese. As the Japanese pricked the Chinese bubble, so are they now pricking the Russian, and in doing so they are rendering a service which should command the gratitude of the civilised world, just as their courage and efficiency must undoubtedly command its admiration.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

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THE GEISHA: A FAITHFUL STUDY.

WHAT idea has the excellent Englishwoman of her Japanese cousin? Analysed, the Englishwoman's conception of the Japanese lady would resolve itself into a blend of Opera-Bouffe Geisha with Madame Chrysanthème. Now, *Madame Chrysanthème*, delightful work as it is, yet reflects only a very small and a very un-Japanese corner of Japanese life. The heroine is as worthy to be taken for a type of Japanese womanhood as is Sairey Gamp of British. A foreign sailor lands at the most important naval station in Japan: that is to say, a place frequented for ever by European sailors from every nation; where, in consequence, sexual morality has been adapted to the simplicity of Western requirements. There our hero buys a temporary wife, for—is it a pound a month?—and, having had his money's worth, records, with the utmost delicacy of style and charm, his conviction that she is sullen, apathetic, unattractive. That is all. And the very facts of this story show, without comment, what a valuable document Pierre Loti's book is likely to be on the typical life of Japan. In point of fact, Chrysanthème is not Japanese at all. She has been mangled into an obscene imitation of her Portsmouth sister. She is a poor bruised flower, battered and numbed out of any true individuality by brutalising contact with primitive-minded European seekers after pleasure. She represents a class existing solely to satisfy our Western desires, and solely in those towns which we foreigners have afflicted with our moral standards.

Very different, indeed, is the real Japanese woman—even the Japanese woman of pleasure. For it must be remembered that in putting forward this statement, the comparison lies not between the common woman of the open port, and the great lady of Tokyo, but between Chrysanthème and her genuine Japanese equivalents.

The Japanese lady cannot be discussed by Europeans, inasmuch as no European ever sets eyes upon her. Her husband despises, indeed, and ignores her; yet regards her as so inviolably sacred a piece of the family furniture that never does he allow her within sight of the Western barbarian. He shuts her away from outside gaze, even though he himself finds her society tedious and insipid. At any entertainment that he may give in his own house, it is

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barely possible—if a European be present it is virtually impossible—that the Okk'San may head the file of servants who appear to welcome her husband's guests, bowing lowly at the door; but afterwards the 'Honourable Interior' retires upstairs to sit alone on her mats, and is no more seen. Of course, in the case of women whose lords hold high official positions, and are thus compelled into an official concession to Western ideas, their lot is different. While the men are in office their wives don European gowns of the latest fashion but three, and attend occasional ceremonious dinners at the Legations. But this is merely a passing gleam of splendour, for, with the resignation or displacement of the man, his wife retires again into her Japanese obscurity, and becomes thenceforth unapproachable even to such lady-friends as she may have made outside, during her brief glimpse of the world. Normally and properly, her place is in the decent secrecy of the home. Her husband has no wish to see or hear any more of her than is necessary to the thriving conduct of the household.

For the well-bred Japanese, marriage is a matter of mere arrangement and convenience. Boy and girl are brought up to regard marriage as a predestined affair, to be settled solely by the family, with no reference made to hot young heads or hearts. Thus the gentleman's daughter looks forward to her establishment with no eye of anxiety. She knows well that, time come, she must inevitably be married placidly off to some man of equal standing with herself. Her own character, her attainments, her charms count for nothing in this result. On that head she is perfectly easy. She has no need to make herself attractive, clever, or conversable, even if etiquette allowed her the opportunity of displaying these accomplishments. Enough if she be quiet, good, and inconspicuous. Her birth, her breeding, her dowry secure the rest without the least stir on her own part. She rarely sees her fiancé until he is her fiancé. Thus the whole element of passionate competition that turns our Western marriage-market into such a keen mart for brilliant and emulously charming women is entirely lacking in Japan. Marriage, to the Japanese, is a matter of course, not a matter of success in rivalry. But, even as we by our system have developed such a race of vigorous and self-reliant women, so the Japanese, by ruling all love and emulation out of life, and by teaching their daughters to expect marriage as part of the order of established things, have perfected a woman whose virtues lie in quite another sphere. Her greatest recommendation is that she should have none. A gentle, immemorial vacuity is her finest qualification for the coveted state, which, for the rest, is the fair portion of every Japanese lady, the number of marrying men having always been more mercifully proportionate to that of their potential brides than here in the less frankly polygamous West.

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A typically good Japanese wife is one after the heart of Perikles, of whom the least possible is heard, either at home or abroad. She is humble, perfectly quiescent, perfectly amiable, the slave of her lord, who, at his pleasure, can divorce her 'sans phrase' for any ill-temper, for gossiping, for disrespect, or for excessive conversation. Or, at will, he can bring some beloved Geisha into his house as first wife, and reduce the lady of his home to a subordinate and dishonouring position. She is the mere servant of her husband's fancies. If he be drunken and unfaithful, she may indeed remonstrate, but it must be with the utmost humility of inferiority, and a disarming weakness of submission. The end to be attained is his reformation, not the repair of her unconsidered happiness. Her whole individuality should be merged in the man's, and even her share in the sons ceases to be hers when the children have passed their fifth year. Then they are moved into custody of the more honoured sex, to be moulded into men. But the Japanese wife, if established facts prove anything, is certainly no less happy than her more independent sister of the West. For one matter, she has learnt through so many ages the lesson of her own worthless weakness and inferiority, that she takes all the pleasures that come to her—and these, though simple, are many—with an intense passion of joy and gratitude unknown to the Western woman, who, throughout her life, has grown up in the pursuit of her own desires. They who demand little of life often get most. And, on the whole, there can be no doubt that the Japanese woman is happier, though in a smaller, quieter way, than her febrile ebullient European cousin, who wants so much that she can never be satisfied. The Japanese woman's life is full of delights, even though its crown be the contenting of her husband. Her life's work is unobtrusively to please him; her highest art, a perfection of self-effacing good manners, and the inflexible self-control that gratifies a man by sparing him scenes of female tears or distresses.

But with all this she is handicapped. Her duties are housekeeping, son-bearing, and a smiling silence. Her position, her opportunities, her previous training combine to forbid her any brilliancy of thought or utterance. She has learnt little, having no need. She has cultivated no conversation, having foreseen no need. She is a typically good woman, necessary, but unnoticed. The result is that her husband is trained into an attitude of half-unconscious but dominant contempt. He becomes selfish and fretful. Patient Griselda palls upon him, bores, exasperates. She is so good and sweet, and, like so many of the good and sweet, so unsatisfying, so inadequate, so null. And the Japanese brain is full of quick movements and ardent appetites. It may be imagined how the man grows disdainfully to ignore his gentle saint at home. The wife belongs to the one class to whom mental charms are not permitted. Japan has produced many female poets and authors—two, indeed,

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who stand near the world's front rank, Murasaki and Sei Shonagon. But all these have been, at least officially, maidens, or married unhappily, or ladies of glittering Bohemian ways. To the married lady alone is forbidden that swift brilliance of mind which so clearly marks the Japanese temperament at gravest or at gayest. And thus she is deprived of the strongest chain by which a woman can hold the allegiance of a man through the long years of marriage. Her husband comes to look upon her as a dull thing, to be kept honourably safe, but ignored. Meanwhile he pines for intellectual company and relaxation. And this he seeks in a special class that arose long ago to satisfy just this very need created by the Japanese social system of choiceless marriage.

Athenian theories of wives and wedlock bear a striking similarity to Japanese. There, in Athens also, was little home-life; and the Greek sought the wit and charm his wife could not provide, between the lips of a companion, a Hetaira. Of course, such a relationship, like most alliances between man and woman, led to obvious results, and the Hetaira has become synonymous with the harlot. But her beginnings were not, like those of her Western equivalent, in mere sexual passion. She was originally a companion, trained to charm and amuse. Similar degradation has attended upon the profession of the Geisha. The Geisha is in no sense necessarily a courtesan. She is a woman educated to attract; perfected from her childhood in all the intricacies of Japanese literature; practised in wit and repartee; inured to the rapid give-and-take of conversation on every topic, human and divine. From her earliest youth she is broken in to an inviolable charm of manner incomprehensible to the finest European, yet she is almost invariably a blossom of the lower classes, with dumpy claws, and squat, ugly nails. Her education, physical and moral, is far harder than that of the *ballerina*, and her success is achieved only after years of struggle and a bitter agony of torture. She dances—dances those slow mimes of old Japan, that must be such torment to the dancers, and are such joy to the spectator, who lolls upon the mats to watch the sumptuously graceful figures moving back and forth, intricately, to the long, plangent sadnesses of a voice wailing ancient rhythms of long-forgotten meaning to the drawn, nasal twangings of the Samisen. The dances are of immense age, and with their chants, unintelligible now these many centuries, are all to be learnt very hardly and by rote before any girl may take rank as a Geisha. These being acquired, and her wit polished to an adamantine brilliancy, the young voice is broken, by an incredible torment of midnight exposure, to the low dull tone required by Japanese taste. And then at last the trained girl may advance from the gorgeous robes of the little Maiko, or budding Geisha, to the quiet and ever quieter blues and greys that mark the established artist. And the Geisha's social position may be com-

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pared with that of the European actress. The Geisha-house offers prizes as desirable as any of the Western stage. A great Geisha with twenty nobles sitting round her, contending for her laughter, and kept in constant check by the flashing bodkin of her wit, holds a position no less high and famous than that of Sarah Bernhardt in her prime. She is equally sought, equally flattered, quite as madly adored, that quiet little elderly plain girl in dull blue. But she is prized thus primarily for her tongue, whose power only ripens fully as her physical charms decline. She demands vast sums for her owners, and even so often appears and dances only at her own pleasure. Few, if any, Westerners ever see a really famous Geisha. She is too great to come before a European, except for an August or Imperial command. Finally she may, and frequently does, marry into exalted places, into celestial circles, and sometimes on to the very steps of the Throne itself. In all this there is not the slightest necessity for any illicit relation. Of course, as a fact, the Geisha has earned a bad name for her class, no less general and merited than that of the actress. In practical life Geisha, Actress, Hetaira, have come to have one certain synonym, but the misconduct of some reflects no discredit on the profession, and there is no reason why every Actress, Geisha, Hetaira, should not be as immaculate as many Actresses, Geisha, Hetairai undoubtedly are and have been. The Geisha is the minister, in theory, of purely intellectual pleasures.

For other recreations the Japanese resorts to the Yoshiwara, where, behind frail barricades of wood, frail beauties squat in gorgeous garments to cater for those desires which at home have no official servants. All the women there are Oiran, existing only for one purpose. To this place none need come except those in search, and the virtuous is not jostled everywhere in the streets by the tragedy of temptation. The man who comes to the Yoshiwara comes only for one end, and if he have no desire to achieve that end he may spend his whole life in Japan without a sight of vice. To a Geisha-house a man goes as to a theatre, merely for amusement, into whatever frenzy of amorous passion his quick temper may be kindled later by the smiles and gaiety of a rapacious singer.

The ordinary European sees little of the true Geisha, no decent tea-house admitting foreigners except on the most influential of introductions. In the open ports, indeed, the tourist may avail himself of the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Japanese women whom the influence of many Western lovers has long since cultivated into a brutalised prostitution; but of the genuine artist-actress the three-weeks' dweller in Yokohama has no idea. In Tokyo she may be found, and there the student of character may watch the irresistible fascination of her manner. She has a sweet and perfect tolerance, masking her inevitable boredom; she is full of faultlessly spontaneous mirth, with a laugh whose

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innocently genuine gaiety rings in the memory across a dozen thousand miles of discordant lands, and seas, and cities. The Geisha has an impenetrable delicacy of softness, which receives all and accepts none. Her soul stands aloof from the gracious greeting of her eyes. She smiles without effort or fatigue, but is very far away. She must suffer hells of boredom, yet plays and glitters in a feigned paradise of enjoyment. She is sweetly, indomitably patient, under the foreigner's lame efforts to converse in Japanese, nor does she ever show him any glimpse of the weariness she must feel. Her flawless manners even enable her to sit smiling and kind beneath the romping fingers of a certain order of Englishman, who finds himself impelled to pat and paw, and even to commit the final unpardonable vulgarity of kisses. She does not understand us, nor we her. And this is tragic, seeing that she is the only true Japanese woman whose acquaintance circumstances allow us to make. To us she is of indefatigable kindliness, radiant, delightful, with all a woman's subtlety of attraction, and all a child's generous and frankly happy appeal. She is half Venus and half kitten, half Helen and half Hermione. She is gay, greedy, girlishly grasping. She passes laughing from the arms of an admirer into the trailing tragedies of Japanese dance. She hails our coming with delight, and watches our final departure with Isabella Thorpe's 'laughing eye of utter despondency.'

And yet for her own lover she goes through the fires. Many are the sad tales of a Geisha's love, and many, though fewer, the tales that are not sad. Alone among the women of her race she is free, and her heart has room to grow. She is no stranger to the bitter loves of the world, even though, to a foreigner, her heart remain a cloistered garden, impossible of access. She is fiercely beautiful and wild, under that smooth gaiety of charm which is the conventional robe in whose pageantry her soul goes fluttering across the ill-lit stage of destiny. Yet at times, and in popular phrase, she is also the cold, mercenary harlot of convention, the ruin of young men, the rapacious spoiler of substance, the despair of happy families and faithful wives, the evil demon-fox whose work and pleasure are always disaster and despair. She is the Neko, the wicked cat, whose claws are fleshed upon mortal hearts. To the common Japanese tradition she is damnable and damned, a soulless chafferer for gold, until her soul be touched. She has, in short, the true actress temperament—as opposed to the domestic—brilliant, improvident, splendid, generous, reckless, fitful, passionate, and unaccountable. She seems a delicate phantasm; touch her soul and you find she goes on springs of steel; she has the tenderness, at last, of Madonna, though credited usually with that of Messalina. Her heart 'is filled with unquenchable wild-fire,' and in her love are found perfect loyalty, fidelity, and a passion of self-sacrifice, even to self-abandonment.

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Here is now a stern chastity, a fixity of resolve, a relentless ferocity of hopeless attachment that sends the whole of her world to hell for the sole sake of her love. Japan learned its finest lesson of devotion through shame to death in the life of the Lady Forget-me-not, and a harlot-Geisha is the Phœnix-bird, through the ages, of a rare devotion, despairing and eternal, by whose grave to this day the lovers go to vow and dream.

And yet, and yet, the Geisha is also the hard Siren who has sung so many to ruin and wreck; the Salome who has danced away so many heads. Her gay indifference is but the bright side of her unfluctuating cruelty; she is unfathomable, cold, bitter, unpunishable as the sea. She is Juliet and Jezebel, Miranda and Sidonia the pitiless. She is both Alice Lisle and Alice Arden; Anne Elliot and Anne Boleyn: she is at once Webster's Vittoria and his Isabella of Bracciano. With all this, however, she is still so gay and innocently childlike that who among strangers would suspect that almost impregnable heart of its defences? She is a flower of contradictions, whose fruit is as bitter-hard as the blossom is soft and sweet. She is altogether fantastic, terrible, adorable—a being of another, alien existence, entirely beyond our reckoning.

How far is this portrait of the true Japanese woman of true Japanese pleasure from the European conception, as offered by the delicate writer who goes to one of the lowest haunts of prostitution in Japan, where morals are pared down to European requirements, and there buys a wretched girl from a brothel merely to study her and paint an exquisite miniature, which his Western world accepts, whether with the painter's will or no, as a true and fair picture of Japanese feminine psychology! Poor Chrysanthème, what Geisha, even of the lowest rank, would throw you so much as a word? Poor victim of Western ideals, how remote were you from the Japanese woman, as whose model you were posed and painted!

It is not in a six months' sojourn at Nagasaki—possibly the fairest and still more possibly the foulest place in the world—that even a great artist will be able to estimate and envisage that difficult, unseizable psychology of the Japanese Geisha. The task is long and hard, even in cities where Western feet have scarcely yet trodden, but how bitterly impossible among the dregs of the population in the lowest of all the corrupted Open Ports!

REGINALD J. FARRER.

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A VISIT TO HAWARDEN

We paid our first and only visit to Hawarden on the 6th of December, 1892. At Bletchley we encountered thick snow, and as we neared Chester progress became so ominously slow that we were compelled to abandon our plan of posting from there. A telegram to the station-master at Hawarden only produced a small covered waggonette, which just held me, my maid, and my belongings, so Ribblesdale had to walk.

Our top-heavy conveyance plunged, lurched, and laboured through the snow down the steep hill to the house, and I was very glad to hear familiar voices at the door. There was Mrs. Drew on the snowy steps, and Mrs. Gladstone, in her black satin gown, with open arms, tripping to meet us in the hall.

From the first our visit to Hawarden was to depend on M. Waddington, who was the only other guest expected; if he had been unable to come there, we should not have been bidden, as solitary guests at that time were considered too arduous an undertaking for Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, who were approaching their eighty-third and eighty-first birthdays. I could see from the anxious inquiries for the French Ambassador when we arrived that we were looked upon as quite incomplete without him.

We were heartily congratulated on our travelling capacity, and our fellow-guest suffered considerably in the comparison when we were unable to give any tidings of him.

I was struck by the pretty green and white mouldings on the staircase walls as we were taken up to our bedrooms. We met in an ante-room before dinner, decorated with the same plaster work, where we found the missing Ambassador, our host and hostess, and Mrs. Drew.

Mr. Gladstone came forward with his most charming manner and said: 'I feel very guilty in having brought you into all this snow. It looks as if I had specially prepared it for your reception.'

After a good deal about the unprecedented rapidity and limited area of the snowfall, and the unusual direction—namely, the sea—from which it had come, he took me in to dinner, and the others followed. As the soup was being handed to me first, Mr. Gladstone became

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uneasy, and muttered to Zadok, his own servant, to hand it to the Ambassador; but on finding all his signals unavailing, for Zadok took no notice, he smiled at his failure to do honour to France. Addressing himself to Ribblesdale with a courtesy which, though characteristic of Mr. Gladstone's school, was specially marked in his manner, he inquired after the Buckhounds, and said Ribblesdale had opened his mind to new considerations on the subject, adding, with a mischievous smile: 'I am afraid you have talked me round to the wrong side. When I came into office I understood that they were doomed by the supreme authority, and I was merely inviting you to perform their obsequies.'

On my asking him if he thought Ribblesdale peculiarly fitted for the part of undertaker, he answered with sudden seriousness: 'It was on that understanding that I offered him the post.' I felt this a not undeserved reproof for my flat flippancy.

Then he began to talk of Liverpool and his reception there two days before, also of the unusual atmospheric conditions he found there. He went into St. George's Hall with 4000 people in it, and the air was as fresh inside as out. It was a most remarkable and unprecedented experience. The instant he heard the first word of the chairman he knew it was a good hall for sound. 'I have only got to hear two words to know this.'

On my expressing admiration for his speech, he said, half apologetically, that

> to make a connected speech one should have notes, but those are useless to me now, for I can't see them, and to search for your notes with glasses spoils the effect. I forgot one thing I was particularly anxious to say, and had written down under some such word as spectacle. Of course I remembered it afterwards, when it was too late. When a west wind blew in Liverpool harbour, no ships could get out to sea, for there were no steam tugs in those days, so they all had to wait for a favourable change, and then to see this fleet of ships going out full sail was a magnificent sight, and one which we shall never see again.

He asked M. Waddington if he had ever addressed mass meetings of this kind. M. Waddington said he had never spoken to more than 500 or 600, and that France, outside Paris, was not given to having large meetings as we are, and that he had always resolutely refused to be present at the bigger meetings in Paris, for they were noisy, and one never knew what the audience might not do next. Mr. Gladstone seemed surprised and not in the least sympathetic. I realised as I watched the sleek Ambassador that the rough-and-ready methods of expression belonging to the populace so courageously faced by the Prime Minister would have bewildered and disgusted M. Waddington.

I knew that the Ambassador was a cultivated and instructed man, but I had been warned that unless you could meet him on the

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ground of old inscriptions and coins it was difficult to fire him to any interest. I found this to be an entire misrepresentation; he was a man of various interests, and very wide knowledge.

His face was much more immobile than his mind; he never smiled, he never frowned. The nearest approach to any play of expression was a sort of faint scowl which clouded his serenity and was a premonitory challenge to any statement of fact or of opinion which Mr. Gladstone might advance. Not being possessed of any awe, he constantly talked through his host with calm satisfaction.

Mr. Gladstone proceeded to look a little more closely into the inexplicable indifference of the French to political meetings, and he wondered whether this arose from extreme youth or extreme old age in the feelings of the nation. M. Waddington was either unable or unwilling to throw any light on the problem.

Going back to Liverpool, Mr. Gladstone said that as a town it was very irreligious, and he had to bring home to it in consequence its duty as well as its capacity to build a cathedral. He then went on to talk about the number of atheists in France, and a statement by Macmillan which put them at 7,000,000. M. Waddington said he should have thought the number too large for the avowed atheists, and too small for the actual facts, and that it was quite impossible to say what their numbers were, as they were never registered in the census. Mr. Gladstone went on to comment on how Nonconformists have objected to be registered from a sense of fear. They foresaw that the returns would compare unfavourably with their congregations. He himself had always had great sympathy with Nonconformists, but none with this objection of theirs, and he regretted that in this, their one political mistake, the Church of England should have given in to them.

On hearing Ribblesdale say we had heard Mr. Jowett preach on Wesley in Westminster Abbey, he asked us eagerly how Mr. Jowett estimated Wesley's intellectual qualities. Ribblesdale answered that he put his character before everything else; to which Mr. Gladstone added that, as an organiser, Wesley stood as high in his opinion as Ignatius Loyola; his followers now numbered 12,000,000 at the minimum, and 20,000,000 at the maximum. He agreed with Ribblesdale in his view that everything Jowett said had distinction of its own, both in clearness of thought and perfection of form. Ribblesdale quoted Mr. Jowett's remark that Wesley 'gave men hints which they needed and understood.' Mr. Gladstone apparently liked this, but his disapproval was quite as marked when Ribblesdale ventured to describe the Nonconformists' religion as beatified common-sense. His brows met; there was disagreement, indignation, sorrow for the misguided and a hundred other expressions in the shake of his head. He evidently thought this definition in no way did justice to Nonconformists, nor was it a fair description of their pulpit methods.

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From Nonconformity, Church theories were briefly reviewed, and of all these he denounced Erastianism as the basest. He told us that he and Sir William Harcourt often quarrelled over it, and that Sir William confessed to being its last exponent.

In returning to the different sects of France, the Protestants of Nîmes, Arles, &c., Mr. Gladstone went on to discuss the new cathedral at Montmartre, to which he had made a special pilgrimage in Paris. He told us he kept poking his head out of the *fiacre* the whole way up the hill in order to get a first *coup d'œil*. He might have spared himself his pains, for he found that, though the French had built their cathedral on the top of a hill, they had contrived to make it totally invisible until you were actually in front of it. He was much struck by the solidity and strength of the walls, which looked as if they were meant to defy the world.

M. Waddington told us he had voted against it in the Chamber. 'Not on the ground of expense, I hope,' interrupted Mr. Gladstone; adding, 'no money was ever ill spent on a cathedral yet, to my thinking.'

M. Waddington reassured him on this score; he had no objection to the expense, but he did not approve of the idea of aggressiveness where religion was concerned, and the Montmartre Cathedral was admittedly a challenge from the Church to the unbelieving world, and as such was certain to be the first victim in a revolution.

Most of the money had to be spent underground, for it was found that the site chosen was hollow with quarries, and that in order to obtain satisfactory foundations almost more masonry was needed below than above ground.

At this stage Mrs. Gladstone, who had shown increasing signs of weariness over Montmartre, moved, and the ladies retired to a double-doored old-fashioned drawing-room leading out of the ante-room.

As it was lighted chiefly by candles at respectful distances from each other, the furniture and accessories of the room were not clearly distinguishable. There was a certain sense of airy emptiness, which, though characteristic of the period of thin-bodied chairs, spindle legs, few table-cloths, and no screens, was intensified on this evening by the extreme cold. We crouched round the bright fire, which refused to give any heat beyond the hearth-rug. There is a tender grace in the shabbiness of the room which belongs to the whole house and is very attractive, and I should personally lament to see any modern reforms or changes carried out.

When the men appeared, they sat down to whist, Mr. Drew, an intermittent apparition, making a fourth at the smallest card-table I have ever beheld.

As the clock struck eleven, Mr. Gladstone got up and bolted from the room like a shot out of a gun, bidding good-night to nobody. I wondered if this rapid exit were his usual practice, and found that

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the retreat, though not usually so hurried, was always unceremonious.

Next morning there were grave lamentations over the hour's sleep which Mr. Gladstone had missed in consequence of an extra half-hour's whist, and it was decided by the Council of Two (Mrs. Gladstone and Mrs. Drew) that he must never play a minute later than 10.30. He was quite of their opinion, and told us that if his thoughts were kept working at any exciting occupation after 10.30 the machinery of his mind got beyond his own control, and sleeplessness was the invariable result. It was apparently an understood thing that the moment his head touched the pillow sleep was in honour bound to overtake him.

We were told by Mrs. Gladstone, in answer to some solicitous questions from Mr. Gladstone as to the comforts of the Ambassador, that his fire (evidently a recognised enemy in the household) had smoked badly in the night, in spite of the two vigilant visits she had paid it before bedtime.

Mr. Gladstone's expression of heartfelt sympathy when the Ambassador came in was quite indescribable. As he expressed his fear that the fire had smoked and caused his guest considerable discomfort, there was a look of anguish on his face which in anybody else's might almost have seemed out of proportion to the occasion. Keener distress could not have been shown for the loss of a wife; but in the Prime Minister mobility was a feeble word for the thousand flashes and shadows which crossed and recrossed his countenance; the play of his face showed a hundred different smiles, a hundred different frowns. To see the thunder gather in his eyebrows over some paltry observation or newspaper paragraph, you were tempted for a second to agree with those who held him a consummate actor; but my belief is that the emotion, however fleeting, was genuine, though his face, as a vehicle of expression, may have over-emphasised it.

At his advanced age it was difficult to estimate how far feeling may have become merely emotional. Both as an orator and a leader of men, Mr. Gladstone could awaken as well as control their emotions; thus the dramatic side of things specially appealed to him, and it seems to me that he always rather courted than guarded against the moving influence of passion.

I watched with interest to see how far our diplomatist would deem it incumbent upon him to spare his venerable host pain. But M. Waddington was troubled by no scruples of this sort; the solicitudes of hospitality left him cold; the smoke had been very bad indeed, he said, but it got better as the night advanced. With this negative reassurance the clouds quickly cleared from Mr. Gladstone's brow, and he turned to his cold tongue and we to our bacon with sighs of relief.

Crispi was the chief topic at breakfast. According to the Ambas-

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sador, he was the most dangerous man to the peace of Europe, and he led us to understand that but for his own cool determination in making it clear to Italian braggadocio that he would take up the glove if Crispi chose to throw it down, we should all have been plunged into a European war long ago. They both agreed that he was a man of no morality, as well as a bigamist. M. Waddington stoutly maintained he had had three wives, to which Mr. Gladstone added: 'If two were contemporaneous, the third must have been successive.'

They both agreed that Italy as a young and undeveloped country was too extravagant for her resources. This led M. Waddington to quote an epigram, made, he told us, by a clever French friend of his, 'L'Italie est comme un parvenu qui veut avoir une intrigue avec une duchesse.' Not even our diplomatist's infrequent smile at this definition could extract the faintest corresponding gleam from the Prime Minister.

So much for M. Waddington's solitary sally; he was only experiencing what Mr. Gladstone's greatest intimates suffered at his hands. The Prime Minister's sense of humour was uncertain; nobody could predict what would amuse him; an almost superstitious respect for the moralities had always to be reckoned with, the least infringement of which doomed the *raconteur* and his wares to failure. But even this knowledge served more as a warning than as a guide in conversation with him.

The Ambassador stuck to his French habits of *café au lait*, and did not fare as well at his hostess's hands as I could have wished. We had already levied considerable contributions on the silver jug of hot milk from which Mrs. Gladstone seemed to hope as much as the widow from her cruse; and she seemed in no way disconcerted when in his last two efforts to get some more coffee nothing but large fishes of skim flopped into his cup.

Towards the end of breakfast, Mrs. Drew's pretty little two-year-old girl pattered in with naked feet. Her colouring was like a sun-ripened apricot, and her deep-set eyes gleamed blue from under her eyebrows. It was a fascinating sight to see her and her grandfather's heads close together. He became most like a child of the two, and delighted even more than she did in their games with the black Spitz and the Jack-in-the-box which stood awaiting her on the table. There was no imitation fun about their play.

After breakfast Mr. Gladstone retired, and the letters remained in a mountain on the hall table until tackled by Mrs. Drew, who combined all the qualities of a most efficient private secretary in the country.

Wishing to have a breath of air and to see the house from outside, Ribblesdale and I trudged into the snow, which was so thick that we were obliged to keep to the swept paths. But for a certain solidity and homeliness, Hawarden presents the defects of all modern and

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battlemented castles. Only the lapse of years lends dignity to this style of architecture, and yet from its position, its trees and its surroundings, one can hardly dislike the house, and one must like the place. Snow is a sad leveller; all slopes, perspectives, and blue distances were lost to us. This was a continual regret to Mr. Gladstone when he walked with us in the afternoon and pointed out the spot in the valley where the cow had knocked him down.

He was returning one afternoon from his walk when he found that a heifer had strayed out of her field into the park and stood blocking his way across the path. 'I said this is not manners and tried to send her off, but she only stamped at me; when I saw she meant to adopt decisive measures I hit her across the face with my umbrella as hard as I could. At this she came straight at me, caught me in the ribs with her horns, and knocked me over backwards with the greatest ease.'

On my asking him whether she came at him when he was down he said she did, 'but, seeing she could do me no injury as her horns were curved round, she walked away and left me. I got up, feeling very stiff, and did not succeed in breathing comfortably for more than a fortnight. It was curious that the illustrated papers got hold of exactly what took place; this was the more surprising as the cow and I were the only eye-witnesses of the scene.'

There was an addition to our party at luncheon; two distant neighbours had at last brought off their longed-for pilgrimage. Mr. and Mrs. L. belonged to that large body of worshipping benefactors, chiefly confined to the rich middle classes, who were the peculiar appanage of the Gladstones. They had decorated Hawarden with baskets of orchids for a long time.

The conversation was allowed in an unwary moment to turn on to roads, and their working and maintaining all over the world.

Mr. Gladstone always required the most delicate steering. Many is the keen regret I have had over the precious moments wasted on tallow candles, crockery, poultry shops, the cultivation of strawberries, &c. He covered such a vast area, and his interests were so universal, that you were practically never safe, and he was off before you were aware you had given him his head, and then the difficulty was to turn him.

Macadam, even in Montenegro, is hardly inspiring; but Mr. Gladstone made some interesting digressions from the excellence of their roads to the Montenegrin people.

He said they were the finest and most heroic race in the world, and that for four hundred years they had fought against superior powers for their freedom. They had presented him with a sword. 'It was,' he said, 'no common sword, but one which looked as if it had drunk deep of human blood;' and as he said this there was something almost Montenegrin in his tone and expression. He asked his

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guest if he knew where the worst roads in the world existed. Mr. L. was not to be puzzled, and answered 'in London.'

'Yes,' said the Prime Minister, 'the road at the bottom of Berkeley Square shook my poor bones to pieces in a four-wheeler the other day. Ugh! I can feel it now;' and at this he acted the screws and contortions his body had gone through in the bumping cab.

His guest ventured to suggest as an excuse for our metropolis the difficulties of the traffic, whereupon Mr. Gladstone turned on him like a tiger with 'You have the mind of a vestryman!' But even this did not ruffle Mr. L.'s personal complacency; his double chin kept its usual folds inside his collar, and it was only the prospects of a moonlight drive which prevented him from accompanying us to the public library.

St. Deiniol's was the hobby of Mr. Gladstone's declining years, and the interest he had most at heart; Home Rule paled before it, and the Newcastle programme became a ghost. Behind the shifting vicissitudes of his public life, books for this library were the absorbing occupation of his mind. Scarcely a day passed but he carried himself or sent a fat brown paper parcel of books up there, which he undid and arranged with his own hands. At that time he had not ventured to tell himself, far less anybody else, what was to be the ultimate end of this library. Mrs. Drew confided to me as a secret that it might eventually be carried off to Wales and there become the nucleus of a new Welsh University—one of Mr. Gladstone's dreams.

Whatever the fate in store for it, I could not help feeling a sense of waste at this large collection of books isolated on a bleak hill in a scattered district. It seemed to me too sanguine a hope that the few cabinlike living rooms would ever be occupied by resident pupils from distant parts. Mr. Gladstone was wise in making the building of a temporary description—corrugated iron has few obligations. He was very proud of the economy of space inside, which, on the buttress plan, holds the maximum of books within the minimum of space; if anything, the passage room is run too fine for comfort. He told us that he had taken every measurement himself.

The heating apparatus is another subject for congratulation, also planned by himself. It consists of one small stove, which is on such approved principles that the heat is supposed to extend equally to all extremities. We found this to be a fond illusion; the cold was intense, and it was almost piteous to see M. Waddington shivering and longing to be back in a comfortable house.

Mr. Gladstone, as soon as he got inside his sanctuary, became happily unconscious of his guests, took off his hat, and, in the short black cape—his warmest clothing for the severest weather—took his way in a world of his own. His hat was quite unique, and of so amazing a construction that I could not help asking where he got it;

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he could not remember. It had a black cloth brim and a black straw conelike crown. The Ambassador, for the moment *en disponibilité*, wandered about cold and disconsolate; and the black and threatening expression of the sky added to his impatience.

Quite unaware of this, Mr. Gladstone took us to his treasures, which were locked up in a small deal cupboard. Among them were a bishop's Bible, some French classics Sir Charles Tennant had given him, some Caxton reprints, &c. In talking of Lord Acton, he said as far as history went he was a walking encyclopædia; there was no episode or incident in Madame du Barry's life which he did not know. We walked home in a driving storm of sleet and snow, which seemed almost to invigorate the Prime Minister, but affected our Ambassador very differently.

Tea was more than usually comforting that afternoon, and Mr. Gladstone, who is a tea-drinker, sat down snugly at the table. As he handed me the muffins, he said the person who takes the top piece is as self-denying as the man who chooses the leg of a chicken.

The conversation was led back to Italy by M. Waddington, and Mr. Gladstone's agitation there, and how it all came about.

We were travelling in Italy in 1850 [he said], and spent some time in Naples, where we were constantly with Sir James Lacaita, an excellent man and a great friend of mine. On asking one day where he was, we were told he had been taken up. This might happen to anybody in those days. As you were walking along the street, a man would come up and tap you on the shoulder and say 'Per ordine superiore,' and you were marched off there and then. For four weeks he was kept in confinement, with one of those low fellows always with him. Neapolitan officials went off in the meanwhile to his house, burst open all his drawers and pried into his papers, not because they considered him a suspected man, but simply that nobody was safe then, and, the better man you were, the more chance there was, according to them, of finding you out.

I was very much upset about this, being a great friend of Lacaita's, and this is what turned me into a foreign agitator. I was perfectly innocent of the project when I started for Italy, and indeed made more row than I ever expected to.

Now my plan was this—not a bad one—but I must tell the facts against myself as well as for myself. I wrote to Lord Aberdeen to ask him if I might address my letters to him on the subject, and he consented.

Mr. Gladstone went on to tell us that the subject of the two letters addressed to Lord Aberdeen, which he afterwards published in pamphlet form, was the State prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government. In the meanwhile Lord Aberdeen, at his instigation and quoting his authority, had made an urgent appeal to the Austrian Government to look into the abuses and to mitigate them.

But Schwarzenberg [he continued] only wrote back abusing me and refusing to do anything. The season went by, and I saw I should be left where I was, so I then took a step I had no right to take, and published my letters without Lord Aberdeen's consent.

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I could not resist asking him if Lord Aberdeen had minded his doing this.

Well [said Mr. Gladstone], he was always very good to me, and I loved him dearly, more than I ever loved any public man, and he was very kind about it. Lord Palmerston, to my surprise, had them reprinted and sent to every foreign capital with a letter desiring the British Ambassador to call the attention of the Court to the letters. It was very bold conduct on his part, but he was always fond, as Lord Granville said of him, of playing the big drum. The Italians complained afterwards that he did not support them when they wanted his assistance.

Reverting to Lord Aberdeen, he said that his weak point was that he was too Austrian. This probably arose from the European problems of 1814–15, with which he was so closely associated as a young man. He went on to say he was a man of laconic utterance. 'I went to him once when in a desperate political strait about some Protection question, and after talking it over with me he said as I went out, "Whether you are right or whether you are wrong, I wish you success," and these were the last words he ever said to me.'

I asked him about his experiences of the Italian prisons, and what he thought of the 'Vicaria.'

The prison was not clean of course, but I don't recall anything specially bad about it; there was no glass in the windows, but this prevented bad air and smells. It did not occur to me at the time that it wanted any courage to go over them, for I never thought of it as risky, but when I was inspecting the Vicaria I had four hundred murderers round me, and there were six barred gates between me and the warders through which I should have had to pass.

Was I safe, you naturally ask, and I answer perfectly. I was on the arm of a political prisoner, and, seeing me with him, they thought it all right and bowed most politely to me.

I don't think Lacaita was ever the same man after this persecution of Bomba's; he lost his nerve and became a great coward. Here is an illustration. I was on the eve of publishing a pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, which I had given to two or three of my friends whose opinions I valued to read in proof. Arthur Gordon, a younger son of the Prime Minister, was open-mouthed about it, and did all he could to dissuade me from publishing it. In despair he went to Lacaita and begged him to try and use a deterring influence upon me, but Lacaita said: 'I have been with Gladstone for two hours talking to him and doing my best to prevent him from publishing it, but it's no use.' It was perfectly true he had been with me for two hours that morning; it was also perfectly true he had talked to me pretty continuously, but he never mentioned the Vatican Decrees.

The conversation now took a more frivolous turn and jumped from 1850 to the other day. We descended into fashionable circles, and Boulanger became the central figure. The Ambassador spoke with disgust of the way in which the General had been received by certain hostesses in London who should have known better, by one in particular, who was the intimate friend of the Duc d'Aumale. Boulanger had been originally the Duke's *protégé*, and yet was the Minister of War who got the Duke cashiered from the French army.

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M. Waddington gave us to understand, at considerable length, that he had nothing to reproach himself with as far as his own attitude was concerned, during the Boulanger visit, for he had made it quite clear to the lady that after this the hospitable doors of the French Embassy were for ever closed to her. He went on to tell us of the large and gay reception prepared for the French adventurer by this lady, who invited all kinds of distinguished people to meet him. Some, however, appear to have resisted the temptation manfully, and Mr. Goschen for refusing to go, and Lord Cross for walking out of the house when he saw Boulanger in the room, were highly commended. 'Cross,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'behaved admirably.'

Mrs. Gladstone was sitting with us round the tea-table enjoying without adding to the talk. She listened in her own fugitive happy way; whatever the topic, whether or not within the limits of her knowledge and experience, she appeared to master all she needed with three seconds' airy inattention. Her quick sympathy enabled her to pick up anything, and if her understanding was instinctive rather than intellectual it was seldom at fault.

The next morning both Ribblesdale and the Ambassador had to go, and I was left the only outsider. Most of it was agreeably spent in those prehistoric peeps which old photograph albums supply. Here I discovered chubby, callow, and bewhiskered editions of the present Prime Minister and the new Secretary for the Colonies. We were ruthlessly awakened from this early world by a bright thought on quite a different subject suddenly striking Mrs. Gladstone. She rang the bell, the butler appeared, and she informed him that there was a cold partridge tucked up on the chimney-piece in the hall which she wished taken to somebody in the village. She explained to me, with a volley of winks, how cleverly she had purloined it from the dining-room and secreted it in order that the old lady should have it eventually. I felt that in such a cause conspiracy was not only justifiable but commendable. The butler bowed gravely and disappeared to track the partridge.

At luncheon Mr. Gladstone complained seriously of the thin glass of the new tumblers, proved to demonstration by the one he had just tipped over smashing to atoms in his plate. Mrs. Drew tried to persuade him that they were a great improvement on the old thick ones, and dragged me into the controversy by asserting that they met with my unqualified approval. At this Mr. Gladstone said severely that he disputed my right to vote upon the subject, as I was not a ratepayer. I said I would willingly take up my abode there in order to be put upon the register if he would allow me to stay. He again scowled disapprovingly of the tumbler, and said, 'My dear, it is an injudicious inference from a wineglass.'

About teatime Professor Max Müller arrived, an energetic little man with an intermittent sense of humour, keen interests, and a

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great deal to say. Mr. Gladstone received him with his usual courtesy, and before they had been five minutes together plunged into philological discussion—asking him wherein he considered lay the difference between the man and the beast, and adding that he considered the broad distinction was that man was a tool-making creature. The professor agreed, but argued that language was a tool and could produce both cause and effect. Mr. Gladstone demurred, and said language was not material as tools were. Max Müller then asked if he did not call sound material; Mr. Gladstone only admitted it to be material in a transitory way, for it leaves nothing behind it, though it can be repeated, of course. This added to the general confusion—at all events to mine—but to my intellectual relief he went on to say:

All animals have the use of sound. Look at the rooks, they were having a Parliament this morning, with the Speaker in the chair, but a far better constructed Parliament than ours, for they all spoke at once and there was no confusion. Now what an improvement this is on our House of Commons!

From this he touched on Homer, who put the use of the word on an equality with the use of the sword; and when the professor asked him which he considered the most important he said the word, but that the sword had been brought into too prominent a position in these days of that accursed thing called militarism.

Max Müller took a gloomy view of the future, and prophesied general bankruptcy as a result of this martial era, citing France, where the taxes used to be thirty millions and now amount to one hundred and thirty millions. Mr. Gladstone thought Germany's an even worse plight, but the professor maintained that the people were better off than when the taxes were lighter. The Prime Minister disputed this, and again got back to Italy to refute this view. Italy was now described as a country with only gristle and no bone.

They went on discussing language from an abstract point of view, Mr. Gladstone trying to dethrone it before its high priest, and, to prove that thought could exist without it, told us that when he was occupied with anything about which he was anxious, the time he was most conscious of it was on awaking in the morning. He was not at first aware of what it was, but the weight of it was on his mind, and by degrees he became cognisant of the reality. Max Müller allowed that the best things were often realised without expression, just as sudden actions are performed without it. 'This is phantasmata; you shake the kaleidoscope and then words are necessary to formulate the thought.' I think this last characteristic remark of the professor's was rather too much for Mr. Gladstone, and he quickly offered to show him his room.

We had a most agreeable dinner. Max Müller and Mr. Gladstone were our only men, and the empty place as usual ready for Mr. Drew was never filled. By the third evening I had got so accustomed to this hiatus that it had ceased to depress me; it was characteristic of

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the arrangements of the *ménage*, which were wisely constructed with a view to elasticity.

We got on to Goethe, whom Mr. Gladstone called a great artist, for he never made a failure. He was, in this respect, very different to Shakespeare, who could not be admitted into this class, for his work was often slovenly and careless. He asked us all if we knew Manzoni's poem 'Cinque Maggio,' which was, he considered, the best portrait that exists of Napoleon, 'by far the most vivid projection of the man.' I had to confess I had never even heard of it, and was relieved to find myself in good company, for the professor was equally ignorant. According to the Prime Minister, Goethe's translation of this poem was one of the only bad bits of work he had done.

I asked of both men if they thought 'Wilhelm Meister' a teaching book. Mr. Gladstone said he doubted Goethe as a teacher, for he had searched in vain through his works for any recognition of the sense of duty. 'A friend of mine, a Goethe enthusiast, had pointed to "Iphigenia" as an example to the contrary, but I said nobody could rob a Greek drama of this quality.'

Max Müller was evidently disturbed by this view, and considered that Goethe recognised duty in another form. Duty was art with him, the art of life. But Mr. Gladstone would not accept this theory at any price, arguing that this was surely a very different idea.

Max Müller maintained that with Goethe beauty was goodness and goodness beauty. The Prime Minister grudgingly admitted such a possibility. The only form of goodness which Goethe did not appreciate was, according to the professor, respectability. This roused Mr. Gladstone's smouldering indignation. 'Call goodness anything but that, please,' he said. 'I once heard a remarkable sermon from Stopford Brooke on the subject of respectability; it was admirably done and gave me great enjoyment.' I ventured to suggest that respectability was not infrequently mistaken for goodness. Mr. Gladstone demurred to this, and Mrs. Drew went so far as to say she thought they militated against each other.

Her father then told us about the murder trial of one Tartley, who, on his statement that the parents of the murdered party were respectable, was asked what proof there was of their respectability, and answered: 'They kept a gig.' A smile of tigerlike satisfaction curled up his thin lips when he had told this story, which was the origin of Carlyle's 'Gigmanity.'

From this they wandered on to Tennyson, who, it appears, became a *gourmet* with advancing years, and latterly always had his own wine and his own dish, which nobody else was offered. Mr. Gladstone admitted having observed this with true pain. Tennyson once came unexpectedly to luncheon with our professor at Oxford, and on seeing cutlets and a chicken on the table remarked that it was the sort of luncheon one would get at any wayside inn. He was given the liver

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wing of the chicken, upon which he remarked: 'The liver wing is the only privilege a Poet Laureate gets.' Mr. Gladstone remarked that, though the devotion of his family had done its worst to spoil him, he could still tell a story against himself. A tourist was questioning his gardener about his master, and at last, having acquired as much information as he seemed likely to be able to get, said: 'Well, your master is a great man!' 'A great man? He's no great man; he only keeps one man-servant, and he don't sleep in the house.' Max Müller said that Tennyson latterly was better company after dinner than before; in this respect consolingly like many lesser men of my own acquaintance.

In talking of Kingsley, he said that for some time before he died he was little read. Though conscious of and saddened by this fact, it was still more brought home to him when he was anxious to raise some money to start a son in Australia. With this object in view he visited his publisher, hoping to be presented with a few thousands of pounds, but his disappointment was great when he was told that 300*l.* was the most the publisher was prepared to offer. Kingsley, however, had a revival in public estimation and interest after his death.

Mr. Gladstone said that he never recovered the crushing defeat Newman gave him, in which Kingsley had all the right on his side, but managed his case so unskilfully that Newman trampled on him with the heel of his boot. In the matter of uncles, I learned that the professor was highly favoured, as both Kingsley and Froude stood in this relation to his wife. He not unnaturally felt something of the pride of possession in discussing two such distinguished men. Mr. Gladstone went on to ask how uncle Froude was getting on at Oxford. He was glad to hear that his lectures were very popular and well attended, unlike Mr. Stubbs, whose whole audience seldom exceeded two men and one old woman. They agreed that Froude not only tried to, but succeeded in showing his pupils that history did not consist of parchments only, but of blood as well as of bones. He had waited patiently for his post of Regius Professor while four other men had walked into it in front of him.

I left Hawarden the next morning.

After being with such a personality the world felt cold and stagnant.

CHARLOTTE RIBBLESDALE.

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HOLY WEEK AT JERUSALEM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

In the year 1884, Signor Gamurrini, the learned librarian of a lay brotherhood at Arezzo in Tuscany, found among the archives of his community a MS. which contained a description of a lady's journey to the Holy Land in the fourth century. The discoverer, although a scholar, could scarcely have guessed when he published the text that it would shortly afterwards be regarded by Church historians on the Continent as 'un document de premier ordre.'

The MS. of the *Itinerary*, unfortunately incomplete, dates from the middle of the ninth century, and contains, in addition, an unedited treatise and three hymns of St. Hilary.[1] As the missing pages of the lady's MS. are at the beginning, the author's name which probably appeared in them has till lately remained a mystery. The writer describes her journey in a long letter, containing a sort of diary, addressed to her 'sisters,' whom she sometimes styles 'vener-

[1] As suspicion may be aroused at the outset as to the genuineness of the MS., it will be as well to give briefly its pedigree. It is written on parchment in the Longobardo-Cassinian script, associated by palæographers with MSS. which have Monte Cassino as their provenance. Signor Gamurrini therefore made inquiries at that famous library and found that both the treatise and hymns of St. Hilary and the *Peregrinatio* figured in the catalogue there of 1532. After further research he discovered, moreover, that as far back as 1070, one of the librarians of the monastery, Leo of Ostia, mentions these works of St. Hilary in his chronicle, and his successor, Peter the Deacon, in his book on the Holy Places, makes long extracts from the lady's *Peregrinatio*. Neither of the MSS., however, appears in the Monte Cassino inventory of 1650; but in 1788 they were found by Angelo of Constantia in the library of the monastery of SS. Flora and Lucilla at Arezzo. It is probable that they were brought there by Ambrose Rostrelli, abbot of Monte Cassino (1599–1602), who retired to Arezzo, and was made abbot of SS. Flora and Lucilla in 1610. Two hundred years later Napoleon turned the monks of St. Flora out of their abbey. Many of their MSS. were dispersed, but some were rescued by the lay brotherhood, to whom Signor Gamurrini subsequently became librarian. Among them was the MS. containing St. Hilary and the *Peregrinatio*, the opening pages of which were very probably lost in its last hasty removal. It was published by Signor Gamurrini at Rome in 1887, and a second edition appeared in 1888. Corrections and amended readings have been made by Duchesne and Mommsen. The latest critical edition is that of Geyer in the *Corpus* of the Academy of Vienna. An edition with an English translation was also brought out by Dr. Bernard, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1891, for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

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able,' sometimes 'beloved,' and who were most probably her fellow-members in a religious community. That she was a person of rank and importance may be inferred from several facts mentioned in the MS. For instance, in her journey to Sinai and Egypt, while passing through the desert, then in a disturbed and dangerous state, she was provided with an escort of Roman soldiers. At every stage of her travels she was courteously received, and had interviews with the bishops and leading ecclesiastics of all the Holy Places. Even hermits, whose reluctance to suffer any intrusion from the outside world was proverbial, left their cells to welcome her and gladly answered the numerous questions she put to them. For, as she says herself, she was of an inquiring mind. '*Ego et sum satis curiosa.*' Although she does not seem to have possessed the cultivation and literary ability of some of her contemporaries, such as the great ladies who were the correspondents of St. Jerome, or the sister of Rufinus, who sat up all night to read *Origen*, she had a keen faculty of observation, was well versed in Holy Scripture, and appears also to have had an intelligent knowledge of ecclesiastical usages and customs.

The Latin in which she writes is of a provincial character, and scholars have inferred from its dialectic peculiarities that the writer must have been a native of the south-west of France or the north of Spain. Her style, however, is not so barbarous as that of Prosper of Aquitaine, who wrote in the following century. That her home was in a distant province of the Empire, probably on the Atlantic seaboard, may be gathered from the words of the Bishop of Edessa, who compliments her on having travelled from the 'ends of the earth' to his own city.

If we are somewhat surprised at the courage of a woman who in the fourth century could venture on a journey of so many thousand miles, we must remember that the facilities of travel in those days were considerable. Roman roads connected the seaports with the inland cities, and the posting service was well conducted. The provinces through which her route lay were all under the sway of the Empire, and Greek and Latin were everywhere spoken by the educated and commercial classes. At the moment of her travels, however, grave perils were threatening the order and security of the Roman world, and our intrepid traveller, if she came from the Spanish frontier, had first to pass through Gaul, then disturbed by invading barbarian tribes, as well as by the advent of Maximin with his revolting legions from Britain, issuing in the assassination of the Emperor Gratian near Lyons. On leaving this disturbed province, this heroic lady proceeded, probably by the overland route, to Constantinople, where again the country could scarcely have been in a settled state, as the Goths had recently defeated the Roman legions at Hadrianople, burnt the wounded Emperor Valens in the

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cottage where he had taken refuge, and had spent a twelvemonth ravaging the neighbouring provinces of the Empire. The reason for assuming that these calamities occurred shortly before our pilgrim entered on her journey is due to our being able, from a study of the contents of her MS., to place the date of her pilgrimage between the years 379 and 388. For instance, the Bishop of Edessa, who, as we have seen, comments on the length of the lady's journey, is described as a Confessor, a title which he probably earned during the Arian persecution under Valens, who turned all the Catholic bishops out of their sees. The bishop in question seems to have been Eulogius, who returned to his diocese after the persecution had ceased in 378, and lived on, as we know, till 388; hence, as we infer, the visit of this lady must have occurred within those ten years.

Who could this remarkable lady have been? It was at first suggested that she was Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, but this theory was soon rejected, as her date did not coincide with the limits of time determined by the contents of the MS. The discoverer of the MS., Signor Gamurrini, was of opinion that the authoress was St. Silvia of Aquitaine, a sister of Rufinus, Prefect of the East under Theodosius, of whose journey from Jerusalem to Egypt we possess a notice in the writings of Palladius.[2] This hypothesis, although not entirely satisfactory on several points, was nevertheless generally adopted, and the MS. has been known as the *Peregrinatio Silviæ* ever since. Within the last few months, however, a learned Benedictine, Dom Férotin, who has devoted much time to the study of MSS. preserved in Spain, has, without the aid of any fresh documents, but by a felicitous juxtaposition of already known facts, identified the author of the *Peregrinatio* with Etheria, a Spanish religious, who belonged to the remote north-west province of the peninsula, and has thus suddenly emerged from obscurity as the authoress of a document of the first importance.

The existence of this Etheria was hitherto known only to the few scholars who had read Valerius, a Spanish hermit of the seventh century, who occupied his time between the writing of many books and making the desert around his cell in the Asturian Mountains, between Astorga and the Atlantic, to blossom like the rose. By a happy inspiration, Dom Férotin recognised in a letter written by this recluse, containing a panegyric of a female pilgrim called Etheria or Echeria,[3] a counterpart of the description contained in the MS. found at Arezzo. This letter of Valerius was addressed to his neighbours, the monks of Vierzo, with a view of

[2] *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 143, 144.

[3] We have two MSS. of the letter of Valerius, both of the tenth century: one in the Escurial, which Dom Férotin has now edited for the first time, and one in the National Library of Madrid. These MSS. give both readings of the lady's name. That of Toledo, now lost, gave Egeria.

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re-awakening their spiritual zeal. He sets before them as an example the Virgin Etheria, who with what he calls an '*irrevocabili audacia*,' braved the perils of a long journey in order to visit the sites associated with the Old and New Testaments and to trace the footsteps of the Patriarchs and Apostles. The usual arid style of Valerius is, in this epistle, so transformed that we are led to believe he had before him as he wrote a text of the Arezzo *Peregrinatio*. Some of his phrases, indeed, are almost identical with those of that MS., and the route described is practically in the order there given. Florid as is the praise which Valerius lavishes on this woman, whatever the orthography of her name may be, we can scarcely call it exaggerated, for even in this twentieth century, when athletic women are the fashion, and lady travellers rush into print, her energy and endurance seem to us astounding. For example, she makes the ascent of Mount Sinai on foot, and, moreover, fasting, in order that she may communicate at the chapel on the summit; she seems indifferent to the omission of her breakfast, and in lieu of it is content with a little fruit given her by the monks after the service, which could not have been over till nearly noon. Then, apparently without waiting to rest, she descends from the peak, climbs Horeb, and continues her visitations of the holy sites till the late afternoon, when she partakes of a 'light meal' only, gains a few hours' sleep, to rise soon after daybreak on the morrow and resume her journey. Such is her energy that we are quite relieved to find she is human, and to note that on emerging from the mountain group of Sinai and reaching Faran, she remarks, 'We had to stay there two days to recruit our strength.'[4] It is this ascent of Sinai which particularly excites the enthusiasm of Valerius in his letter, and is one of the main points which decided Dom Férotin in the identification of the traveller. Even in that age of heroic pilgrims the ascent of Sinai was unusual, for Posthumianus, a monk from Gaul who made the same journey within a few years of Etheria, gave up the attempt as impossible; and that it was not without risk from other causes is shown by the fact that a few years before, in 373, this part of the peninsula had been the scene of a Saracenic raid in which all the monks in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai had been pitilessly slaughtered.[5]

Mere curiosity was not the motive which prompted Etheria to brave such dangers. Whenever she arrives at a site connected with the Biblical narrative, the passages from Holy Scripture bearing on it are read aloud, and a short prayer is offered, sometimes with the addition of an appropriate psalm. 'For,' she remarks, 'it was our custom that whenever we were enabled to approach the desired

[4] I have availed myself of Dean Bernard's translation throughout this article, adopting here and there a reading suggested by more recent critics.

[5] Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vol. vii., 2nd edition, p. 262.

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places, a prayer should first be offered, then the lection read from the book, then an appropriate psalm said, and finally another prayer. This custom we always held to, God commanding us, whenever we arrived at the desired places.' The prayers seem to have been extempore and to have been said by the monks or clergy who accompanied Etheria, or those who came out to meet her and act as her guides to the churches and sites at which she stopped.

The most interesting part of her diary to us is the account of her visit to Jerusalem, and indeed it is with this part of her pilgrimage alone that we have space to deal.

To understand Etheria's description we must rapidly survey the changes through which the Holy City had passed since its destruction by Titus in A.D. 70. After the burning of the Temple a ploughshare was drawn over its site as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of Hadrian's new colony of Ælia, which spread itself over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry, and a shrine to Venus was raised on the spot consecrated by the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord.[6] Three hundred years later, when Constantine abjured Paganism and the Empire became nominally Christian, the Emperor commanded the Chapel of Venus to be demolished, and on the removal of the soil and rubbish, Eusebius tells us, the Holy Sepulchre was exposed to view.[7] The Empress Helena, having also visited the spot, caused further excavations to be made, which resulted in the alleged discovery, or, as it has always been called, the Invention of the Cross, an event commemorated almost from this time forward throughout Christendom, two festivals in connection with it still being retained in our present Prayer Book Calendar.[8] On the area embracing the sites of the discovered Tomb and Cross, Constantine erected two churches: one called the Anastasis or Church of the Resurrection, built over the cave of the Holy Sepulchre, the other an adjacent basilica called the Martyrium or Memorial, on the site of the Crucifixion, a building which it was the Emperor's intention to make the finest in the world. It was, as Eusebius tells us, 'an extraordinary work, exhibiting a spectacle of surprising beauty,' the internal roof 'being so overlaid with radiant gold' that it 'made the whole Temple as it were to glitter with rays of light.' Between these two churches was the Sanctuary of the Cross, where, Etheria tells us, the Cross found by the Empress was shown at the Good Friday services. The Bishop

[6] St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Paulinum* LVIII.

[7] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 25–47, 51–53.

[8] The 3rd of May and 14th of September, though since the time of Heraclius the 14th of September has been associated with the recapture of the Cross by the Persians, and not with its discovery by St. Helena.

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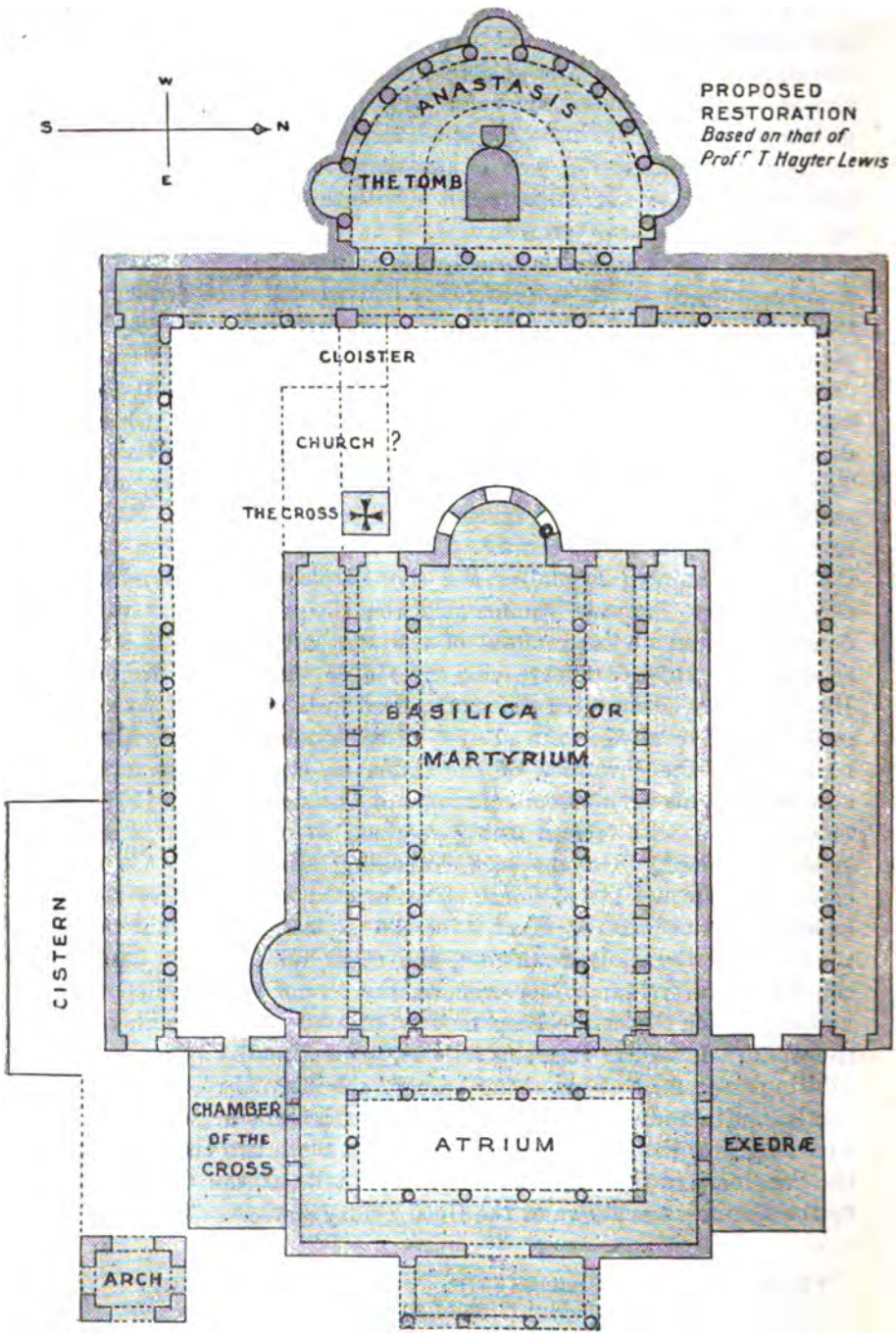
CONSTANTINE'S CHURCHES AT JERUSALEM



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of Jerusalem in Etheria's time lived near the Holy Sepulchre, close to the Anastasis, although the primitive Church or Cathedral of Jerusalem was situated on Mount Sion on the traditional site of the 'Upper Room' mentioned in the Gospels.

Outside Jerusalem, St. Helena had built over the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, a basilica, which Constantine after her death re-decorated, as Eusebius tells us, 'with lavish expenditure, honouring it with imperial offerings, with treasures of gold and silver and with embroidered curtains, thus immortalising the memory of his mother, who did such good service to mankind.' The Empress also built on the Mount of Olives a church called the Eleona, on the traditional site of our Lord's discourses with His disciples before His Passion. Higher up on the mount she also raised on the site of the Ascension a sanctuary which Etheria refers to as the Imbomon,[9] while beyond this, in the village of Bethany, was the Lazarium or Church of the House of Lazarus. All these buildings had been erected about the years 330 to 335, but between this age of church-building and the time of Etheria's visit, Jerusalem had witnessed a period of trial and persecution. Not only had the successors of Constantine encouraged the Arian heresy and deprived the Catholic bishops of their sees, but under Julian the Apostate a direct and bitter onslaught on the Christian faith was made. Pagan shrines were restored, Christians were forbidden to teach in the schools of the Empire, and a flood of iniquity was let loose over the Holy City, which was hardly stemmed even with the accession of the Emperor Theodosius, who was baptised into the orthodox faith, for St. Jerome, who resided at Bethlehem while engaged on his great work of preparing the text of the Vulgate, deplores the terrible vice then prevailing in Jerusalem. Julian's impious attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple on Mount Moriah was frustrated, and his death in the Persian campaign followed soon after. When Etheria reached Jerusalem, however, peace had been restored to the Christian world, and we are enabled to follow with her the rites and practices of a Church unhampered by persecution and untinged with heresy.

She first describes the week-day services in Constantine's churches; these we find are practically the 'Hours,' since stereotyped in the Breviaries of Christendom, and condensed in our present Prayer Book. The most popular service seems to have been that of Vespers, or, as she styles it, 'Lucernaria,' which was so called because all the lamps and tapers were lighted, as the service was not over till dark. The congregations at these daily services were mainly composed of 'monks and virgins,' of whom there seem to have been a great number in Jerusalem. A considerable impulse had been given to the religious life there by the advent of St. Jerome and some of his most distinguished disciples. Failing to be elected to the Papacy on the death of Pope

[9] Now the *Viri Galilæi.*

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Damasus, to whom he had been secretary, St. Jerome retired to Bethlehem, where he lived the life of a recluse and devoted himself to his great task of Bible revision. Rufinus, the ecclesiastical historian and an intimate friend of Jerome, had founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives, and Melania, a noble Roman lady, had established a religious house for women not far from it. Paula, a descendant of the Scipios and the Gracchi, who had been left a widow with immense wealth, gave up, under Jerome's influence, her palace at Rome to found a Community for ladies at Bethlehem. As both she and her daughter were women of cultivation, speaking and writing Greek and Hebrew, Jerome was glad to avail himself of their daily help in translating and collating MSS. for the completion of the Vulgate and for his revision of the Psalter. Such was the religious society in and around Jerusalem about the time of Etheria's arrival. She does not tell us where she took up her abode, whether with the Proconsul at the Prætorium, or more probably in a religious house on the Mount of Olives or in one of the many cells or inns for pilgrims which Paula had taken three years to build.[10]

It was not, however, the 'monks and virgins' alone who filled the churches. Although those were the days of few books, we must not suppose that the faithful laity were unable to take an intelligent share in the services of the Church. Part of their preparation for baptism, as Etheria tells us, consisted of a course of teaching which took up three hours a day for five weeks, and was given by the bishop himself, the parents and many of the faithful also being present. That the instruction was deeply interesting we may gather from the fact that, though the doors of the Church were closed lest any unauthorised person should enter, the voices of those applauding the teaching of the bishop could be heard outside the building.

The Eucharist was offered on Sundays and Holy days and on the Wednesday and Friday of each week, and in Lent on Saturdays. The liturgy and all the offices appear to have been said in Greek, but Etheria tells us that when the lessons are read, in case there should be those present who understood Syriac only:

> A man stands by who interprets in Syriac, that the people may receive instruction; and that the Latins, who know neither Syriac nor Greek, may not be saddened, an explanation is also given to them in Latin by those brothers and sisters present who understand both Greek and Latin.[11]

This care for the Westerns touches us closely, for St. Jerome tells us that among the pilgrims who flocked to Jerusalem were some who had come even from Britain.[12]

[10] St. Jerome, *Pilgrimage of Paula*, A.D. 382.

[11] Paula, in her letter to Marcella at Rome, A.D. 386, says of the pilgrims at Jerusalem: 'Their speech differs, but their religion is one. There are almost as many choirs of psalm-singers as there are different nations.'

[12] 'The Briton, separated from our world, if he has made any progress in religion,

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We now come to Etheria's account of Sunday, which I give in her own words:

On the seventh, that is, the Lord's Day, before cock-crow, the whole crowd collects, as many as the place will hold; and if it be at Easter, in the Basilica, which is there near the Anastasis, but outside, where lights hang for this very purpose. For, as they are afraid that they may not be there at cock-crow, they come beforehand and sit there. And hymns and antiphons are sung, and after each hymn or antiphon a prayer is offered. For the priests and deacons are always ready there for vigils, on account of the crowd which assembles, and it is their custom not to open the holy places before cock-crow. But when the first cock has crowed, forthwith the Bishop descends and enters inside the cave to the Anastasis. All the doors are opened, and the whole crowd streams into the Anastasis. Here innumerable lights are shining; and when the people have entered, one of the priests says a psalm and they all respond; then prayer is offered. Again one of the deacons says a psalm, and again prayer is offered; a third psalm is said by one of the clergy, and prayer is offered for the third time, and the commemoration of all men is made.[13] Then, these three psalms having been said, and these three prayers offered, behold! censers are brought into the cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Basilica of the Anastasis is filled with odours. Then, where the Bishop stands inside the rails, he takes the Gospel and advances to the door, and himself reads of the Lord's resurrection. And when he has begun to read this, there is such a moaning and groaning of all the people, and such weeping, that the most obdurate person would be moved to tears, for that the Lord endured such grievous things for us. Then the Gospel having been read, the Bishop comes forth, and is led with hymns to the Cross, and all the people with him. There again one psalm is said, and a prayer offered. Again he blesses the faithful, and the dismissal is given. As the Bishop comes forth they all approach [to kiss] his hand; and presently the Bishop betakes himself to his own house. From that hour all the monks return to the Anastasis, and psalms and antiphons are said till daylight, and after each psalm or antiphon prayer is offered. For every day in turn the priests and deacons keep vigil at the Anastasis with the people. If any of the laity, either men or women, wish it, they stay there till it is light, but if they do not wish to do so, they return to their houses and go to sleep again.

But with the dawn, because it is the Lord's Day, they proceed to the great church built by Constantine, which is in Golgotha behind the Cross; and all things are done according to the use which is customary everywhere on the Lord's Day.[14]

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leaves the setting sun, and seeks a place known to him only by fame and the narrative of Scripture.' (Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella.)

[13] This is the use of the diptychs or tablets placed on the altar. On these were inscribed the names of the living and departed whom the Church desired to commemorate.

[14] This is one of the ways in which Etheria speaks of the Eucharist. She sometimes calls it Mass or *Missa*, which primarily means 'dismissal,' but she uses this same word elsewhere in another sense which is puzzling. The candidates for baptism were not allowed to be present at the Consecration, and left the church before it took place, so that when she speaks of the Mass of the Catechumens she means their dismissal before the celebration of the mysteries. The faithful, however, were not thus dismissed, and as Etheria mentions certain occasions only on which 'all communicated,' we may infer that the Primitive Church made no objection to 'non-communicating attendance.' In some part of the narrative Etheria uses the word 'oblation' to denote the Eucharist, but the unwillingness to make mention openly of the Holy Mysteries, which characterised the times of persecution, is still

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There are one or two points in this account of the Sunday at Jerusalem to which attention may be drawn.

(1) That here we have the earliest notice known of a Christian use of incense, and that, not to perfume the church before a service, but to be solemnly burned before the reading of the Gospel, the bishop standing within the rails. The service, however, that she mentions is not the Eucharist but Mattins, which preceded Mass. The Gospel read is that of the Resurrection, which at Jerusalem did not change with the Church's seasons, on account of local associations. This early mention of incense at Jerusalem suggests that the Christian use of it was derived rather from the Jewish than from a Pagan source, notwithstanding the views of many writers to the contrary. In the West, at Rome, in Spain and Gaul, where the infant Church was surrounded by Paganism, and there was no tradition of the Temple ritual, its Christian use in the fourth century seems unknown. In fact, the Christians there appear to have shrunk from it as from a badge of idolatry. Too many martyrdoms had been consequent on the refusal to scatter a few grains of incense before the statues of the gods or the Cæsar, to permit of the faithful adopting it as an accessory of Christian worship. The poet Prudentius, a countryman and contemporary of Silvia, uses the expression 'thou art one of the incense-bearing flock' as equivalent for 'thou art a Pagan.'[15] Not so at Jerusalem. There the Temple tradition lingered. Nine or ten lifetimes only elapsed since the Christians themselves had attended the services in it, just before its destruction by Titus. The sabbath was still observed. Etheria tells us it was regarded as a feast-day, and during Lent a Eucharist was celebrated on that morning. Was not also the lamp burning perpetually before the Holy Sepulchre, from which all the tapers at the Lucernaria were lighted, a relic of that which, as we are told in Leviticus, burnt continually before the Altar of the Lord, and which appears in the Book of Samuel to have been allowed to go out, through the carelessness of Eli or his sons? However this may be, the use of incense in the West appears to have been adopted from the Eastern Church, and Mgr. Duchesne assures us that up to the ninth century (in Rome at least) it was not burned as a solemn adjunct to the reading of the Gospel, but merely in processions, that the route followed by the clergy might be made sweet-smelling.[16] Etheria also records that at Jerusalem Octaves of festivals were kept, which is another custom taken over from Judaism. These points of

apparent in Etheria, and on two occasions she records a Eucharist by saying: 'they do the things which are to be done,' or as above: 'all things are done according to the use which is customary everywhere on the Lord's day.'

[15] Hæc tu si dubitas nati mysteria Christi,
Perdite, Catholicâ non es de plebe, sed unus
De grege thurifero venerator . . .
(*Apotheosis*, l. 359).

[16] *Christian Worship*, p. 168.

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possible continuity with the Temple worship are highly interesting, and, considered in connection with the revival of the use of incense at the present day, make the objections to it as 'Romish' somewhat groundless.

(2) Another peculiarity in regard to the Sunday service is that the psalms and lessons were appropriate to the day, and were changed with the seasons. This practice Etheria notes as entirely new to her, and her delight in it would lead us to infer that in the West the use of 'special lessons' had not yet been introduced.[17]

We now come to the keeping of Lent, which was most rigorously observed at Jerusalem. It lasted there eight weeks, the reason of the extension of the period being due to the fact that the Sabbath (Saturday) as well as the Sunday was exempt from fasting. Etheria tells us that those who kept Lent most strictly had one ordinary meal on Saturday, after the Eucharist, and one on Sunday; but on other days they partook of gruel only, until the following Saturday. These appear to have been the 'religious,' and Etheria acknowledges that not all were able to follow their example.

We now come to the interesting observance of Palm Sunday, the first day of Holy Week, or, as it was called at Jerusalem, 'the Great Week':

On the next day—that is, the Lord's Day—which begins the Paschal Week, called here the Great Week, they proceed from cock-crow to go through the usual ceremonies in the Anastasis and at the Cross until the morning. Early on the Lord's Day they proceed, as usual, to the Great Church, called the Martyrium. It is so called because it is in Golgotha, *i.e.* behind the Cross where the Lord suffered, and so is a *Martyrium* or testimony. When all things have been celebrated,[18] according to custom in the Great Church, before the dismissal is given the archdeacon raises his voice and says: 'To-day let us all be ready at the seventh hour in Eleona.' Then the dismissal having been given in the Great Church, *i.e.* at the Martyrium, the Bishop is conducted with hymns to the Anastasis, and there the ceremonial having been gone through, which is customary in the Anastasis on the Lord's Day after Mass at the Martyrium, every one goes home and hastens to eat, that at the seventh hour, now beginning, they may all be ready in the church in Eleona, *i.e.* the Mount of Olives. The cave in which the Lord used to teach is there.

So at the seventh hour all the people and also the Bishop go up to the Mount of Olives; . . . hymns and antiphons suitable to the day and place are sung and lections read in like manner. And when it begins to be the ninth hour they go up with hymns to the Imbomon—that is, to the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven—and there they sit down. For all the people are always bid to sit down in the presence of the Bishop; only the deacons remain standing. Hymns and antiphons suitable to the place and the day are sung, and in like manner lections and prayers are interspersed. And now . . . that place from the Gospel is read where the children with branches and palms met the Lord, saying, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.' And forthwith the Bishop arises and all the people, and they go down on foot the whole

[17] She says of the psalms and antiphons: 'Always suitable and intelligible as pertaining to the matter in hand.'

[18] *I.e.* the Eucharist.

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way from the summit of the Mount of Olives. For all the people go before him, responding the while with hymns and antiphons: 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.' And all the children in those parts are there holding branches of olive-trees or palms; even those who cannot walk because of their tender years are supported on the hill by their parents. And thus the Bishop is escorted like as the Lord was in former times. From the top of the hill to the city, and thence to the Anastasis, throughout the whole city, they all go the whole way on foot, lords and ladies alike; thus they escort the Bishop singing in response, but slowly and gently, so that the people may not be wearied. When they have come, although it is late, they have Vespers; then a prayer is said at the Cross, and the people are dismissed.

This is the earliest extant notice known of the keeping of Palm Sunday—at a date removed by nine or ten generations only from the historical event itself. The method of observing the day seems to have come down from a still earlier date, since St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, who died nearly forty years before Etheria's visit, mentions that the monks of Pharan left the desert and came into Jerusalem to keep Palm Sunday. The ceremony, like many others, was at first peculiar to Jerusalem. Mgr. Duchesne says, 'it was introduced into the West at a relatively late date; that is, about the eight or ninth century. The ancient Latin liturgical books make no mention of it whatever.'[19] When once introduced, however, it took firm hold of the minds of the people and brought before them vividly the Gospel narrative.[20]

Etheria's MS. now brings us to Thursday in Holy Week. On this day, in commemoration of the Institution, we find that there are two celebrations of the Eucharist, at hours that are unfamiliar to us, one at 2 and the other at 4 P.M.; but, apparently, though all communicate at the latter, the communicants are fasting, as Etheria tells us they hastened home after the service to eat, because later in the day they had to repair to Gethsemane to commemorate our Lord's agony in the Garden. She draws a vivid picture of the vast throng following the Bishop to the Mount of Olives:

And thence, with hymns, all, down to the smallest child, descend on foot to Gethsemane along with the Bishop, where, on account of the great crowd of people wearied with vigils and worn out with daily fastings, because they have to descend so great a mountain, they come gently and slowly with hymns to Gethsemane.

[19] *Christian Worship*, p. 247.

[20] It is curious to note in this connection how the Reformers banished every vestige or even mention of 'Palm' Sunday from our Prayer Book, because they believed its observance to be 'Popish'! Cranmer, in his Visitation of his Diocese of Canterbury, enjoins that there should be no 'Palms.' Tradition is strong in England, however, and what was banished from the Church is still borne by the lower classes. The Reformers had not access to the documents which would have shown them what ceremonies really were in use in Primitive times, and their idea of what those times were is on many points mistaken. Incense, lights, candles, creeping to the Cross, oils, chrisms, &c., were all condemned as Romish; whereas we find them all in use in the Mother of all Churches, Jerusalem, before 388, and it was from her example that Rome adopted them (some indeed tardily, several centuries later), and passed them on to the West.

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As it is now dark and the path is rough, she tells us 'over 200 church candles are prepared to give light to the people.'

We now come to Good Friday. The Bishop, clergy, and faithful, having remained on the Mount of Olives all night, reading the appropriate portions of the Gospels in the various churches and chapels there, singing hymns and offering special prayers, return at daybreak to the city, and make their way to the great Cross in the cloisters of Constantine's Basilica.

By the time they have come in front of the Cross it begins to be broad daylight. Then again that passage is read from the Gospel where the Lord is brought before Pilate. . . . Then the Bishop addresses the people, encouraging them, as they have toiled all night, and are about to toil all day, not to be weary but to have hope in God, who will give them a greater reward in return for their toil. And so encouraging them as he can, he thus addresses them: 'Go, every one of you, home now to your cells, and sit there for a little while, and by the second hour of the day be all ready here, that from that hour to the sixth you may be able to gaze upon the holy wood of the Cross, trusting each one that it will profit us for our salvation.' . . . After this then they are dismissed from the Cross, the sun being not yet up. Straightway the more ardent ones go up to Sion to pray at that pillar at which the Lord was scourged. Then, having returned, they sit down for a little while in their own houses, and soon are all ready again. A chair is placed for the Bishop in Golgotha behind the Cross, which stands there now; the Bishop sits down in the chair; there is placed before him a table covered with a white linen cloth, the deacons standing round the table. Then is brought a silver-gilt casket, in which is the holy wood of the Cross; it is opened and the. . . . wood of the Cross and also its inscription are placed on the table. . . . that every one of the people, faithful and catechumens alike, leaning forward, [may] bend over the table, kiss the wood, and pass on. . . . And when the sixth hour has come they go in front of the Cross in all weathers; for this place is exposed to the open sky, being a kind of atrium, very large and beautiful, situated between the Cross and the Anastasis. Then all the people collect there so that no one can pass through. A chair is placed for the Bishop in front of the Cross. . . . So from the sixth to the ninth hour lections are always being read, or hymns sung, that it may be shown to all the people that whatever the prophets foretold about the Lord's Passion is proved by the Gospels or by the writings of the Apostles to have taken place. . . . At the several lections and prayers there is such emotion displayed and lamentation of all the people as is wonderful. For there is no one, great or small, who does not weep on that day during those three hours in a way that cannot be measured, that the Lord should have suffered such things for us.

We have here the 'Three Hours,' but we observe there is no preaching, but merely reading from Holy Scripture interspersed with hymns and prayers. Vigil is kept in the Anastasis, by those who are able to do so, all night, hymns and antiphons being sung at intervals.

On Easter Eve the baptism of the catechumens takes place—a service of great interest, which Etheria does not describe, but of which we know the details from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who died some forty years before her visit. Although Etheria uses the word 'infantes,' which is translated 'children,' it is probable that many

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of the candidates were adults. Constantine had built a baptistery near the Anastasis, and it must have contained a font of some size, as the rite was one of total immersion.

It was followed by the Anointing, answering to our Confirmation, and the clothing with white garments, after which the candidates turned to the East and recited the Lord's Prayer. These ceremonies were performed in the night of Easter Eve—the 'Vigils,' as Etheria calls them. As the dawn rose over the Mount of Olives, the newly baptised issued in their white robes from the baptistery, and were escorted by the Bishop first to the Anastasis and then to the Great Basilica, where, with the rising sun, the Easter Eucharist was celebrated, at which the neophytes received their First Communion, and with this impressive scene Etheria's pages dealing with Christian worship at Jerusalem must be closed.

M. L. McClure.

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THE PLACE OF WHISTLER

It is now nearly a year since by the death of one who was a man of genius and of profound individuality—the terms are almost synonymous—the world that talks of Art was set to wondering what it was that had been really lost. So different, so opposed, have been the comments of people who have seized a pen, that the wonder, the uncertainty, must have lasted. Who had indeed gone? Was it a Master who had brought a revelation, and who held the key to all truths; a greater painter than Velasquez; the peer, more than the peer, of Rembrandt? Or was it a mannerist, smart, brilliant, versed in the jugglery of *chic*—a painter and etcher sworn to eccentricity: and whom only the genuineness of his shallow opinions saved from the disgrace of a charlatan?

Really it was neither the one nor the other—but that is a fact which the slow English public is not greatly to be blamed for not having thus far discerned. Whistler was condemned on the one hand—condemned: nay, often actually ignored—by the fogey of 'academic' prejudice, or 'scientific' investigation, by the adorer of such beauty as may have had the luck to be consecrated by an existence of at least four hundred years—by the student who persuades himself that the garb of the Antiquary suffices for the pose of the Connoisseur. Whistler was praised—was praised without qualification—on the other hand, by sectarian painters steeped in no knowledge, breathing no air, but that of the modern studio. Their opinions had no basis; their judgments no justification; they recorded their votes without claim; no franchise was theirs. And everybody who had known Whistler a little, and had an anecdote or two about him, was transformed, in imagination, into his chosen friend, and while recording, with remunerative reverence, quite the most trivial of his words and deeds, these chosen ones would have us understand that it was they who were responsible for nearly everything serious that the artist had done. Over a closed grave, was there ever before such effusive pushing or pressure? This man had known Whistler, and had served him years ago. Everything that Whistler had done excellently had been done in those years. That man was the boon confidant of later days. Before those days, nothing was known surely—before then, everything was myth. So, egotists

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disputed; so, nobodies were advertised. And the true Whistler after all? To be discerned not then: not then to be indicated.

And now the dust is laid; the clamour a little hushed. It may be possible, now, to form a judgment with justice—to express it with calm.

Even those who have had only a casual acquaintance with the life performance of Whistler must have been struck with the variety of the mediums used by him for its accomplishment. It is almost easier to name those mediums or channels of expression he avoided than those that he employed. He did not work in Mezzotint. He did not work in Line Engraving. The rare, yet occasionally revived, practice of Silver-point drawing he never resorted to. But he painted in Oils; he painted in Water Colour; Pastels he made so admirably that he may even be held responsible for 'prettily spurring on' some heavier-footed comrades to make them badly; dainty was his touch with the Pencil; with M. Fantin-Latour he shares the honours of the happy revival of artistic Lithography; and in the art of Etching, whatever may have been his limitations, his place, by reason of his qualities, is by the side of Rembrandt and of Méryon.

What was the cause of Whistler's always enterprising, experimental employment of as many mediums as I have named—each with its own special conditions, its technical difficulties? Industry was not the cause. For upon the merely industrious he poured out his scorn. Industry may be an 'endowment of the duffer.' Work must 'excuse itself by its quality.' Apart from quality, work had for Whistler no virtue. Amusement he understood—laughter—companionableness—indolence even. But work—mere work—Adam's curse, under the shadow of which it was foolish, if not criminal, for Man to remain. No! There were in effect two reasons that prompted Whistler to the exercise of mediums so numerous—to the acquisition of the various technical skill those mediums demanded. One of them was his possession of a deep artistic sense of the appropriate and the fitting. So much an artist was he, that hardly once in his long career did he mistake, misuse, the medium in which was to be executed with delight his given, momentary task. Another reason was his enjoyment of change. Pertinacity did not desert him, when pertinacity was wanted. But he loved change. He hated grooves. They were fatal to freshness: fatal to spontaneity. Though he did not invent, he would surely have approved of the dictum, 'Failure is to form habits.' It was not for nothing that his emblem was the butterfly. The 'soul of things,' if you like; but at least a soul inconstant, transitory; flitting here, flitting there; and so alive. That he was volatile—in his way almost feminine—counts for a part of his charm. He had Watteau's sensitiveness, and a lighter wit. Not his—it

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never could have been his—the soul of Holbein—the unshaken soul of Dürer.

Unless it be thanks only to some half dozen masterpieces, not as a painter, not as a stern draughtsman of the figure, will Whistler live by the side of the greatest artists on wall surface or canvas, or on the sheet of drawing paper. If to realise with precision either texture or anatomy was not in truth his aim, scarcely more was it his aim—though indeed it was occasionally his achievement—to sound the depths of character. Character was not the thing in life that most interested him. If it had been, Dramatic Painting and Anecdotic Painting, with their inevitable approach to some qualities of Literature, would not have annoyed him so much. I am not disparaging for a moment the painting he liked, the painting he practised—I am only trying to define what it was, and what it was not. It had first of all to be Decorative—and decorative it succeeded in being. Whatever it represented, it was suffered, tolerated, approved, by himself, on condition that it was at least an agreeable pattern of colour and line. Nature suggested it; but it was not bound by Nature. Fact was in it, in abundance—fact most penetratingly seen—but from the fetters of fact its freedom was expressly and constantly declared. The grass was too green, Boucher said to Lancret. And Lancret answered, 'Je suis de votre sentiment: la Nature manque d'harmonie et de séduction.' Harmony must be given, seductiveness given, Whistler opined and protested; and his art, sometimes boldly accepting Nature, sometimes exquisitely refines on and sometimes brilliantly rejects it.

But that is not the attitude of mind of a great painter generally, unless he be a decorative painter, only or mainly: unless he be, for instance, to name artists of different ideals, yet with this one thing in common, a Tintoret, a Veronese, a Pietro da Cortona, a Boucher, a Puvis de Chavannes. Of Whistler, it was constantly the attitude of mind; and among the very greatest decorative painters of the world he might have been, had he had Tintoret's opulent palette, or the majesty of Veronese's draughtsmanship, or the remote, suave dignity of the design of Puvis de Chavannes.

His principle that a pictorial work must before everything be decorative, he applied in different degrees. Frankly and simply decorative he was but on rare occasions—the greatest of them, the opportunity best offered and best seized, being the occasion that presented itself when he had his way with Mr. Leyland's dining-room, and, beginning, I believe, with the modest aim of accommodating a little the work already there to some framed work of his that was to be hung amongst it, wrought gradually, yet with a perfection as complete as if one thought had guided him from the beginning—wrought gradually the 'Peacock Room.' Much oftener, in cabinet picture, in framed canvas, whether definite and professed

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portrait, or pleasant grouping of draped models, or vision of the Town or River in grey daylight or in the mystery of night or dawn, his painting, decorative undoubtedly, was a concession—no abandonment of principle, but a compromise that recognised the rights of Truth and of Fancy. For Fact and Beauty—so often incompatible—he found a *modus vivendi*. Sometimes much effort, much invention, much ingenuity—what he would have called much 'science'—was required to make this compromise effective: and there were always required instinct and fine taste. But sometimes of obvious, necessary effort there was very little; Nature herself sang in tune; and so we have such a picture as Mr. Alexander's 'Nocturne in Silver and Blue,' Mr. McCulloch's 'Valparaiso Harbour,' or the silvery and brown-grey vision of 'London in Ice.'

I am not sure that 'Nature sang in tune' when she created Thomas Carlyle—or was the fault that of circumstances? Anyhow it is instructive to reflect upon the effort that was needed, that was made, that was finely concealed, when Mr. Whistler built up gradually that Carlyle portrait whose pathetic simplicity is the adornment of Glasgow. I hope the Corporation of Glasgow, which had the wisdom to buy the portrait, has had the wisdom to buy lately a first drawing for it, that was exhibited, this winter, at the Goupil Gallery, so that the contrast may for students be discernible between the Carlyle of the first impression, the Carlyle of obvious fact, the prosaic Carlyle—a 'grave liver,' indeed, in Wordsworth's phrase, but mainly still the thoughtful peasant—and the Carlyle of the great portrait-painter's poetry, the Carlyle of Whistler's completed vision. And because I have said already that Character was not the thing in which Whistler was chiefly interested, I am the more anxious to protest that when it did interest him his understanding of it was profound. His portrait of his Mother—lodged happily in the Luxembourg—is a masterpiece of refinement and quietude, resignation and reverie. When character interested him, it was generally either the naïveté or pretty pensiveness of Youth, or the accumulated experience, the wisdom and the tenderness, of an Age that still stops short of a too visible decay. For the first, see the 'Little Rose of Lyme Regis,' or the etching of 'Fanny Leyland.' For the last, see the sprightly elderliness of the 'Mère Gérard'—it is in an etching again—and the etching of 'La Vieille aux Loques,' which it is true is the record of a countenance and figure into which the sadness of some incapacity—be it only that of deep fatigue—has already stolen. 'The Master Smith of Lyme Regis'—a brawny being, painted with the full sympathy of any great artist for any excellent craftsman—is an instance of Whistler's rarer but still occasional interest in the character of middle-aged people who, while he paints them, are yet in the stress and in the noonday heat of life.

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Perfect indeed are certain of the performances of Whistler in Painting, and I have mentioned some of them—on the whole perhaps the best of them—and in doing so I have not been able to avoid mentioning too, already, two or three of the Etchings—the etchings perfect in so much greater proportion and perfect in so much greater number. But before I discuss them in even such little detail as is permissible in this Review, another word about the Painting, and a word, too, that is of general application to the range of Whistler's art. A master not so much of every difficult problem of draughtsmanship, as of Composition in line and in mass, as of refined and broad expressive brushwork, as of colour, as, above all, of tone, Whistler, in the main original, profoundly, did submit conspicuously, in the course of his life, to two influences. He submitted to the influence of Albert Moore, and to that of the art of Japan. It is important that both these influences should be recognised—the second jumps to the surface in the 'Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine' and in 'The Golden Screen'— it is important also that their limitations should be acknowledged: they did not, in truth, last very long, or extend very far. The various 'Symphonies in White' —the more intricate of them especially—betray the influence of Albert Moore; as to whom I have been asked whether indeed it was Whistler who influenced him, or he who influenced Whistler. It was the latter, of course; and it is shown not only in certain of the paintings, but in a good many pastels—outline drawings of the figure with a large Classic grace—and that large Classic grace is just asserted, but not so well asserted, in one figure-etching of the Leyland or Early-Middle period—the 'Model Resting'—and it is asserted again much later and much better, and this in part because the medium is more suited to it, in two or three of the Lithographs.

So much for influences. I have named the two chief ones—I do not pretend to have exhausted them. For instance, not only through Albert Moore, and Albert Moore's devotion to the art of Phidias, did the genius of Whistler receive the nourishment of the Classic. 'Je prends mon bien où je le trouve,' and the Greek Classic directly, and Tanagra perhaps most of all, had their say in the formation and the exercise of the genius of Whistler. Nor is it pretended that Velasquez, nor is it conceivable that Rembrandt, passed before the eye of this alert and ever flexible practitioner and had no effect on his practice. Now, however, for the mediums in which, more even than in Paint, was manifested the brilliant vision of Whistler, and his unfailing *Virtuoso's* skill. These mediums are Etching and Lithography.

And first, and because, thus far, in Critical Writing it has been dwelt upon least, we will turn to his work in Lithography—a medium that Whistler never touched until his Early Middle period, and in which he laboured most largely (or enjoyed himself oftenest) in his later time. What—as its very name implies—what is Litho-

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graphy but Drawing? It is Drawing that can be duplicated, triplicated, multiplied—passed on in this way, in essence, to several or even to many possessors—passed on with the intervention of only the thinnest of veils: of *no* veil, practically, Mr. Way would tell us. As in Etching, each owner of an impression is practically the owner of the original work. The drawing made by the artist upon the stone, or, in more recent days, upon the transfer paper whence the work is to pass to the stone, may not in every case be exactly what it would be if Printing had not to be considered. Printing has, no doubt, to be considered; but out of it the artist in Lithography, the rare man who knows Lithography's capacities—Fantin-Latour, or Whistler, or a younger artist, Charles Shannon—can actually wring an advantage; and (I must almost apologise for saying so) there is the greatest difference in the world, the most essential difference, between Lithography practised as a craft—the print issued roughly for the music-seller—and Lithography practised as an art by those whose is the honour and prestige of having best revived a method which had been abased, for the most part, during two generations.

Speaking broadly, it may be said that in Lithography, Whistler—ever alive, as I have urged before, to the limitations of a medium, as well as to its opportunities—dealt with themes far less varied than those he dealt with in Etching, and dealt with them far less intricately. The Lithograph has the simplicity of the chalk or washed drawing. It is addressed then, by the expert in its practice, to only such subjects as its simplicity suits. But even here there are differences, and I admit that the two other illustrious moderns whom I have mentioned—Fantin and Charles Shannon—have sometimes carried Lithography to a complexity of expression and statement which Whistler reserved for Etching. Still, even with them, Lithography is, in its theme and aim, simple comparatively; and with Whistler, save perhaps on two or three occasions, it is simple altogether.

The 'two or three occasions' must be held to include those hours in which Whistler—it was in the early days of his lithographic practice—wrought the 'Limehouse,' murky, clouded, splendidly brown, with the shabby sheds and the mass of the flowing water (what an illustration that would have made for the River scenes of *Our Mutual Friend*, if Whistler had condescended to illustrate!) and wrought the grey-blue 'Nocturne,' with the River mist over town and tower, and the peace of the great expanse of seemingly sleeping stream. The possessor of a lithograph by Whistler is the possessor of his drawing, and some of the very finest of Whistler's drawings were made in lithography. Mr. Way and Mr. Dennis tell us in that pleasant little book on Whistler which, without being an actually unprejudiced, an actually adequate study, is yet, as a whole, the only serious, single-minded contribution to men's knowledge of the

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master that has been received, in book form at all events, since his death (it would scarcely become me to speak of my own slight preface to Obach's Catalogue, and we have yet to look forward to a 'Life' by M. Théodore Duret, from which, remembering both that Duret was Whistler's friend and Manet's excellent biographer, I expect much): Mr. Way and Mr. Dennis tell us, I say, that quite marvellous was Whistler's perception of the exact effect that work upon the stone, or upon transfer paper, would produce in printing —Whistler knew more than the professional craftsman—and they tell us, too, with reference to the sometimes disputed matter of the transfer paper, that even when the artist drew on that in the first instance, and saw, in proofs, things that were lacking or things that were exaggerated, he would make his corrections upon the stone itself, and so, of certain of his lithographs—his later ones especially—he produced different 'States,' though it is not easy to expressly define them, and though these differences were of course but the exceptions. And whereas very often, though of course not always in Etchings—Whistler's or other people's—the earlier State is finer than the later, in these lithographs, generally speaking, the later State is finer than the earlier.

To give an instance, I have seen an Early State of 'The Smith of the Rue du Dragon,' bare, naked, incomplete—the central darkness of the actual doorway too much unconnected with any tone on the outlying wall; and I have seen a later State with that relation established, with no crudity anywhere—with that effect realised which the master had intended, or which he saw was the finest. And so, with a care of detail consummate, but with an impulse ever fresh, an impulse one and indivisible, were wrought and issued, in most limited numbers, such little marvels of original Lithography as the 'Little Nude Reading,' the 'Dancing Girl,' the slightly draped model standing against a balustrade, the slightly draped model seated with legs apart, the 'Pantheon,' the 'Steps of the Luxembourg,' the 'Smith's Yard, Lyme Regis,' with its two horses seen from behind—a drawing of horses which not even James Ward, not even Stubbs, could have beaten.

The care bestowed on the completion and the printing of the Lithographs has now been indicated. It has long been matter of history that a like care was given always to the Etchings. Always, when opportunity allowed. Whistler is not responsible for the grey, cold printing of the Thames set of Etchings, through Ellis and White, nor for the heavier subsequent printing of Goulding. In Paris, for the first impressions of the French set, Delâtre of course served him well, and very well was printed by Goulding the Second State of the 'Marchande de Moutarde' for instance—of which the First had been done perfectly abroad; but as a rule it is to Whistler's own printing that we must have recourse if we are to see his

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Etchings quite at their best—the *fine fleur*, the *dessus du panier*. For Whistler printed quite differently each plate; sometimes quite differently each separate impression. He painted on the plate as much as printed on it. Take an impression of one of the 'Venice' set, printed by the time that dexterous little labours had perfected the copper, and at the time that Whistler himself knew best how to print it; that impression—free from the faults that provoked a certain measure of criticism and disapproval from those of us who were on the whole only too desirous to applaud and admire—represents the plate perfectly. The 'Little Venice,' say. Here scarcely a line has been added; but the plate 'prints,' and the plate began by *not* printing; and Whistler by this time has called into requisition the resources of ink—the plate is painted with ink: it is wiped exactly where wiping adds to the effect of it; and so we have, as no one else could have given it to us, 'Little Venice' in its perfection. Just as much, of course, 'San Biagio,' and that marvellous piece 'The Garden,' or, to give instances from later work, the fascinating Amsterdam Canal scene, 'Pierrot,' the learned, spirited sketch of the Hôtel de Ville at Loches, the pleasant jumble of 'Southampton Docks'—in the set that was done to commemorate the great Queen's first Jubilee.

Whistler, who wrought about a hundred and twenty Lithographs, wrought in all something like four hundred Etchings. An appreciable number have not yet been catalogued, notwithstanding the existence in America—thanks to the scrupulous care of Mr. E. G. Kennedy and Mr. Howard Mansfield—of a Supplement to the Second Edition of the *Study and Catalogue* which is mine. He etched from 1857, more or less for forty years. And the work, as abundant as Rembrandt's, has at least Rembrandt's variety of theme and of method. It has much more than Méryon's variety, and it is many times as abundant—reckoning by the number of plates, I mean—as the work of that sombre and splendid genius. To contribute a little to the fixing of Whistler's place, it behoves us to pass in review—not lengthily indeed—this Etched Work; to say something as to its periods, something as to its characteristics.

The familiar three periods—a number as customary as the 'three courses' open to the Gladstonian politician—may here with advantage be extended to four. In my thought I group, for convenience, Whistler's etched work as belonging to the Early, to the Early-middle, to the Late-middle, or to the Late Period. To the first of these times belong the so-called 'French Set,' and that popular, that for once both admirable and popular, 'Thames Set,' which until Messrs. Obach's brilliant exhibition of last Autumn represented, for most people who were not special students, the high-water mark of Whistler's achievement. It was, as I have just indicated, an admirable performance, and it was a performance the

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world was ready to receive. To that Early Period, to that first time, belong then these two Sets: the second with its infinitely interesting 'Pool,' 'Thames Police,' and 'Black Lion Wharf'; the first with its 'Vieille aux Loques,' its 'Marchande de Moutarde,' and a few allied pieces scarcely, to the seeing eye, less attractive; the exquisite little still-life piece, 'The Wine Glass,' for instance, a performance in which, for once, and for once only, Whistler with a plate as notable as the 'Damier' of Rembrandt, or the 'Muffs' of Hollar, tried to rival, and succeeded in rivalling, the achievement of De Heym.

The Early Middle is very much what has been known as the 'Leyland' period—thanks to the artist's close association with the Leyland family, at that time. Many of the pieces are dry-points. They aim above all things at breadth—breadth, and it may be atmosphere. Rightly was Dry-point employed. The portrait prints of all the Leylands belong to this time. To this time belongs the extreme, perhaps the even exaggerated simplicity of the 'London Bridge,' and the tranquil amplitude of 'The Large Pool,' and 'Price's Candle Works' in its early and rare condition. To this time belongs the beautiful sketch, the 'Girl on a Couch,' and that 'Model Resting' which represented, I think, the suave 'line' of an approved young beauty of the day.

A link between the Early Middle and the Late Middle period—its actual date, if I remember, was 1879—is furnished by one of only two or three largish, yet not very large, etchings which Whistler ever executed: and that is the 'Battersea Bridge'—the old plank-bridge then already doomed. It is a fine impression—a masterpiece of masterpieces, and attractive, somehow, to the world. That plate was immediately succeeded by the Venetian prints, of which there were three groups: first, the twelve prints, the 'Venice' of the Fine Art Society, pieces which, when first shown, were, though admirable as conceptions, not really in their perfect condition (and hence, between Whistler and his critics, reproaches and 'these tears'); next, the 'Twenty-six Etchings' of the Dowdeswells (all but five of which were of Venetian themes); and last, a few very little seen and never strictly published plates, such as the broad, charming dry-point 'Stables' (stables for gondolas). In the best known and most favourite plates of this period there is sometimes—in 'Little Venice' particularly—a quite magical economy of means: but also there is sometimes an intricacy the particular subject demanded; no elaboration for elaboration's sake, but a tireless dwelling on beauties that multiply—that are but gradually revealed—in 'The Garden' for instance: that exquisite vision of the irrepressible piercing of the life of the Summer.

In the latest Period of all, came, amongst other things, a few Dutch subjects, now rightly much in request by the true collector. In the best of them—unless it may be in the 'Zaandam,' which

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shares the marvellous economy of 'Little Venice'—elaboration was carried far. In 'Pierrot, Amsterdam,' there is every constituent of a picture. And it is on the principle of a painting, surely, that 'Nocturne: Dance House' is done. Piece by piece, almost, the effect might be transferred to the covered canvas—the canvas would be found used fully to the very corners. From the dark canal, lights quiver in the windows—quick movement is suggested. From the shadowed ways and murky waters, the house throbs with life. Work of this kind seems to a certain extent a development of, but is likewise to some extent a departure from, the method pursued in those of the Venetian etchings which tend also towards elaboration. Anyhow, almost simultaneously with it, Whistler, with splendid elasticity of mood, and never-failing flexibility of hand, was minded to execute not a few plates which have the small scale and the most learned slightness of the best pieces of the Jubilee group of three or four years earlier, such as 'Southampton Docks' and 'Return to Tilbury.' 'Hôtel de Ville, Loches,' 'Market-Place, Loches,' and in Paris the vivacious vision called 'Passages de l'Opéra'—the scene is really on the Boulevard, and includes the arched entrance to the Passages—are excellent examples of the power of taking rapidly, or at least taking slightly and suggestively, picturesque notes. The ignorant person thinks such work would bear extension at many points. But each part in reality is in quite perfect relation to the other, and, to work so planned and executed, addition could only be damage.

With those few, then, who have triumphed brilliantly in many fields—and whose inspired labour, initiating, experimenting, pursued with assiduity, has never ceased to be joy—Whistler comes to be classed, by men who would do him justice, and who perceive the measure of his influence, and the degree of his own personal advance from the standpoints reached before him. I have read that his imitators fail; but that is the fate of imitators generally—the influence of Whistler, and the appreciation of him by the qualified, is not to be taken stock of by counting who those are that paint most obviously in his fashion, and declare themselves his pupils. Further much than them, his influence has extended; and with most of the best in Modern Art—with the impressions of Constable, with late Turner water colours, with Alfred Stevens's Genre-pictures, with the pregnant memoranda of Charles Keene, with Orchardson's elegance, Fantin's quiet grace, Courbet's massiveness, and the 'actuality' of Manet—his Art will be found to be in sympathy. I could try to express roughly, in a single sentence, the part his Etching has played, the particular part played by his work in Colour, ever at least harmonious and charged too, as regards his figure subjects, with his own special revelation of Character, through pose, instead of through feature; the part his draughtsmanship has played in the Lithograph—but it would be forcing the note. And,

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moreover, something of this—unless I have failed entirely—I have already made plain.

A last line chronicles, however, the fact that more to Whistler than to anyone who has worked with brush or needle do we owe that complete acceptance of Modern Life, of the modern world, of all that is miscalled its ugliness, of its aspects of every day, which complete acceptance, remember, whether in Pictorial Art or the art that is Literature, is the most salient characteristic of our time. Whistler, with a nature essentially aristocratic—knowing well, in the depths of his being, that Art of any kind and the 'man in the street' have nothing in common: that what is called the 'plain man' and Art are for ever divided—yet accepted the very things that are most commonplace to commonplace people, and showed us their interest. So great an artist, the fantastic beauty of Venice and the scaffolding for the 'Savoy' appealed to him together. The dome of the Pantheon, the Renaissance towers of Loches, a Cubitt-built house in Pimlico, the Candle Works over the River—they were all his material. Understanding each, with each he knew how to deal. And that is one of the reasons why the Portrait of his Mother will go a few years hence in safety to the Louvre—why 'San Biagio,' 'Zaandam,' and 'The Kitchen' lie unabashed for ever by the 'Lutma' and the 'Clément de Jonghe,' by 'The Landscape with an Obelisk,' and by 'The Goldweigher's Field.'

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

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RUSSIA'S CHARGE AGAINST JAPAN

WHEN Japan made her torpedo attack upon Port Arthur on the 8th of February, the Tzar denounced it to his people as a treacherous act. The French, German, and Russian papers were nearly unanimous in considering it a complete violation of the usages of war. Even our own papers appeared to be relieved from anxious forebodings as to the propriety of the procedure by hearing that on the previous day at Chemulpho it was believed that the overpowered and coerced Russian *Variag* had happened to fire the first shot in the action which was forced on her. If that defence of the Japanese action were necessary, it is obviously inadequate and irrelevant, because there had not been time for any information of the details of the action at Chemulpho to reach Admiral Togo's fleet when the attack on Port Arthur was ordered. It is clear that the propriety of the order to attack Port Arthur, three days after Japan had announced at St. Petersburg the breaking off of negotiations, and had warned Russia that she must take such measures for her own safety as she thought expedient, must be judged on its own merits, as if nothing had happened at Chemulpho.

It would be interesting to know what further notice, drawn from the practice of civilised nations, the Tzar expected, and in what respect either the French or German papers consider that precedents from the practice, at the beginning of war, of either France or Germany cover their contention that the act of Japan was exceptional and not such as they would expect from any Power with which diplomatic relations had been broken off. Do they, for instance, think that Russia has given them cause to suppose that if she intended war upon them she would give them more formal notice than Japan gave to Russia, or would they expect, France from Germany, Germany from France, something different? If so, what is it?

I am bound to say, however, that I ask these questions far more in the interest of my own country than of any other, because it seems to be almost impossible to get the people at large, on whom the safety of the country ultimately depends, to realise that just what they have seen Japan do at the beginning of this war is what every civilised Power has habitually done at the beginning of well-

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nigh every war of modern history. The ready Power has taken advantage of the unready Power. No warning of coming war has been sent with a view to prepare the unready Power to make good the deficiencies in its preparation. The normal process has been all the other way. The votes of the Houses, alike of Lords and Commons, have again and again explicitly sanctioned acts tending, because of superior readiness, to take advantage of an unready Power. Statesmen, held among us still in the highest honour, have deliberately defended such acts by the express citation of precedents. Votes of both Houses have sustained again and again the statesmen who made those speeches and cited those precedents. We should not have a leg to stand on in protesting against being treated as Japan treated Russia at Port Arthur, supposing that the Chemulpho incident had never occurred. It is somewhat unfortunate that there should have been that plausible and misleading defence of Japan available, because it would be much better that the attack on Port Arthur should stand out in its naked simplicity as a concrete example of what we have done habitually at the beginning of a war, and may therefore expect to have done to us if we are not ready to meet whatever measure, pressed down and running over, is meted out to us in return.

Moreover, there is another consideration which makes it important for Englishmen to lay to heart this object-lesson. The conterminous frontiers of France and of Germany, for instance, are watched by military guardians. Everything during profound peace is, along these frontiers, kept on a war footing. No stranger can cross from one to the other, as I have often done, without the fact of his crossing being known, soon after he passes the dividing line, to someone whose business it would be, in the event of the least cause of suspicion, to call him to account. Immediately behind that watchful guardianship, the armed defence and ultimately powerful fortresses and great armies are ready. In England, no single provision of any kind is made, as regards the normal life of the country, on the assumption that the condition of peace in which we live will not last for all time. The coastguardmen patrol the coasts, and they are most vigilant by night and day; but machinery in their hands for calling out any defensive force is wholly wanting. The whole population of each country on the Continent lives under conditions which are based on the assumption that during peace time the first duty of the Government is to provide for the safety of the country. Our whole population lives under conditions which are based on the assumption that peace was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

George Eliot long since threw out the pregnant remark that people habitually assume that a thing never will happen, because they have so often escaped from the chances of its happening;

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whereas the more often they escape a thing, for the occurrence of which there are many chances, the more certain it becomes that sooner or later it will happen, the very assumption that it will never happen tending in itself to make it more probable. This has often been brought home to me, as it must in some form or other have been brought home to many others, when I have been employed in obtaining information for the defence scheme of the country. The horror excited in the minds of local residents, especially of lady proprietors, by one's asking permission to go on their lands with a view to purposes of investigation necessary for defence, would be one of the most comic if it were not one of the most pathetic things imaginable. The nervous 'Oh, yes, I know. Of course, it is only make-believe! There never really could be any chance of our requiring,' &c. evidently shows that into the mind of that very representative person the idea that the only security for a country is 'Look that your walls be strong' has never entered. War is a thing that she has read about in books, and been rather interested in. That any precautions whatever should be necessary actually to prevent it from coming near to her own county, her own parish, and her own house is not so much merely a new idea to her as an absurdity and impossibility, a thing belonging to a different world altogether. I do not think that in most of these cases the feeling has anything to do with a firm faith in the security afforded by the Navy. It is simply that it has never entered these people's minds to consider that, if they live in safety, it is by virtue of an adequate defence alone that they do so, and that therefore their safety depends on the adequacy of the defence. Now every local regulation is in the hands of municipalities of which this is the normal feeling. They are most patriotic in intention, but any steps whatever that are necessary for national defence, for military efficiency, or for precaution against a possible change from peace to war are a positive offence to them, solely because they are so entirely outside their ordinary range of thought.

Of all this I had had much experience, but I had never realised the danger that it presented till, one afternoon in January 1882, Sir Archibald Alison, who was then at the head of the Intelligence Department, sent for me. He told me that the late Lord Farrer had, in cross-examining Lord Wolseley as to the possible danger of a Channel tunnel, raised the question whether on any single occasion within the last fifty or hundred years an incident had occurred to justify the idea 'that war would be declared against us, as we might say, out of a clear sky, without any previous strain or notice that a quarrel was impending.' Lord Wolseley therefore wished to have the historical facts investigated, and Sir Archibald Alison desired me to look them up. It was arranged that I should begin with the year 1700 and ascertain the facts. I started, therefore,

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under the general impression that normally every Power, before taking any overt action of hostility against another, conformed to something like the old duelling laws: presented its challenge in due form, received its counter challenge, and that then both, stepping into their places, after a few passes came duly to business. The exact form of Lord Farrer's question was a little off the point. The serious question was not whether a sudden 'declaration of war' might be delivered out of a clear sky, but whether when two States had had between them some of the many causes of difference which at almost any moment exist between nearly every two States, there was any danger lest one should actually attack the other without giving the attacked State warning that things had gone too far, and that the sword must decide. Much previous 'strain,' for instance, had existed for many months between Russia and Japan. Notice had been distinctly given that a quarrel 'was impending.' 'The sky' could not for many months past have been described as clear. That did not in the least alter the fact that Russia was taken wholly unawares; that the officers, including it is said even the officers on duty, had gone off to a convivial entertainment. They acted just as if any danger of attack by shotted guns and live torpedos was as remote as a bombardment of Hull or of London by any one of the Powers, such as Russia or Germany—which have each of them been using language about us at least as fierce as any against Japan—would appear to be to-day. Anyone who has read the specific menaces against us which have been put forth in Russia by journals avowedly inspired by influential statesmen, who may at any moment become the motive power behind the throne of the Tzar, must see that, as regards Russia at least, 'the sky' cannot be described as 'clear,' and that if there is at this moment no fear of Russia making a direct attack upon our shores, that is solely because she would gain nothing and lose much by doing so. Though the Japanese example was not, yet the general conclusion so far was, known to me before I began.

Therefore the general purpose with which I set to work was to examine the precedents as to the circumstances under which wars had usually begun. I was to find out whether there was even a remote chance that any attack might be made upon us under such conditions as those which prevail to-day. We have as usual the friendliest possible official relationships with all the Powers; but also, with at least three of the Powers, many unsettled questions. Moreover, in each country large and popular parties, that may at any moment come into power, desire nothing so fervently as the humiliation of England, and even her extinction as an Empire, so that, after they have killed the leopard, they may cut it up and divide the carcase among them. If anyone doubts that, let him study the following language, which avowedly represents the views

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of Prince Mesthersky, who is looked upon as the exponent of the thoughts of the inner Camarilla at St. Petersburg.

All the impudent and vile acts which England has perpetrated during the past months against Russia are too manifest to every one of Russia's many millions of people to need recording in any Blue-book; and Russians of all ages, even children, and of all conditions, are permeated with hatred against the English, and with the thirst of revenge. Nor is there one Russian who does not grasp the fact that we have to do not with the Japanese, who are unworthy of Russian blood and Russian hatred. We have to deal with England, and all the hatred, all the force of the Russian spirit thirsting for blood is directed against England. Voices have long since made themselves heard in Moscow crying: 'We are giving millions for the war against the Japanese, but we will give whole milliards for a war against England, if only the Tzar will say the word.' And these words are repeated by the entire Russian Empire, by every city, every hamlet, every soldier, every Russian man. Animated with this sentiment, let the whole Russian Press speak out, and then, perhaps, our diplomatists will be inspired to talk with the English Ministers in the language of English cynicism, of English impudence, and at every sound of such language all Russia will stand up breast to breast as one man for our adored monarch, and will not recoil from any sacrifice when the struggle longed for by all Russia has begun against her one secular enemy.

It is nothing to the point that the picture framed for themselves by 'the Archdukes' is wholly false. The idea of the unity of sentiment throughout Russia is as misleading as the description of English action. That does not alter the fact that, supposing Russia to have the power and the opportunity, the ruling class, if it thought fit, would have no difficulty whatever in framing against Britain a series of indictments which, viewed in the light of the writer of that article, would justify Russia in any act of war. The whole conception of a 'clear sky' is misleading. So far as our conception of the situation is concerned, the sky at this moment is as clear as it ever is, in the sense that we do not in the least degree expect to be suddenly attacked in return for anything that we have done. If the writer of that article obtained decisive influence over the mind of the Tzar, and he has much, it would not be any scruples as to international law, but only lack of opportunity for striking us, that would save us from actual attack without further warning.

Before I say more as to the actual cases with which I became acquainted, it will be well to consider how far precedents from the past are of importance as indicating what we may expect to happen in our day. It is obvious that in this matter it is only the views of great statesmen that are of any importance, because the question is whether, and under what conditions, armies and fleets will be set in motion for attack upon another nation which does not expect attack. Therefore, the views of those who alone can set them in motion, as to the extent to which they will be justified by past precedents, are worth considering. Even if, as a consequence of their premature action based on mistaken precedents, they were by the votes of a

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popular assembly, displaced from power, that would not affect the matter. For the blow would have been struck, the injury and the danger to the attacked Power would have been incurred already, whether they retained power or not. I may say, however, that I know of no single instance in which an act of sudden war has led to the displacement of a statesman by a popular vote, either in a deliberative assembly or at the polls. I know of several where a hesitation to act by surprise has led to the fall of a statesman and a party.

There is perhaps no statesman to whom a large number at least of our own public men now look back with more admiration than to Canning, the avowed object of Mr. Gladstone's youthful idolatry. The following extracts from a speech of his in the House of Commons, on the 1st of January 1808, will show the mode in which he appealed to precedents:

In the year 1801 the island of Madeira had been taken possession of by our Government for fear it should fall into the hands of the French. Yet Portugal was a neutral nation, and had always, by way of pre-eminence, been styled the old and ancient ally of England. The capture of Madeira had been effected without any previous communication to the Court of Lisbon. Undoubtedly instructions had been sent to our Minister at the Court of Lisbon to request that an order should be sent to the Governor to surrender the island in good-will. The instructions arrived at Lisbon about the time that the troops arrived at Madeira, and *the island was consequently taken by force before* any orders could have been sent out to deliver it. . . . . He did not mean to condemn the capture of that island.[1]

And again in the same speech:

'In the year 1806 there had been *reports* of its being the intention of the French Government to invade Portugal. . . . *He admired the conduct which had been adopted by the late Ministers on that occasion*; he applauded their spirit.' He then read the instructions sent to Lord St. Vincent, which were—

(1) If Portugal would fight France, to offer all assistance.

(2) If the Court wished to go to Brazil, to protect them.

(3) If Portugal showed any disposition to yield to France, then in any case the Port of Lisbon was to be prevented from falling into the hands of the French, the Portuguese navy was to be secured, every vessel that was serviceable was to be brought off. 'For the execution of these instructions the troops that were then embarking were to be sent to him with all convenient expedition; but he was not to give any intimation of the circumstances to the Portuguese Government, nor to hold any language that might excite the suspicion of the French Minister or lead to any measures of precaution; and as it might be necessary to employ the troops immediately on their arrival, in order to secure a strong position, he was to have the marines and boats of the fleet constantly in readiness for that service.' 'The only shyness that had been felt in producing' these instructions 'before was that it would place him [Canning] and his colleagues in the situation of convicted plagiarists,'[2] in the capture, which had just been accomplished during a period of peace with Denmark, of the whole of the Danish fleet.

[1] *Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 318; *Hansard*, vol. x. p. 66. [2] *Speeches*, vol. ii. pp. 319-321.

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The next two statesmen whom I shall cite are Sir Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston. I fancy most people will admit, whatever their view of Lord Palmerston's career may be, that we have had no statesman for many a day who was more versed in diplomatic usage or better acquainted with the nature of the precedents that might be fairly cited to justify any particular act. Having in the year 1835 sanctioned the employment of Sir De Lacy Evans in Spain, he in 1836 thus defended his action by precedents drawn from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It must be understood that I do not quote this particular case as an illustration of sudden war. What Lord Palmerston had in this instance to justify was not the suddenness with which he had acted, but the fact that he had interfered, by unofficial war and suspending the Foreign Enlistment Act, in the internal affairs of a foreign country. The interesting point in this case lies in the fact that a statesman who, then and afterwards, had both Houses and the country at his back, felt himself justified in basing the defence of his action on precedents of a date so ancient. It is obvious that if precedents so many centuries old in regard to unofficial war were valid, so also would all the precedents of the intervening period as to the sudden beginning of war be valid to justify, for instance, such an act as that of Japan. The reply of Sir Robert Peel, which I also give, though it necessarily turns on the question of the particular case of interference in the private concerns of another nation, is equally applicable to the precedents, to be drawn from our own action in the past as to sudden war, by foreign nations desiring an excuse for suddenly attacking us.

Precedents [said Lord Palmerston] would have justified the Government in doing even more. Queen Elizabeth sent assistance first to the Huguenots of France, and next to the revolted subjects of Spain in the Low Countries. In these cases she not merely left her subjects at liberty to go to their aid if they chose, but she did that which Ministers had been falsely and unjustly accused of doing—she did in an underhand manner what she did not choose to do openly, and, being restrained by prudential reasons from publicly declaring war, she gave permission, in her own name, to her subjects to join the insurgent forces, supplying them with money; and she despatched 6000 men to aid the insurgents in the Low Countries, whom she raised at her own expense, and furnished with trains of artillery. What happened in the revolt of the Low Countries? The army of Prince Maurice was composed of persons of all nations, whose adventurous spirit and love of freedom led them to fight in its ranks, and seek for distinction in the victories he gained. At the battle which took place at Nieuport, the British auxiliaries, under Sir Philip de Vere, were mainly instrumental in gaining the victory there achieved. When Ostend was taken a few years afterwards, who were the officers who commanded the garrison? Edmonds, a Scotchman, and Martine, a Frenchman, were among the number, while Sir Philip de Vere was in the army which carried on the operations of the siege. To say, therefore, that for the subjects of one country to engage in the contests of another was contrary to the law or practice of nations, and that an antagonist of such volunteers might justly threaten to refuse them the privilege of prisoners of war, as Don Carlos had threatened to do, was a proposition at variance with all history.

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The cause and the limit of the interference, again, rested on the plain principle of assisting Spain to maintain her independence, so far as our power went, while we avoided enterprises beyond our means, and attempts that might involve us in a war which it would be unwise or dishonourable to undertake.

I give, as I have said, Sir Robert Peel's reply to represent the view which would certainly be taken by a foreign nation which desired to quote the action of England as a precedent for attacking England herself.

If these principles were correct, there never yet was a government, it being itself the sole judge of the necessity, which had not a right, or, if it had not, could not make out for itself a right, to interfere in the domestic concerns of its neighbours. Although we might be deeply interested in the commerce of Spain, was that a sufficient justification for our present interference? Or if it was to be justified because we had an interest that a free government should be established in Spain, a similar allegation might be made by the despotic governments of the Continent as their justification for checking the growth of nascent freedom in any of the States in their vicinity. Prussia or Austria, for instance, might allege, 'Our interests are opposed to the establishment of democracy, or to the maintenance of popular government, in the neighbourhood of our territories, and on the same principle on which England, possessing a popular government and a free constitution, has interfered in Spain to procure the establishment of a similar political system in that country, do we justify ourselves in promoting a system of despotism, and in crushing the first attempts to establish a just and rational liberty.'

On the whole, however, the most simple statement of principles on the subject of the right method of beginning war was enunciated by a Russian diplomatist in 1840. The case is the more remarkable because practically all the Powers were at the time in consultation as to the measures to be taken to save Turkey from the attack of the Pasha of Egypt. It was therefore to the statesmen of Europe, as a declaration of the principles which ought to guide their action, that Baron Brunnow, the Russian plenipotentiary, propounded the proposition 'To execute all these measures' of overt and decisive action against Egypt 'with the greatest promptitude, and with the greatest secrecy. Promptitude, because it is the only means of ensuring their success; secrecy, because the blow must first be struck before it is announced.' No subsequent action of Russia at any date has ever shown that she has repudiated the principles thus laid down for her guidance and that of other Powers by Baron Brunnow.

But to come to the broad result of the actual precedents. I could during the two centuries trace no case which justified the assumption that modern nations considered themselves under any obligation to send to a foreign Court a warning of coming war, delivered as a declaration of war at the foreign Court, in any instance in which advantage was to be gained by adhering to the principles of Baron Brunnow. As a rule, a 'Declaration of War' is of precisely the same kind as those that were issued by Japan and by Russia respectively after the war had begun. Our declarations of war have been issued in a very solemn manner on the steps of the Royal

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Exchange. They warn all the King's subjects of the fact of war, and prescribe to them the conduct that it behoves them to follow in consequence. From time, place, and circumstance they cannot be regarded as intended to warn the threatened Power; and they have, in fact, in almost every instance been preceded by fierce fighting which has brought on the war. The Constitution of the United States is probably the most solemn document that exists, regulating as it does with rigid precision the conduct of a great nation which absolutely accepts its authority. Naturally, the conditions of 'Declarations of War' are in such a document strictly defined. The form of the United States 'Declaration of War' is a vote by Congress 'that a state of war actually exists between the United States and' such and such a Power. It formally announces the fact of preceding acts of war, and places the powers of the States at the disposal of the Executive for the purpose of war.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the difference in the number of cases which have occurred in the action of different States in this matter has been merely a question of opportunity. A maritime State has greater facilities for a sudden stroke, as Japan has so recently shown; therefore, it happens that Britain and France have delivered these sudden blows more often than any other Powers. France has had the double opportunity of striking by sea and land, and has taken it freely. Numerically, within the time I more particularly examined, Britain struck thirty of these blows, France thirty-six, Russia seven (not reckoning her habitual practice towards Turkey and other bordering Asiatic States, including China), Prussia seven, Austria twelve, the United States five at least. Anyone who wishes to verify the authorities for these statements can do so by referring to a little volume published by the Stationery Department, and to be obtained of any bookseller for 1*s.* 6*d.* A few copies still remain on hand. It is entitled *Hostilities without Declaration of War.* I am indebted to the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office, in whose hands is the copyright, for the permission I have freely used to make extracts from it. At the present time, those who are still discussing the propriety of the action of Japan will find much ammunition for controversy in it. In face of the details and evidence therein supplied, they will, I think, share my opinion that those who have attacked the action of Japan are either ignorant of history or reckless about the extent to which they besmirch their own countries by the mud which they fling at Japan.

In the volume in question I have cited chapter and verse for every assertion here made. I now throw down the challenge to any representative of any nation or of any form of Government—republican, representative monarchy, or any form of absolutism—to show that the action of Japan has not been strictly in accordance with the precedents provided by the nation or Government for whom they speak.

F. Maurice.

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LAST MONTH

I

ALARUMS and excursions were the order of the day in politics last month. Not since those troubled times which some of us remember only too well, in the spring of 1886, when Mr. Gladstone was facing the not yet compacted forces of Unionism, and was looking about in every direction at once for some means of consolidating his wavering majority, have we had anything like the parliamentary situation of March. It is no part of my business to retail here the gossip of the Lobbies and the thousand and one theories of our Tadpoles and Tapers. But we have had something more than mere irresponsible gossip to cast light upon the political situation during the past month. Mr. Gladstone was wont to declare that all political secrets leaked out, and that the only safety of a Ministry lay in the fact that, whilst the truth, even when most jealously guarded, was revealed, it was invariably accompanied by assertions which went so far beyond what was true that the public was just as completely deceived as though nothing whatever regarding any particular transaction had become known. Out of the volume of gossip which has lately flowed in a turbid current through the newspapers there are one or two special items which may be taken as being in fact and substance true. There is, for example, the story, to which I must recur later on, of a fierce struggle within the Cabinet over the second instalment of the report of the War Office Reconstruction Committee. Even the least enlightened of men knows that there was something more than mere rumour in this story. There is also the undoubted fact that on the 9th of March the Government had the narrowest possible escape from a fatal defeat in the House of Commons. On that eventful day, Ministers themselves believed that they were about to be beaten, and the feeling was so strong that some of the 'politicals' even went so far as to make little valedictory speeches to the 'permanents' with whom they were associated in their respective offices. It was only by forming a desperate resolution, and taking a desperate course, that Mr. Balfour was enabled to avert a catastrophe that would have put an end to

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the Government. The story of the evening is as strange as it is instructive. Mr. Pirie had given notice of a resolution calling attention to the public utterances of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other members of the Government, on the fiscal question, and strongly condemning preferential and protective tariffs. To this Mr. Wharton, acting with the approval of the Government, had announced his intention of moving an amendment approving the 'explicit declarations' of the Government that their policy did not include either a general system of protection or preference based on the taxation of food. This amendment was devised for the purpose of retaining the votes of the Ministerial Free Traders, who, it was known, would not oppose Mr. Pirie's resolution if it stood alone. It had, however, the obvious disadvantage, from the party point of view, of committing the Government against Mr. Chamberlain's policy. His friends in the House of Commons, to the number, it is said, of 112, were deeply incensed by what they regarded as the betrayal of their leader, and at a hastily summoned meeting in the precincts of the House, they decided to inform the Treasury Whips that they would not support the Wharton amendment. Mr. Balfour was allowed but little time in which to decide upon his course of action, but it could not have taken him long to discover that to part company with the food-taxers meant immediate defeat, whilst to part from the Free Traders would still leave him in command of a majority. He chose the latter course. Mr. Wharton's amendment was hurriedly withdrawn, and Ministers, in consequence, succeeded in defeating Mr. Pirie's resolution by a majority of forty-six, at the cost, however, of allowing themselves to be identified with the policy of the food-tax. The majority of Liberals regarded the crisis, and the surrender of Ministers to Mr. Chamberlain, with unfeigned satisfaction. It is not to the House of Commons, with its Ministerial majority reduced to little more than a third of its original strength, that they look for the ultimate defeat of the protectionist agitation, but to the country, where events have proved that this policy is distinctly, if not universally, unpopular. Rightly or wrongly, they conceived that by compelling Mr. Balfour to nail the flag of protection to the ship he commands, they had done much to strengthen the prospect of victory at the general election in which they are already rejoicing.

There is always an element of comedy in even the gravest of political crises. It was supplied, in this instance, by the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Pirie's resolution was avowedly aimed at the extra-parliamentary utterances of that gentleman; yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not permitted to open his lips in the debate. He had to remain mute, just as he did in the prolonged discussion of the fiscal question on the Address. It was an unparalleled position for a Minister of high rank to occupy in such circumstances, and it has not unnaturally led to some

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discussion as to his exact status in the present Administration. Is he to be regarded, as some insist, as a modern Casabianca, standing on the burning deck in obedience to the dictates of filial duty, and facing a painful end in preference to the desertion of his post? Or is he, as others suggest, the 'man in possession,' placed there by the real owner and master of the Government, whose duty it is to stay below stairs in the ease and security of the servants' hall, always with an eye on the family plate-chest, whilst the nominal owner of the mansion is regaling himself and his friends in the upper chambers? Whatever the truth may be, it cannot be doubted that the present position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is an anomaly to which the political history of modern times furnishes no parallel. It is hardly surprising that we have been living, for a month past, in a world of sensational gossip.

What is, in some respects, a subsidiary matter has attracted a good deal of attention during the month. This is the question raised by Lord George Hamilton's statement to his constituents explaining the reason for his retirement from the Government last September. Mr. Balfour, as my readers will remember, was unable through illness to attend the House of Commons during the opening weeks of the Session. In these circumstances the statement made by Lord George on the subject of his resignation necessarily furnished an inadequate explanation of the important events of last September. What the country wished to know was what measure of truth there was in the story widely current, to which the *Times* was the first to give publicity, that the retirement of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie, before the Duke of Devonshire took the same step, was due to a game of *finesse* very skilfully played by the Prime Minister. Games of *finesse*, played between the chief of the Ministry and his colleagues, are not to the liking of the British public, more particularly when they are, or are supposed to be, played for the purpose of jockeying certain Ministers out of the Cabinet. It was unfortunate for the Prime Minister that the gentleman who wrote on the subject in the *Times* did not seem to realise this fact, and it is not surprising that Mr. Balfour should feel that he has good reason to complain of the maladroitness of supporters who laid him open to a very damaging accusation. On his return to his parliamentary duties it was felt the matter was one which ought to be probed to the bottom, and Mr. John Ellis, on a motion for the adjournment of the House, brought the whole question into the arena of public debate. It cannot be said that Mr. Balfour was happy in his method of meeting it. The charge against him was that he had succeeded in inducing Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie to resign office by withholding from them the fact that Mr. Chamberlain had already taken this step, and that he led the Duke of Devonshire to remain—as it turned out for a very short term—in the Ministerial

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ranks by confidentially revealing Mr. Chamberlain's resignation to him. The result of the debate on the 7th of March was to leave matters very much where they had been before. It is true that Mr. Balfour was able to show that Mr. Chamberlain had spoken of his resignation at the last meeting of the Cabinet attended by Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton. But he could not deny the fact that he had not communicated to these colleagues of his the definite resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, which he had in writing at the time when the Cabinet was held, and that they both retired from the Ministry under the impression that Mr. Chamberlain was remaining in it. Nor could he contest the statement that he had informed the Duke of Devonshire of Mr. Chamberlain's definite resignation, but had refused him permission to make it known to Mr. Ritchie and Lord George. One need not follow the example of the *Times* and speak of this as a brilliant game of *finesse*, skilfully carried out by the Prime Minister at the expense of two of his colleagues; but it is impossible to acquit Mr. Balfour of a certain amount of disingenuousness, or to regard the transaction as one creditable to our public life. Unfortunately the speech in which Mr. Balfour endeavoured to explain his part in these transactions opened up another question, not very important in itself, but of distinct importance as indicating the severity of the strain which has been imposed upon Ministers by the disastrous issue of Mr. Chamberlain's new propaganda. The Prime Minister spoke with some indignation of Lord George Hamilton for not having corrected the interpretation put by Lord Rosebery in more than one of his speeches upon a certain statement that Lord George had made in his explanation of the events that led up to his resignation. This was that at the last Cabinet of the Session of 1903, Mr. Balfour had appeared before his colleagues armed with two documents. One was the pamphlet subsequently published on retaliatory tariffs and the other a document in which preferential tariffs and a tax upon food were advocated. Lord George Hamilton's declaration on the subject was quite clear, and no one could impute to him any intention to deceive. Lord Rosebery naturally turned it to account when publicly criticising the policy of the Government, and for having done so he was charged by the Prime Minister with having 'calumniated' him. The only foundation for this charge—justly and hotly resented by Lord Rosebery—was that, whereas of the two documents only one was a pamphlet, the other being a minute or memorandum for the use of the Cabinet, the ex-Premier had described both as pamphlets. If Mr. Balfour had seen fit to deal frankly with the matter at the outset, even this trivial error would have been avoided. But, instead of doing this, he refused to lift the veil of mystery from his second document, and the House of Commons had to witness a painful scene of mutual recrimination and contradiction between the Prime Minister and the

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late Secretary of State for India. A few days later, thanks to Lord Rosebery's action in repudiating Mr. Balfour's charge of 'calumny,' the truth came out through the lips of Lord Lansdowne, and the country at last learned the precise nature of the document in which the Prime Minister had advocated doctrines so far in advance of his public utterances. To some persons it may seem that the whole business was but a storm in a teacup; but everyone experienced in political life knows that at critical times like the present it is from these trivial personal questions and misunderstandings that the gravest consequences often follow.

In the meantime, so far as the question of 'fiscal reform' is concerned, it hardly seems that much way is being made in any direction. A few months ago the topic seemed to occupy all minds and tongues. Now it is mentioned but occasionally, and the newspapers which devoted themselves with so much energy to the propagation of the doctrines of the 'new political economy' have found other subjects with which to fill their columns. It would almost seem that with Mr. Chamberlain's departure from England the whole movement in favour of a return to protection had collapsed. This, however, is not the case, and there can be no doubt that when the member for West Birmingham returns to his post, an attempt will be made to put fresh life into the campaign of which he is the leader. Free Traders, without ignoring this possibility, console themselves with the conviction that fresh and unmistakable proofs have been given of the strength of their cause, not only in such by-elections as that at Normanton, where the Liberal candidate secured the huge majority of 3946 votes, or that in East Dorset, where the Liberal won the seat from the Ministerialists by a substantial majority of 820, but in the proceedings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, who at their annual conference rejected a resolution proposed in the interests of Mr. Chamberlain and his policy. Within the ranks of the Ministerial party, the bitterness existing between Free Traders and Protectionists is great and apparently growing. The strenuous attempts of Mr. Balfour to provide a policy on which everybody within his own party can agree, so far from succeeding, have only accentuated the difficulties of the position. The debates on the Estimates, and on resolutions which more or less directly raised the question of confidence in the Ministry, have been memorable for the large reduction of the Government majority. On one occasion, indeed, the majority was actually turned into a minority. It was, of course, on a 'snap' division, cleverly engineered by Mr. Redmond, just as the 'snap' division on the cordite question was engineered in 1895 by Mr. Brodrick and Mr. Chamberlain. The two divisions stand precisely on the same footing; but Mr. Balfour, more philosophical, apparently, than his Liberal predecessors, or possibly warned by their example,

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did not take the opportunity of resigning. How much longer he will attempt to keep his water-logged craft afloat no outsider can pretend to say; but everybody knows that defeats in Supply, even when they do not lead to resignation, sensibly weaken the Government which has to submit to them.

I have mentioned one widespread rumour touching the state of things in the innermost councils of the Ministerialists. This has reference to the serious differences of opinion which are understood to have arisen in the Cabinet on the subject of the Report of the Committee appointed to deal with the reorganisation of the War Office. It was on the last day of February that the second Report of the Committee, whose members have certainly not allowed the grass to grow under their feet, was published in the press. This publication, it was announced, was approved by the King, and we have since learned that the Prime Minister was directly responsible for it. In these circumstances, men naturally assumed that the Report had been virtually adopted by the Cabinet, and was to all intents and purposes as good as law. It was even more drastic and sweeping in its recommendations than the first Report prepared by the Committee. Not only were the proposals it contained of the most revolutionary kind, but its criticisms upon previous schemes of reform, and notably upon those of Mr. Brodrick, were of the severest character. The Committee did not hesitate to declare that the scheme they were preparing constituted a logical whole, and that, if it were to be of any service to the nation, it must be accepted *en bloc*. Some timid persons seemed to be filled with astonishment at the courage and independence with which Lord Esher and his colleagues stated their proposals. Perhaps one ought not to be surprised at the fact, remembering how long it is since either independence or courage (of the moral description) has been allowed to express itself in connection with the vexed question of Army reform. In the eyes of the general public the Report was certainly not less welcome because it was marked by these qualities. But the condemnation of Mr. Brodrick's unhappy Army Corps scheme was strong and unreserved, and one cannot wonder at the fact that the publication of the document was immediately followed by widespread rumours of a bitter struggle within the Cabinet, not only over its recommendations, but over the terms in which those recommendations were set forth. At the moment at which I write we have no definite information as to the decision of the Cabinet, but the proceedings in the House of Commons during the debates on the Army Estimates have unquestionably alarmed the advocates of a thoroughgoing reform of the Army system. Mr. Arnold-Forster, who at the beginning of the month stoutly upheld the second Report of his Committee, and even used words which appeared to signify his support of it as a

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whole, has since modified his language, and with a manifest desire to propitiate his predecessor in office, has deprecated the terms used by the Committee with regard to Mr. Brodrick's Army Corps scheme. It is not at present clear whether the Cabinet is prepared to carry out the chief recommendations of the Committee, or whether a sudden halt has been called in the bold attempt of the reformers to introduce sweeping and radical changes. The best ground for hope lies in the fact that Mr. Arnold-Forster is still Secretary for War, for it is difficult to believe that a man of his clear vision and strenuous fibre would consent to remain at his post if the changes he has supported so warmly and which owe so much to his initiative were to be indefinitely postponed or laid aside by the Government. It must be admitted, however, that the prospects of a revolutionary alteration in our military system, the necessity for which has been so clearly established by recent events, are not so bright to-day as they were a few weeks ago. The question is not one of party. It has unfortunately been proved that some Liberals are to be found in the ranks of those who regard the proceedings of Lord Esher's Committee with open hostility. But, on the whole, the feeling both of the House of Commons and the country is in favour of the reorganisation of our military system on the lines of the Committee's Report, and if only the Prime Minister were strong enough to grapple with the opposing forces in his own Cabinet, we might see the adoption of the whole scheme without mutilation or material amendment.

It was by a melancholy coincidence that when the whole question of the organisation of our War Department was thus passing through the melting-pot, the Duke of Cambridge, so long the chief representative of the British army in the eyes of the public, passed away. His Royal Highness had many admirable qualities, and during his long life had gained an enviable position in the esteem of his fellow-countrymen. He was shrewd, energetic, and capable; above all, he was an Englishman, and an English gentleman. Even those whose opportunities of knowing him personally were limited could not fail to recognise his force of character and his real intelligence. Of his social qualities there is no need to speak here, but everybody knows that he was an almost universal favourite. With regard to the Army and to Army reform, his position was different. He was the deliberate and pronounced opponent of reform in all its possible and impossible shapes. Down to the day of his death he had never even expressed his approval of Mr. Cardwell's reforms of more than thirty years ago. Being thoroughly constitutional in his action, and most loyal in the performance of his duty, he accepted those reforms, and did his best to carry them into effect, but he never concealed his opinion of them or of the policy by which they had been dictated. What he may have thought of the schemes of Lord Esher's Committee I do not pretend

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to know, but I think that this fine old English soldier, in whom survived the traditions of the Crimean War, and, in a sense, those greater traditions which carry us back to the Peninsula and Waterloo, was to be deemed not unhappy in the moment of his death.

To revert to Parliament, there has been another feature of the month in connection with the question of national defences that our public men will do well to note. This was the first symptom of a revolt against the increasing expenditure on the Navy. The doctrine, for the establishment of which some of us have long striven, of a continuous policy with regard to the Army, has, in naval matters, been accepted for years past by both parties in the State. It is regarded as one of the irrefutable maxims of statesmanship that the British Navy should always be kept at the highest possible point of efficiency, and should be equal at least to the navies of any two other Powers. To carry this maxim into effect neither political party has ever hesitated to provide the necessary supplies; but, if one may judge by the tone of the parliamentary debates on the Navy Estimates, the time is approaching when we shall reach the limit, not, possibly, of our willingness, but of our ability, to meet further demands for money for the fleet. The simple truth is that our expenditure, taking it all round, has reached a point at which we are compelled to reflect seriously as to what lies beyond. We certainly cannot go on increasing our outlay of money at the rate at which it has been increased during recent years. We are bound to maintain our position as the first naval Power in the world, but we have got to ask ourselves whether, in order to maintain that position, it is really necessary, not merely to maintain the vote for both services at the present point, but to increase it. It is in the direction of increased efficiency, not of mere augmentation of expenditure, that our rulers must henceforth look if they are to carry with them the approval of the tax-paying public. Mr. Arnold-Forster has distinctly indicated that Army reform such as he advocates will mean a reduction in the Army Estimates, as well as increased efficiency in the land forces of the Crown. A time is evidently at hand when the whole question of the Navy and its cost to the State will have to be grappled with, and the question of whether we can maintain our naval supremacy without adding materially to the cost of the fleet seriously considered.

The agitation on the question of the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal has, unfortunately, become one of acute party division. It is a much more difficult and complex question than the mere party politician on either side seems willing to admit. At the outset it is impossible to deny that there is a most unhappy contrast between the actualities of to-day in South Africa and the prospects which were held out to us by Mr. Chamberlain when the war was in progress. It was the boast of the late Colonial Secretary

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that he was securing to England in perpetuity a great field for the industry and enterprise of her sons. Nothing can have been more mortifying to him and to his colleagues than the practical admission they have had to make that the Transvaal in the present conditions is not a 'white man's country,' and that, in default of black, yellow labour must be imported for the development of its resources. That there are grave moral objections to the introduction of large numbers of Chinamen into any civilised community is generally acknowledged, and I imagine that even Lord Milner must deplore the necessity which circumstances have forced upon him. But, speaking as an individual, I cannot pretend to agree with the extreme views which seem to be taken by a considerable section of the Opposition on the subject of Chinese labour in the Transvaal. It does not seem to me to be just or accurate to describe it as setting up a system of slavery or serfdom within the limits of the British Empire. The English working-man, however, has pronounced definitely, and even violently, against the proposal, and he is backed up by his fellow working-men in Australia. All parties in the House of Commons are uneasy as to this outburst of public opinion and its possible consequences for themselves, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, inspired by the evident trend of feeling, challenged the Ministry with a direct vote of want of confidence on the subject on the 21st of March. It cannot be said that the debate on this vote added very much to the knowledge of the public. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman put the case against Chinese labour, and the special ordinances by which it is to be regulated, with force and acuteness, while Mr. Lyttelton explained the circumstances under which the Transvaal Government had yielded to what everyone admits to be a regrettable necessity. But there was a certain sense of unreality in the whole debate, owing to the fact that popular sentiment out of doors has gone to lengths to which few responsible politicians would care to go. The Government majority against Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was fifty-seven—by no means a brilliant victory.

To sum up the general political situation in this country, one may say in brief that the position of the Government is so critical as to be almost desperate. As I have already said, Mr. Balfour has not succeeded in maintaining more than a hollow truce in the House of Commons on the tariff question. Neither his Cabinet nor his party is really united upon it. In legislation, Ministers seem to be marking time, afraid apparently to introduce any Bills of even secondary importance. We were promised, as one of the first-fruits of the session, a measure dealing with the licensing question; but March is at an end, and this nettle has not yet been grasped by the members of the Government. It is hinted, indeed, not obscurely, that the Prime Minister has discovered that in his desire to con-

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ciliate the licence holders he has been lured upon very dangerous ground. Ahead of the Government in the coming month lies the most menacing question which they have to face, that of the Budget. With an acknowledged deficit of six or seven millions, with expenditure that shows no signs of any substantial reduction, and a revenue that is certainly not increasing by leaps and bounds, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to confront a situation which would certainly embarrass older and more experienced heads than his. Nothing is impossible in this world of politics, and the unexpected often happens; but there is no need to be surprised by the confidence with which the quidnuncs on both sides of the House express their belief that the Budget will prove fatal to the Ministry. If we turn from the House of Commons to the country, we see that Ministers have seemingly lost the power of holding any seat that becomes vacant; whether it be in town or country the electors are in revolt against them, and an unexampled series of by-elections has resulted in a substantial loss of seats, and in enormous additions to the votes of the Opposition. I need not recur to the reduced majorities in the House of Commons, and, perhaps, in chronicling facts it would be idle to dwell upon the floating gossip which seeks to crystallise public opinion. But wherever one looks, signs of the times are visible, and the handwriting which foretells the doom of Mr. Balfour's Administration is to be seen on the wall.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

At the outset of his political career Lord Rosebery suffered in his own opinion a wrong which called loudly for redress. The wrong lay in the fact that, his father having predeceased him while he was still a minor, he was debarred from becoming a member of the House of Commons. Thus, in virtue of his peerage, he was relegated in early life to the cold seclusion of the House of Lords. There is only one course, in as far as I can see, by which the intolerable hardship of being a peer of the United Kingdom can ever be rectified. On general grounds it is eminently desirable that our hereditary legislators should be empowered to deprive of their legislative functions peers whose presence in the Upper House is a public scandal. If a measure conferring on the Lords the authority suggested could be submitted to Parliament it would be possible to include in its provisions power to cancel the titular honours of Peers who from one cause or another desired to be reduced to the rank of commoners. Such a suggestion, however, would, I am convinced, have met with no response from the Earl of Rosebery. He had no wish to throw away the trammels of exalted rank. His ambition was to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons so long as he did not choose to take his seat in the Lords, but to retain his peerage; to lead, in fact, a sort of Hyde and Jekyll existence as an M.P. in the afternoon and as a peer in the evening; in other words, he wished to eat his cake and have it. It would be unfair to blame Lord Rosebery for not considering a seat in the Lower House sufficient compensation for the surrender of his peerage. He is far too shrewd a man of the world not to be aware how much his rank and title have stood him in good stead with the party he has led and aspires to lead again. If he still entertains the delusion that in a more favourable arena he might have attained the highest position as statesman and orator, it may be some consolation to him to reflect that, if the wishes of his youthful years had been granted, he could never, as a member of the House of Commons, have delivered the extraordinary speech in which he endeavoured to vindicate himself from a charge which, as he alleged, had been maliciously brought against him by Mr. Balfour.

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the postponement but the definite abandonment of all hope Sir William may have entertained of ever becoming Prime Minister of England. At his time of life, and in his state of health, and under the then aspect of politics, the chances of his ever replacing Lord Rosebery were too remote to take into serious consideration. It is obvious that the loss of this great post, when it seemed after so many years of waiting to be within his grasp, must have been a severe disappointment. Whatever may have been his personal relations with Lord Rosebery, it cannot be gainsayed that in public Sir William uttered no complaint and bore his loss manfully. He continued to utter denunciations of the Tory party replete with a sort of sledge-hammer eloquence, he continued to write letters to the *Times* about his opinions on public affairs, resembling in their style the addresses delivered by a professor to his pupils, and he served his party loyally to the end; but for the last few years he has entered the category of politicians whom Lord Beaconsfield described as the 'extinct volcanoes.'

The result of the London County Council elections has left the situation practically unchanged. The Progressives have retained their old majority, as they still hold over eighty seats in the Council, while the Moderates are represented by a minority of under forty. Personally I am inclined to think this result represents fairly enough the opinions of the constituencies, in as far as the constituents can be said to have any opinions at all. I am afraid I shall never live to see the day when the metropolis is administered by a Prefect as in Paris. But I am convinced the common sense of the British public will sooner or later realise the absurdity of entrusting the administration of the greatest city in the world to a sort of glorified vestry, elected in the main by classes who rarely pay rates and never pay direct taxes. The guiding principles of every elected body, and especially of every municipal body, are to magnify their office and to retain their seats. The latter object can best be obtained by spending money freely for the benefit of the non-ratepayers, who form the great majority of the electorate. A large and even lavish expenditure upon unremunerative works tends to increase the importance of the Council. So long as these works create an artificial demand for labour, and as long as wages are paid at above the usual prices of labour during unnecessarily shortened hours, they are certain to commend themselves to every non-ratepaying constituency. It is upon clerks and small shopkeepers, and all those who live on the border land between modest comfort and poverty, that the steady increase of the rates under the County Council tells most cruelly. But in the constituencies where the bulk of these small needy ratepayers mostly reside, the non-ratepaying labour vote constitutes an overwhelming majority. In the constituencies where the majority consist of ratepayers, the 'Moderates'

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event of the downfall of the Unionist Government, it is Lord Rosebery who will replace Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister of the next Liberal Administration.

Another of the possible candidates for the Premiership, and by no means one of those least likely to have obtained his life's ambition, has within the last month dropped out of the running by his retirement from political life. I allude, of course, to Sir William Harcourt. I have been acquainted with the member for West Monmouthshire since the days when we were both much younger, when he was known as Vernon Harcourt, and when he was one of the most distinguished-looking men of his day I can recall. I may add also he was then one of the slimmest. No man of our generation started his public career with better prospects of success or more determined to achieve the objects of his ambition. From the days of the Cambridge Union he was a very ready and effective speaker, and if he never succeeded in reaching the highest rank, this was due to the force of circumstances rather than to any lack of energy or ability on his own part. There was, indeed, a certain turgidity about his oratory which somehow did not appeal to popular audiences. He always seemed to me to lack any genuine sympathies with democratic ideas. By birth, by breeding, and by character he was an aristocrat of Whig proclivities, who by ill luck had joined the Liberal party just at the period when the Whigs were losing their ascendency in the party, and were being replaced by Radicals, while the Conservative reaction had already begun to make itself manifest. Between Mr. Disraeli and Vernon Harcourt, who soon made his mark in the House as a vigorous debater, there existed a strong personal intimacy, far closer, I imagine, than ever was established between the latter and the leader of his party. In truth the Liberalism of Mr. Gladstone differed in substance rather than in form from that of Harcourt. In common with most autocrats, Mr. Gladstone regarded with jealousy any follower who might, under conceivable contingencies, become a rival. When Mr. Gladstone finally retired in 1894, Sir William seemed marked out as heir to the vacant Premiership. He had stood by Mr. Gladstone with unswerving loyalty during the Liberal Unionist secession; he had been leader of the House of Commons during his chief's intermittent withdrawals from public life, and there was no Liberal member in the Lower House who, in respect of ability and debating power, could be preferred before him. When it became, however, Mr. Gladstone's duty to advise the reigning sovereign as to the choice of his successor, he recommended Lord Rosebery as the fittest person to fill the post. It was said at the time that this recommendation was due to Mr. Gladstone's knowledge that a number of his colleagues would refuse to take office under Sir William. Be this as it may, it is certain that the appointment of Lord Rosebery involved not only

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the utter incapacity of his colleagues. When Mr. Balfour returned to the head of affairs they accused him of dissimulation, of disloyalty towards his colleagues, of political double-dealing. As a matter of fact the chief criticism that could be fairly made of the Premier's policy is that he has played his game with the cards exposed on the table. From the outset he has let the public understand that the only alteration in our tariff system he deems it practical or politic to propose at present is to restore the full right of imposing retaliatory duties on Powers who are injuring British trade by imposing prohibitory tariffs on the importation of British goods. Even this limited power he does not propose to exercise till the expediency of conferring the authority required has been submitted to the decision of the electorate. At the general election the electors will know beforehand that if they return a Unionist majority they will be entrusting the Unionist party with a mandate to employ retaliation for the protection of British industry. The appeal made by the Government to the constituencies will be either refused or accorded. In the former case *cadit quæstio*: in the latter case retaliation will be employed. In either case the Liberals have no cause of complaint, except on the hypothesis that the right of the majority to rule is not binding if the right should be exercised to enforce measures not approved of by the Liberals. In order to guard themselves against what they declare to be an utterly imaginary danger they insist upon Mr. Balfour informing them, chapter and verse, what he proposes doing if, by any chance, the country should be blind enough to return a majority in favour of retaliation. Again, Mr. Balfour has made no secret of his future intentions. Months ago he has placed on record the fact that personally he was inclined to go further with Mr. Chamberlain in his ideas of fiscal reform than he felt justified in going at present. At the same time he has distinctly pledged himself in the simplest and plainest of words that, if he is still head of the Government after the elections are over, he will not take any steps, beyond imposing retaliatory duties in case of need, till he has again submitted the propriety of taking any further step in a direction hostile to free trade to the verdict of the nation. In the face of these facts it is idle to ask for the production of ministerial memorandums, to insinuate the existence of purposeless intrigues, to talk of unholy compacts between the Premier and the late Colonial Minister. The man in the street knows better than to take such rodomontade seriously.

A more formidable weapon of attack has within the last few weeks been discovered by the Liberal Opposition and their Unionist allies. The demand of the Transvaal for importing Chinese labour into the Rand mines has proved a perfect godsend to the Liberal party. An appeal to the hatred of Englishmen to slavery, or anything that may

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plausibly be described as slavery, is a card which it is always safe to play. At the outset the Liberals started on a false trail. They proclaimed their conviction that the demand for Chinese labour was due to the desire of the Rand mineowners to deprive their white fellow-countrymen of the vast field for labour opened up to them by the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Anybody who knew anything of South Africa was aware that the labour difficulty is mainly due to the persistent refusal of the British working men in South Africa, to use Mr. Karrie Davies's phrase, 'to work alongside a black at the same job.' I quite admit that this refusal is not consistent with 'the man and a brother' doctrine, and hardly increases one's respect for the Liberal theory as to 'the dignity of labour.' The aversion of the Afrikander, be he British or Boer, to work with black fellow-labourers is not confined to miners. There is exactly the same difficulty in getting white labourers to work on railways or on farms in South Africa cheek by jowl with blacks. I am convinced, too, that if any number of English workmen were induced by the prospect of high wages to come out to South Africa 'to work on the same job with blacks,' they would in a very few weeks discover their position to be intolerable. The Kaffirs are excellent workmen, especially underground, but they are lazy by nature and can only be induced to give good work for good wages by some form of compulsion, and any form of compulsion the Home Government declines to permit. When it was ascertained that the Chinese were willing and anxious to come and work as mine labourers in South Africa the Liberals raised the cry that the country would be flooded by a Chinese immigration and that the white labourers would be deprived of their means of subsistence. Then when an arrangement was made between the Governments of Great Britain and China by which the Chinese were not to be allowed to settle in South Africa or to engage in any other trade than that of mining, the Liberals dropped the alleged wrongs of the British white labourer and based their opposition to Chinese immigration on the ground of their suddenly developed regard for the welfare of the Chinese labourer. A more palpably dishonest manœuvre than the agitation raised against the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal as a means of defeating the Government has never been witnessed in the political warfare of recent years. It is matter for regret that during all this wordy attempt to magnify molehills into mountains Mr. Chamberlain should not have been present to explain from his own experience the real state of affairs in the Transvaal, and to show the absolute necessity of obtaining fresh supplies of labour unless we intend to cripple the industry on which the prosperity not only of the Transvaal but of South Africa is mainly dependent. However, this regret is diminished by the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has completely

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recovered his health during his tour in Egypt, and that on his return he is ready to resume his crusade in favour of fiscal reform with even greater energy and confidence than he has already displayed. No exact date, as far as I know, has yet been fixed for his reappearance in Parliament; but, for reasons easily intelligible, I should fancy it was more likely to be after than before the introduction of the Budget.

EDWARD DICEY.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

No. CCCXXVII—May 1904

AN IMPERIAL MARITIME COUNCIL [1]

There are hopeful signs of an awakening interest in Imperial affairs. We have been bidden to 'think Imperially,' and no wiser counsel could be given if it is implied that the thinking is to be sober and earnest, eschewing all vainglory, and directed to safeguarding our magnificent inheritance, to developing our unrivalled resources, and to raising the standard of happiness and prosperity among the millions of many races who live under the flag.

The foundations of the Empire were laid by wars of which we still bear the burdens. Inherited aptitudes and the heroism of our sailors and soldiers determined our onward progress. We built, if not more wisely, at least more extensively than we knew, and although the statement that we blundered into greatness may be more epigrammatic than exact, want of purpose and of scientific direction of means to ends has been apparent at many periods in our chequered history. In days when other nations were also without definite aims or without

[1] The substance of this proposal was embodied in a speech made by the writer at the Town Hall, Melbourne, on the 9th of November, 1903.

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power to prosecute them, our shortcomings in the domain of statesmanship were not markedly disadvantageous.

The old order has passed. The territorial extent of the Empire, by conquest and absorption, has grown to vast dimensions. We have no need for further expansion, and our watchwords henceforth should be development and consolidation. Meanwhile, other great Powers, profiting by lessons which we have imperfectly learned, are directing their Imperial policies with well-considered purpose, and are carefully organising their resources accordingly. Our haphazard methods have become worse than inadequate in face of modern requirements.

The maintenance of the British Empire and of the high ideals which it ought to represent is a supremely important factor in the progress of the world. How shall we bring due forethought to bear upon Imperial questions? How ensure the development of neglected national resources? How inspire British citizens under many skies with an abiding sense of union based upon common patriotism, common interests, and common dangers? These are the problems of the twentieth century. Upon their solution the maintenance of the Empire, untarnished in honour and intact in territory, must depend. To attempt to solve them is, in the only true sense, to think Imperially

There is a fascination in constitution making, and it is natural that schemes of Imperial Federation should be evolved which are either permanently impracticable or wholly premature. If the Empire had been built up on any consistent design, which permitted the self-governing communities to grow up as conscious partners in Imperial affairs, it is possible, though not certain, that Federation might now be within the scope of practical politics. We must, however, accept the situation as it stands, and in any case it is necessary to take full account of the effects of distance and of special conditions which must differentiate the progress of our great offshoots from that of the motherland.

Having lately spent the two most interesting and most instructive years of my life in Australia, where I had excellent opportunities for studying the tendencies and the aspirations of our brothers in the South Pacific, I am more than ever convinced that formal schemes directed towards closer political union are visionary and may be harmful. Such schemes can assume practical shape only by the operation of natural forces, which may be guided and strengthened, but cannot be constrained. For the present, our main objects must be to increase by every means the mutual knowledge of Great and Greater Britain, to take our fellow-subjects oversea into our counsels as often as possible, and to lose no opportunity of co-operating with them for Imperial objects.

The greatest common interest of the British people is security against aggression, and in South Africa we have seen the co-operation

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of gallant troops from every part of the Empire. That thousands of valuable lives and millions of treasure could have been saved by foresight and brain power scientifically applied is generally admitted. In these matters example is better than precept, and when we have made ourselves as efficient in the military sense as the Japanese, our great Colonies will follow our lead.

Second only to security as the supreme common interest of the British people is intercommunication, in the widest sense of the term. A maritime Empire must fall to pieces if its ocean communications cannot be maintained in war, while in peace the frequency and the efficiency of the means of interchange under the national flag are—as the Germans well understand—essential for the welding together of scattered units. If we must regard as visionary all projects aiming at closer political union, and if, for the present, we are compelled to defer the hope of an Imperial organisation for purposes of defence, is it possible so to strengthen our maritime communications as to secure definite and lasting national advantages?

At the first Colonial Conference held in 1887, Mr. Hoffmeyr proposed that a 2 per cent. duty should be imposed as a surcharge upon all foreign goods discharged at all Imperial ports, the proceeds to form a fund hypothecated to purposes of defence, special reference being made to the Navy. This remarkable suggestion, conceived in a broadly Imperial spirit, did not receive as much consideration as it merited; but in 1887 the idea of a general tax, however small, upon all foreign imports would have been scouted in this country. Public opinion has since moved far, and the main principle of Mr. Hoffmeyr's plan would not now be met with an unreasoning *non possumus*. The practical objections which impressed me at the time, and which wider experience has powerfully confirmed, still remain.

The difficulty of applying an Imperial Fund to purposes of defence, without giving rise to heart-burnings, jealousies, and recriminations, appears to be insuperable. The Navy alone stands in the position of being the ubiquitous guardian of all members of the Empire alike; but its functions are at present imperfectly understood at home, and are far from being generally grasped in Greater Britain. To attain full comprehension of the nature of these functions in war requires an amount of study which few can undertake, and powers of imagination in which we, as a nation, are singularly deficient. Thus local demands for the permanent presence of squadrons of specified strength in certain waters would inevitably be preferred, and irritation would be engendered by the non-compliance which elementary strategic considerations might inexorably dictate. Further the Navy, to be effective, must be centrally administered in peace, and subject to general direction from the Admiralty in war, while the allocation of an Imperial Fund among various competing naval services would be inextricably bound up with the general policy of which the threads are held in London.

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Failing the existence of a Federal body, Greater Britain could have no voice in determining this allocation, and wide-spread dissatisfaction would hence be aroused. Finally, the duty which Mr. Hoffmeyr proposed would suffice to pay little more than one fourth the present cost of the Navy, leaving the balance to be provided by the people of the mother country.

If, on the other hand, Mr. Hoffmeyr's Fund were applied to military purposes, the difficulties would be greatly increased. It is almost impossible to secure agreement at home as to the relative values of the multifarious means of defence, and geographical conditions vastly complicate such questions. Who could hope to decide, in such a way as to secure general acceptance, whether the addition of guns at Esquimalt or an increase of garrison at Thursday Island was the more urgent Imperial requirement; whether it would be wiser to defend Lough Swilly or Wei-hai-wei; whether submarine mines in the Hugli were preferable to a Marconi installation at Cape Town; whether the Australian Light Horse should be re-armed with an automatic carbine, or an anti-torpedo boom should be provided at Port Royal? Innumerable conundrums of this kind would present themselves. They are sufficiently difficult in the case of a limited area such as the United Kingdom; they become insoluble when spread over the world. All that can be predicted with certainty is that each separate member of the Empire would regard expenditure elsewhere as money thrown away, from its point of view, and that a policy of sops and compromises to local opinion would inevitably arise involving a hopeless disregard of all principles, with consequent waste on a large scale, and yet failing to prevent general dissatisfaction. On all grounds I believe that this plan must be dismissed as impracticable.

If, however, we turn to the second great national requirement and consider the application of Mr. Hoffmeyr's Fund to the *strengthening of the maritime communications of the Empire*, most of the difficulties will be found to disappear. Any improvement of the means of transport on any main Imperial route must confer direct benefits at both ends and at all intermediate points, while so intensely complex are the ramifications of British trade that any fresh development, or any increased facilities on any line, must spread indirect advantages far and wide throughout the Empire.

I propose, therefore, to halve Mr. Hoffmeyr's special impost, which at 1 per cent. would yield an annual income of about 4,600,000*l*. I need not attempt to decide from what source this regal revenue would be drawn. If, as we are sometimes told, the exporter is the ultimate payer of an import duty, then the foreigner will provide us with ample means for the development of our mercantile marine. If the importer or the consumer is mulcted to this small extent, it will be admitted that the burden would be trivial. If the tax is divided among the three, it becomes an altogether negligible quantity. It is at least certain

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that, if a 1 per cent. duty were imposed, there would not be any disturbance in any part of the mighty system of British commerce.

Having provided an income, it is necessary to frame a Charter defining and limiting the modes of expenditure. Thus the Imperial Fund, to fulfil its objects, must be confined to the improvement of British-owned steamship services forming veritable lines of communication between the great members of the Empire. Such, for example, are lines connecting the United Kingdom with Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, Australasia, India and Hong Kong; Canada with Australasia, South Africa, and Hong Kong; Australasia with India and Hong Kong. The assistance might take the form of subsidies, bounties, or loans at low interest, subject to conditions of speed, tonnage, periodicity, accommodation and employment of British subjects. These questions would need careful consideration and a study of German methods; but they involve no insuperable difficulties.

The next step is to create an *Imperial Maritime Council* with complete powers of administering the Fund under the terms of the Charter. Such a Council might be formed, in the first instance, of the following representatives:

United Kingdom		4
India		2
Canada		2
South Africa	Cape Colony	1
	Natal	1
Australia		2
New Zealand		1
All other Colonies		2
Total		15

This would be a good working number, and, from the nature of the duties to be performed, representation on the basis of proportional contributions would be unnecessary. As no line of maritime communications could be strengthened without benefiting the United Kingdom, the latter need not claim a predominant influence, and one of the great difficulties of all Federal schemes is removed. The Council should hold a session every year, and at intervals of four years it should sit at the great centres of Imperial commerce—Montreal, Cape Town, Bombay, and Sydney—in succession.

Assuming the working expenses to be 100,000*l.* a year, there would remain at least four and a half millions sterling to be administered, and such a sum scientifically applied with a single eye to Imperial advantage must produce far-reaching results.

I am aware that evidence unfavourable to subsidies was given before the Select Committee which reported in December 1902. It was pointed out that the effect of State aid tended to check individual effort, and thus to enfeeble maritime development. No one can believe more implicitly than I do in the supreme importance of private enterprise

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by which our unrivalled commerce has been built up; but disjointed effort, however strenuous, may lead to overlapping with consequent economic loss, while undertakings not mutually organised may suffer in competition with those which have behind them the assistance of a powerful Government wisely applied. Such assistance can even be made to stimulate individual effort. The liberal French subsidies cannot be said to have produced marked national advantage; but it is clear that State aid and direction have materially contributed to the striking progress of the German mercantile marine. German steamers over 100 tons rose from 741 of 638,000 net tons in 1890 to 1,230 of 2,177,000 tons in 1901, the corresponding figures under the British flag being 6,403 of 5,156,800 tons and 6,088 of 7,523,000 tons. Thus the average tonnage of German steamers during this period rose from 861 to 1,770, and of British steamers from 805 to 1,237. In 1901 Germany owned 128 steamers over 5,000 tons, and stood next to Great Britain with 404. The relatively large growth of the size of German steamers and the rapid spread of German commerce are to a great extent the result of methods scientifically devised with these objects. Such methods are effective or not according to the wisdom or unwisdom with which they are applied, and in the British Empire, if real national objects are to be attained, it is essential that the directing authority should, as I propose, be entirely disconnected from local politics. In any case, the scheme being restricted to the maritime communications of the Empire, there remains an immense field for unaided private enterprise.

Another objection which suggests itself is that, while in some colonies the staff employed by the Customs departments would be able to collect the special duty with little or no addition, a considerable increase would be necessary in the United Kingdom. I believe that about 70,000*l.* a year would meet the new requirements; but if all mail subsidies were thrown upon the fund, mail communication being most properly treated as matter of Imperial concern, no financial loss would arise.

The advantages which I venture to claim for the scheme are briefly the following:—

I. Special encouragement to inter-British trade arising directly from the 1 per cent. preference, and indirectly to a much greater extent from the improvement of the facilities of ocean transport.

II. Possibilities of helping the development of the immense unutilised resources of the Empire.

III. Closer touch between the scattered British peoples, and a check to the diminution of British subjects employed on the sea.

IV. Strengthening the mercantile marine by increasing the number of large and fast steamers which would be trebly advantageous in war, as auxiliary vessels for the use of the Navy, as transports, and as being relatively difficult to capture.

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V. Effective counteraction of foreign subsidies or bounties now enjoyed by ships plying between British ports.

VI. Continuous scientific study of the inter-working of Imperial trade as a whole, which is now lacking, and which would ensure increased economy and efficiency.

VII. Lastly, and perhaps greatest of all, the establishment for the first time of a real Imperial Council, entrusted with definite and most important duties involving pan-Britannic interests on a huge scale, and smoothing the way to further organised co-operation.

While the inauguration of this scheme would not dislocate British commerce in the slightest degree, it would leave complete fiscal freedom with every self-governing community of the Empire. It can, therefore, be considered quite apart from all questions of fiscal policy, and it provides a broad platform on which free-traders, free-fooders, retaliators, preferential tariffists, and 'whole-hoggers' might meet in amity.

'I am satisfied,' said Sir Robert Giffen before the Select Committee, 'that the problem of maintaining our merchant fleet is a very serious one indeed for the Government.' It is on the maintenance of that fleet that our national prosperity and progress absolutely depend. If measures such as those which Germany employs with visible success are required in our case, it is essential that they should assume Imperial form and scope. Failure and waste would attend any partial efforts. Continuity of policy, based upon great principles, far-seeing, and seeking only permanent national advantages, is vital.

The scheme which I suggest is designed to fulfil these conditions, and I earnestly commend it to the consideration of all who are learning, in the truest and the noblest sense, to think Imperially.

GEORGE SYDENHAM CLARKE.

January 1904.

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THE BLACK PERIL IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa may be a white man's colony in the sense that the white man can thrive there, . . . but can it ever be a white man's colony in the true sense of the word—that the white man is to be the greater part of the population of the Colony? . . . The blacks not only show no signs of diminution; *they are steadily increasing, and they are increasing faster than the whites. They are there; they are going to remain there; and the problem before South Africa in the future is one which has never yet presented itself in the history of mankind.* I believe the problem will present incomparable difficulties. The Right Hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce) said the question of the negro in the Southern States of North America was a serious difficulty. What is the difficulty of the relatively insignificant negro population in the United States of America compared with the difficulty which will present itself to South African statesmen when they have got to face this enormous black population, and when you have a community of whites of all classes who are, as it were, an aristocracy over a proletariat class? I do not envy those who have to deal with that situation in the future.—*Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons, the 21st of March*, 1904.

It is not the yellow peril in South Africa that should occupy the minds of British statesmen, but the black peril. We are drifting in our native policy . . . the time has come when we should secure the best brains we can from Africa, England, and America to think out a solution of the problem of what the duty of the white races should be to the black.—*Earl Grey at the Society of Arts, the 12th of April*, 1904.

The native population of Africa south of the Zambesi is ten millions. The white population is under one million. To-day the majority of the natives are in a semi-savage condition. But the day may come when they shall have emerged from that condition, and have attained the degree of civilisation which prevails amongst the negroes, their kindred, in the United States. The process of evolution has begun. When it is completed, the relative position of the black and white populations in South Africa will be—what? Look to the United States and you shall find some hint of the answer. There the two races are at each other's throat. The negro has become a power in the land, socially, politically, and economically, and his power is a constant source of embarrassment and irritation to the white. Yet half a century ago the American negro was bound hand and foot in the fetters of slavery, and plunged in ignorance as dense as that of the most benighted Kafir. Who shall say that the Kafir,

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half a century hence, will not exercise a similar power, socially, politically, and economically, if not a greater, in South Africa? Personally I have no doubts whatever on the subject. The impulse which came to the negroes of North America with the Civil War, to strive after something beyond that to which they had been born, has now come to the South African negro, less obtrusively perhaps, but no less decisively. Already the coloured man is a formidable force in the game of party politics in one, and the oldest, South African colony. The most deplorable feature of the Cape elections which have just ended was the power exercised by the native vote. The Cape Town correspondent of the *Times* asserted that it dominated the whole election. He was well within the mark. The gravity of the situation is unfortunately not appreciated in England, or, at all events, appreciated by only a very few. Perhaps this is not surprising when one remembers that many South Africans, blinded by the political expediency of the moment, fail completely to discern the peril which is close upon them. Future calamity, however stupendous, is to them as nothing compared with present political gain, however mean. 'Sufficient unto the day' sums up their creed, with 'Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die' as a variant. It is a strictly non-party and non-racial creed—about the only non-party and non-racial thing in South Africa. Bond and Progressives, English and Dutch, alike subscribe to it, and alike observe it to the letter. In a number of districts the coloured vote is the deciding factor. Bond and Progressives therefore vied with each other, during the recent contest, in prostrating themselves even to the dust before the native, in order to gratify his vanity and so induce a favourable response to their respective claims for support at the polls. The Progressives appear to have been the more successful in this exhilarating performance, since they captured several constituencies which, largely by the grace of the native, the Bond had previously held. Your political bagman is deliriously enthusiastic over these tactics, and is lost in admiration when he beholds his party, by means of them, giving the other side 'a wipe in the eye.' He makes no pretence of considering the effect of it all on the native mind, and is cheerfully indifferent to the claims of posterity. 'What has posterity done for me, anyway?' he argues. What if the native does form an extravagant estimate of his own importance, and cultivate an unbounded contempt for the white men? A seat has been won for the party: that surely is the main thing!

But how long is this dangerous policy to continue? The native population of Cape Colony, including the territories, is, in round numbers, 1,200,000, and the white population 377,000. Day by day the power of the native grows. The gate of the political arena stands wide open to him, and he is not slow to enter. With the exception of natives occupying lands under tribal tenure (an important exception,

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but one that is constantly diminishing), every male person, irrespective of colour, race, and creed, above the age of twenty-one years, and born or naturalised a British subject, is entitled to the full franchise after one year's residence in the Colony, provided he occupies property of the value of 75*l.* or is in receipt of wages of not less than 50*l.* annually, and is able to sign his name and state in writing his address and occupation. Such a franchise would horrify the average American in the South, and unquestionably it will have to be radically amended unless the colonists are prepared to endure political annihilation. At present neither Bondsman nor Progressive will face the situation. Neither wishes to alienate the substantial aid which his party gets from the natives. The Progressives know that if they moved in the matter they would have to reckon on the undivided hostility of the Bond, and of a large body of native seceders from the Progressive party. That would spell destruction for the Progressives. If, on the other hand, the Bond attempted to take up the task, many negrophile Progressives would make it their aim to frustrate the attempt. In short, neither party alone is sufficiently strong to carry out the reform; and until one is, or until both agree to treat the matter as a non-party question, the present unwholesome state of affairs will continue. Meanwhile the number of coloured voters increases year by year. Neither the property nor educational qualification offers serious obstacles to the intelligent and politically ambitious native. Thousands of his breed earn more than 50*l.* a year, while the fact that during the last decade 60 per cent. of the children annually attending school in the colony have been coloured, and only 40 per cent. white, speaks for itself. According to the Cape Government Education Report, published two months ago, the actual number of children receiving education in the public schools of the Colony at the end of last year was 91,313 coloured, and 60,849 white. The natives are awakening from the slumber of centuries, and there is no more remarkable feature of this awakening than their almost insatiable thirst for knowledge. Cape Colony and the territories are literally peppered with native schools, the territories alone having several hundreds. These schools are manned very largely by aboriginal teachers who have passed one or other of the Cape University qualifying examinations, and who display no lack of intelligence in their work. The spread of education has gone hand in hand with, although it has not been dependent upon, the growth of Ethiopianism, an insidious quasi-religious movement about which I shall have something to say presently. The point I wish to make here is that, given a continuance of the present franchise law and no cessation of the process of evolution which is going on amongst the natives, the time must come, and come soon, when the coloured vote, powerful even now in several constituencies, will have so increased as to make itself felt in every district of Cape Colony. To-day the native decides

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here and there who shall be returned to Parliament; to-morrow he may have the power of deciding everywhere, and may exercise that power in favour of men of his own complexion. We shall then have the edifying spectacle of black men ruling whites—surely a weird conceit of fortune! Let none imagine that such a development belongs to the dim and distant future. It might begin any moment. Only three months ago did the Bond adopt Tengo Jabavu, a full-blooded Fingo, and editor of the native paper *Imvo*, as one of their candidates. Nothing came of the manœuvre. But it will certainly be repeated, and the amiable Tengo may yet find himself with a seat in the House. He will be the forerunner of others. Then will begin in Cape politics an era whose end it is not pleasant to contemplate. To have natives controlling some seats and thereby practically determining, as they now do, which political party shall hold office, is degrading enough for the white man. To have natives controlling many seats and returning other natives to power, possibly in a majority over the whites, would be intolerable. Yet that is the only logical conclusion of the existing system. No doubt the system will be modified some day. But in the meantime irreparable mischief may be worked. The native is more and more coming to realise his strength. Under the influence of Ethiopianism he is developing a spirit of independence which will soon seriously embarrass his white rulers. I have described Ethiopianism as insidious and quasi-religious. Students of recent native history in South Africa can testify that the description is no more than just. The cult began very humbly. In 1892 a Wesleyan native minister in Pretoria, the Rev. M. M. Mokone, or Mangena, more enterprising than his fellows, seceded from the Wesleyan body and started a Church of his own—a strictly racial Church, governed by Africans for Africans, whites being rigidly excluded. He christened it 'The Church of Ethiopia,' and made the possession of a black skin the qualification of a catechumen. Makone soon found an ally in another native minister named Dwane, also a seceding Wesleyan. Under their joint direction the new Church so flourished that in 1896 it was decided to claim the recognition of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America, the most powerful Ethiopian organisation on earth. Established at the beginning of last century, this Church to-day has upwards of a million communicants and 5000 ministers, and owns church property valued at 50,000,000 dollars. Dwane was deputed to visit America and make overtures to this body. As a result, the South African Ethiopian Church became a branch of the A.M.E.C., with Dwane as its general Superintendent. In 1898 the act of affiliation was formally ratified by Bishop Turner, one of the 'pillars' of the American Church, touring South Africa and ordaining a host of Kafir ministers and deacons. But Dwane became restive, and in less than a year approached the Archbishop of Capetown with a view to effecting

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an alliance with the Anglican Church. Dwane's motives are not clear, but personal ambition was probably not in the background. Although the A.M.E.C. was fast obtaining a hold in the land, some doubt existed as to the validity of its episcopate, and we may credit Dwane with enough shrewdness to appreciate the advantage of being associated with a Church whose title nobody could dispute. But self-effacement was the last thing Dwane contemplated. If he relinquished the headship of the A.M.E.C. in South Africa for the purpose of joining the Anglicans, it must be on the sole condition that the Anglicans recognised the independence of him and his following. His Church was to retain the title 'Ethiopian Church,' and have the right to own and control its property, ordain ministers, and in other respects administer its own affairs unhindered by the white man. Dwane altogether drove a very hard bargain, but eventually, with modifications, his terms were agreed to. The Anglicans created an Order of Ethiopia, of which Dwane became the head, this arrangement being ratified, not without some searching of heart, by the Anglican Provincial Synod held in Cape Town a few weeks ago. Although several thousands followed Dwane, a large number of natives remained loyal to the A.M.E.C., who were by no means discouraged at the split. On the contrary, from the moment Dwane showed signs of disaffection, the American governors of the A.M.E.C. seemed to realise the value of South Africa as a field for their energies. Dr. Levi Coppin, of Philadelphia, was sent out as first bishop, funds were voted, and in other ways a determined effort was made to arrest the evil consequences of the schism. So successful has that effort been that the Church is now firmly established in South Africa. Its influence is rapidly growing, and secessions of evangelists from other bodies to it are frequent. The principal A.M.E. church on the Rand is in charge of a man who left the Wesleyan Church only after the war, while several other A.M.E. churches are ministered to by Kafirs who were originally ordained by rival denominations. On every hand the A.M.E.C. bears the marks of vigorous expansion, and it is likely to become the central body round which one day will rally the various native churches in their revolt against the white man. From this category I do not exclude the Anglican Order of Ethiopia, or the dozen other sects in the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Natal, which, while not bending the knee to the A.M.E.C., are at one with it in enmity towards the white churches, and are all more or less inspired by the same ambition, namely, to attain the ideal which finds expression in the phrase 'Africa for the Africans.' They are all units in an essentially anti-white movement; and Tengo Jabavu put the matter in its mildest form when he recently described it in his newspaper *Imvo* as 'a social movement.' The black man, says Tengo, is determined 'to strike off heavenward for himself,' having found that 'while the white

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men's religion is all right, the white agent of that religion is all wrong.' This might be regarded by observers of the native character as sufficient evidence of a dangerous spirit. Independence in ecclesiastical affairs is but a step removed from independence in matters secular and political, and the power of the parson in politics has been sufficiently demonstrated in South Africa by the Dutch Reformed Church. But if we turn to *The Voice of the Missions*, the official organ of the A.M.E.C. in America, we find the political purpose of Ethiopianism boldly proclaimed. It was this paper which, during the war, gracefully spoke of the time when Africans would 'whip the British back to the Thames, as the Afro-Haytians whipped the French,' when the Kafirs would 'boss the white men,' and when the 'African Republic' of the future should be founded. Various native bodies at the Cape were at some pains to disclaim, and I believe quite honestly, any sympathy with these outrageously disloyal sentiments. But such sentiments exercise a pernicious fascination upon the native, with his new-born craving to do something and be somebody, and, sown broadcast, they will some day bear evil fruit. I remember once discussing the subject with the Rev. Henry Attaway, the head of the A.M.E.C. in the Cape district. He is a negro of remarkable intelligence and cultivation, and was one of several missionaries sent over from the States shortly after Bishop Coppin became head of the Church in South Africa. I am bound to say that he impressed me as being singularly broad-minded and practical. He denied that the A.M.E.C. had any political aspirations, and protested that expressions such as those quoted from *The Voice of the Missions* should not be taken too literally. He explained that the Church's object was the regeneration of the black races, which he believed black men were better capable of undertaking than whites. He insisted that this did not imply, nor need it involve, disloyalty to the British Crown or hostility to the white man. The purpose of the A.M.E.C. was to preach the gospel of labour, in much the same way as Mr. Booker Washington preaches it, and so bring the Kafir from savagery to useful citizenship. In justice to the A.M.E.C. I present their side of the case as Mr. Attaway presented it to me. But against it there is abundant testimony that the advent of the A.M.E.C. has everywhere had a disturbing effect upon the natives. We may safely assume that it was not without reason that the Imperial Government refused permission to the agents of the A.M.E. Church to visit their dioceses in the new colonies after the war,[1] that Native Commissioners in Cape Colony have written warnings against this would-be native national Church, and that the Colonial authorities generally regard

[1] Bishop Derrick and Bishop Coppin recently visited London, and, in conjunction with Mr. Choate, made representations to the Colonial Office on this subject. Bishop Derrick announced at the A.M.E. Church Conference held in New York in March that as a result of these representations the ban had been withdrawn.

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the growth of Ethiopianism with distrust and apprehension. The *Cape Times*, the most serious of South African newspapers, quite recently expressed the deliberate conviction that the Church 'has been utilised to propagate political doctrines of the most revolutionary character'; while so prudent an observer as Archbishop Jones, when formally welcoming Dwane and his followers into the Anglican fold at the Synod to which I have referred, deemed it necessary to earnestly exhort them 'to act as a counterfoil to the American movement and the spirit of unrest which it is creating.' He also besought them to remain loyal to the Crown, and to check the machinations of those who were 'agitating in a contrary direction,' adding in this connection that he regarded the American negroes who had come to South Africa 'as the root of the evil.' The Archbishop's appeal was all the more pointed since the men to whom it was addressed had up to that time been in the vanguard of the Ethiopian movement, and consequently had earned anything but a savoury reputation. Indeed, the receiving of them into the Anglican Church was considered in some quarters to be highly impolitic, and the wisdom of the step has yet to be established. Without professing to know what prompted the Archbishop and his fellow prelates to accept Dwane's rather exacting terms, it seems reasonable to suppose that they acted on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. Since they could not obtain Dwane's complete submission, they were manifestly bound in duty to the State, no less than to the Church, not to refuse such measure of allegiance as Dwane offered. Here was a large native community adrift, as it were, and, while adrift, a grave national danger. When the Archbishop saw a chance of rescuing the derelict, he was justified in undertaking the task on any terms that were not absolutely prohibitive. Had he rejected Dwane's overtures, Dwane would probably have become more aggressively racial than ever in his Ethiopianism. But by falling in with the native's plans, the Archbishop obtained a certain amount of white control over at least one section of the Ethiopian movement, and secured a possible ally in the prospective campaign against the American negro propagandists. The experiment may or may not turn out a success. But even if it fail it was worth the trying.

From the foregoing it will be seen that two great factors are at work amongst the natives in South Africa: the one political and at present confined in its expression, though not in its influence, to Cape Colony; the other quasi-religious, operating throughout the country. Together they constitute a force against which the Englishman and the Dutchman, sinking their differences, will have to unite, in order to preserve the domination of the white man over the black. That is the solitary ray of sunshine in an otherwise gloomy and depressing situation. Bitter as the feud between Englishman and Dutchman is to-day, it will pass when both realise, as they are

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bound sooner or later to realise, that only by presenting a solid front to the oncoming hordes of superficially civilised blacks can they escape complete annihilation. For generations, if not for all time, the natives in South Africa must enormously outnumber the whites. In the olden days, tribal wars and wars with the white man, to say nothing of famines and pestilence, served to counterbalance the prolificness of the native. These checks are no more. Wars, though not altogether things of the past, do not periodically decimate the population, while the white man's government has rendered famines innocuous and pestilence almost impossible. So the natives, living in peace and plenty on the land, cordially obey the divine admonition to increase and multiply. The whites, whether naturally or by immigration, increase but slowly, and there is no reason for anticipating any material change in this respect. South Africa never will be a settler's country in the sense that Canada and even Australia were, because the unskilled farm and other labourers who flocked to Canada and Australia, and constituted by far the greater part of the population, can find no place in South Africa, where the standard of unskilled labour is set by the native, who grows fat on wages which would mean starvation to the white man. For better or for worse, the whole economic fabric of South Africa is constructed to this standard, and those who rail against the arrangement do but waste their breath. Nothing is more absurd in the absurd agitation against Chinese Labour which is being so diligently engineered in this country than the parrot cry, repeated by political leaders who ought to know its untruth, that the introduction of the Chinaman means the driving out of the white man. The white man cannot and will not do the work on which the Chinamen are to be employed. Even if it were not the case that to pay white wages for unskilled labour would spell bankruptcy for nine-tenths of the industrial enterprises of the country, there still remains as an insurmountable objection to white unskilled labour the fact that the white man instinctively rebels against toiling on an equality with the native. It is well that it is so, for such equality would irretrievably destroy the status of the white as the master race, and bring South Africa to disaster. Between the white man and the black man there lies an unbridgable gulf. Mr. Balfour, in the speech quoted at the head of this article, effectively summarised the whole difficulty when he said :

More than one speaker on the other side has hinted that the statements made by us to show that you cannot get the white man and the black man to work together on equal terms are statements made in the interests of that mysterious locality, Park Lane, and have no relation to the facts of African life Unfortunately the theories of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that all men were born equal, have been refuted in this, as in many other instances, by advanced science. Men are not born equal. They cannot be made equal by education extending over generation after generation within the ordinary historical limit. The differences between one family and another of

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mankind lie deep in the remote and unfathomable past, and it is folly to suppose that your petty educational regulations, be they what they may, can obliterate distinctions deep seated under the laws of nature. And that being so you will not get the white man and the black man to work together as equals.

I quote the passage in full because it shows that at least one English statesman has grasped the real significance of a situation in regard to which colonists have become accustomed to expect from English statesmen little beyond confused and irrational theorising of the Exeter Hall stamp.

Returning to the point from which we started, the question arises: what is the white man doing to protect himself, or certainly his children, from calamity? On the one hand, there is the numerically insignificant white community, which is likely to remain numerically insignificant; on the other is an enormous black population, in which the leaven of Ethiopianism and kindred elements inimical to the white man is steadily working. No argument is necessary to demonstrate that if the progress of the white and black races continues along the present lines and under the existing conditions, the white man must in the end succumb before sheer weight of numbers. Such a catastrophe can only be averted by the white man rigorously excluding the native from political power, and strenuously discountenancing anything like social equality between the two races. People who know not the native, and even some who do, will probably regard this proposal as a shocking violation of the fundamental principles of British freedom. They will argue that all men are born equal, and that, in any case, it is wrong to exclude a black man from privileges which his education would entitle him to if he were white. Such contentions are conclusively answered by Mr. Balfour. To seriously press the equality theory is to display a dangerous ignorance of the practical side of the question. The first clause of the American Declaration of Independence sets forth that 'all men are created equal.' But that does not prevent illiterates from being forbidden the Republican franchise. Nor does it induce the Government and people of the United States to treat the negro otherwise than as a pariah. In British South Africa every man is equal in the eye of the law, inasmuch as every man, whether white or black, is assured his life, his property, and his freedom. To white and black alike is meted out justice. But that, rightly, does not prevent a British Government in the new colonies from denying the natives all political power, and from discriminating against them in such matters as travelling in trains and trams and walking on the pavement. Nor does it prevent a British Government in Natal from pursuing a similar policy. In Cape Colony alone do we find the equality theory applied in its entirety. The result is an object-lesson in the criminal foolishness of that theory. Nothing could be better than the admirable methods practised by the Cape Colony Government in its native

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territories. Nothing could be worse—in the sense not of harshness, but of unwisdom—than that same Government's attitude towards the natives in the Colony proper. In the territories the tribal system prevails, and the native is debarred from participation in the white man's affairs. In the Colony proper, the native or half-caste is treated just as if he were a white man. He may vote for his parliamentary and municipal candidates; he may jostle you in train or tram; he may shoulder you off the sidewalk. Bring him up for common assault, and the chances are a thousand to one that you lose the case. They do things better in the Transvaal and Natal, without being in the slightest degree unjust or even unkind. The natural consequence is that in those colonies the demeanour of the natives is altogether different from the braggart and defiant behaviour of the natives of the Cape. Clearly, therefore, the first step in the direction of consolidating the white man's dominion over all South Africa must be taken in Cape Colony. The purely social aspect of the problem is less perplexing than the political, since the inherent antipathy of the white man to the black prevents any great intermixture of the races, and impels the white man to hold the native at arm's length, no matter what the native's educational or other attainments may be. But unfortunately this antipathy does not operate in politics. Each faction, in its anxiety to reap political advantage, puts forth all its efforts to imbue the native with the conviction that he is every bit as good as the white man. The faction which most adroitly panders to the native in this way is the faction which gets the most native votes, and which therefore stands the best chance of coming into power. This of course is entirely the result of the system under which the vote of any benighted Kafir who earns 50*l.* a year and can sign his name is as good as the vote of the most intelligent white man. Were the system abolished, the instinct of the white man, which is to keep the coloured man at arm's length politically as well as socially, would have free play. There then would be no question of the natives, however tricked out with educational adornments, and however numerous, gaining an ascendency over the whites. At present the white man is nursing a snake in his bosom. Throughout Cape Colony political associations have sprung up whose constitutions or by-laws explicitly exclude whites from membership. The white man, whatever his sentiment against the native, has never, in British Africa, gone the length of defining, in written word, his policy of exclusion so boldly as the natives now define theirs. The nearest approach to anything of the kind was to be found in the Grondwet (Constitution) of the Transvaal Republic, which declined to recognise the native except as belonging to a servile caste unworthy of enjoying the same civil rights as the white man. These coloured political associations are reinforced by several native newspapers whose attitude is equally exclusive. For the present the associations and the

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newspapers are the henchmen of one or other white political party, and the whites give them every encouragement. This is particularly true in the case of the associations, delegates from which attend the Progressive party congresses on an equal footing with the white delegates, submitting resolutions affecting the party programme, and freely joining in the debates. The Bond have not yet schooled themselves into making such wholesale concessions to colour, but political expediency will compel them to do so if the present system remains unaltered. Under the system the coloured associations are steadily extending their power, and, considering the separatist spirit which animates them, it is natural to suppose that from being henchmen of the white man they may become his active opponents. Then indeed will the gigantic folly of the present system be demonstrated. I am fully alive to the manifold difficulties attending an alteration of that system. But whatever the difficulties are to-day, they will be multiplied a hundredfold a generation hence. The only sure remedy is disfranchisement of the native—give him every civil and legal right except the right to return representatives to Parliament. Let him have his own councils with control in local affairs on lines similar to those laid down in the Glen-Grey Act,[2] but exclude him from any share, direct or indirect, in the framing of laws for the white man. Our rule in India disposes of the objection which may be made that such an arrangement would be revolutionary and un-English. But its adoption at the Cape is almost too much to hope for. The Cape party leaders are to-day, and will be for many a day, occupied with other things—anything rather than this thorny subject. The policy of drift has ever been the curse of South Africa, and will probably so continue to the end of the chapter, though there is a possibility of its being checked in this case when the time comes for Federation. Since Cape Colony alone, of all the intending parties to the covenant, allows the native absolute equality with the white, the designers of the Federal Constitution will have to consider whether the Constitution is to be levelled up to the Cape Colony standard or down to that of the other colonies. I suspect that the other colonies, with the example of the Cape before them, will hold out for political exclusion. This may give the Cape Colony an excuse for remodelling her franchise law, although the reform is certain to be resisted by self-seeking white Negrophiles, who hope, by their resistance, to win for themselves native support at the polls and elsewhere. If the reform is defeated or imperfectly effected, the position of Cape Colony towards the Federal Government may come to resemble that of Queensland towards the Commonwealth in regard

[2] The Glen-Grey Act provides, amongst other things, for the administration of native districts by a council composed of natives. This council corresponds to the divisional council in European districts. It enjoys local taxing powers, and has the administration of the revenue collected as a result of the exercise of these powers.

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to Kanaka labour. Just as Queensland is being compelled by the Commonwealth to dispense with the Kanakas, so may Cape Colony be forced by the Federal Government to exclude the native from the franchise. Nothing warrants Federation more than the necessity for such firm and intelligent action, and the adoption of a uniform native policy throughout South Africa. It will then be possible to face issues which have hitherto been evaded, the most important, after the franchise, being the question of how to deal with the great native territories like the Transkei, Basutoland, Zululand, and Swaziland, with which are bound up the land tenure and labour questions. It is impossible in an article such as this to do more than touch the fringe of the South African native problem. I have endeavoured to convey some hint of its magnitude, and have dwelt on the aspect of the case which strikes me as being the most serious—the rapid awakening of the native races to a realisation of their power. The broad fact to be kept in view is that, pitted against a limited white population, is a comparatively unlimited and virile black population. The blacks, under the influence of civilisation, are becoming year by year a more formidable element, and, if unrestrained, must inevitably undermine the very foundations of white supremacy. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. It is not necessary to be a prophet or the son of a prophet to foresee that that law will yet compel the white man in South Africa to adopt measures against the native at which to-day nine people out of ten would raise their hands in pious horror.

RODERICK JONES.

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ANTI-CLERICALISM IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

A FEW weeks ago it happened that on the same day, at nearly the same hour, the British and the French Cabinets had each to face a hostile vote in Parliament on the Education question, and each Ministry found itself on a division in exactly the same position—that is to say, in a minority of eleven votes.

So curious a coincidence has in it something of an allegory. In both countries the question of the religious upbringing of the children of the people has assumed an extraordinary prominence. In both alike, too, the discussion covers only one part of a much wider field of debate, in which the real point at issue is nothing less than the whole relation of the body politic towards the Christian Religion. The two Western nations who are wont to pride themselves on taking the lead in all movements of social or political progress, and who have of late been drawn together in the bond of a renewed friendship, might each impart to the other something worth learning on a topic so profoundly interesting to both. For Englishmen, indeed, the development of contemporary events in France has always had a special fascination. In every department of human thought and speculation the French genius, so brilliant, so versatile, so audacious, so remorselessly logical, is the marvel of our own less quick-witted race. In the field of politics we have long been accustomed to watch the various experiments tried in France, to note their progress, to mark their results, and to shape our own course in some measure by the light which they afford. Several illustrations of this tendency of the British mind will readily occur to every student of the last hundred years of our national history. One such, in particular, arrests attention as bearing on the general subject of the present paper.

The opening of the nineteenth century found public opinion in this country deeply moved by the still recent tragedies of the French Revolution. It had come to be realised that popular ignorance was a source of the gravest danger to the State and to society. Certain English Churchmen, roused by the thought of these perils, initiated a scheme for establishing a network of schools throughout all England.

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Midway between the Evangelical Revival of the previous generation and the Tractarian Movement of the generation following, there began to flow a less remembered because less brawling stream of Church life and activity, of whose results there remains, however, a visible memorial in the venerable institution that bears the quaintly long-winded title of 'The National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.'

The influence of French example has sometimes prompted imitation. In 1830 the 'Days of July,' which across the Channel witnessed the peaceful establishment of a *bourgeois* sway, saw also an impetus given to the movement for Parliamentary reform in this country, by which in 1832 the ascendency of the middle classes was secured for a period of nearly forty years. On the other hand, the events of 1848 strengthened and deepened the rooted distrust with which Englishmen traditionally regard revolutionary aims and methods; while the wild excesses of the Paris Commune in 1871 gave rise to that wave of Conservatism which during the three decades succeeding the general election of 1874 has availed to keep the Tory party in office for about twenty years.

For ourselves, then, a comparison of the politico-religious situation existing in France with that which obtains here is full of meaning, perhaps full of warning. The points of dissimilarity, though numerous and not unimportant, hardly touch the core of the question; while the points of obvious resemblance between the two cases are weighty enough to suggest a close parallelism between them.

The ruthless campaign waged against the Religious Orders in France has for its primary motive their entire suppression as instructors of the young. Through the agency of these societies the Roman Catholic Church in France for many years had educational charge of the majority of the children of the country. The *Loi Falloux* of 1850, passed under the influence of Liberal Catholics like Lacordaire, De Tocqueville, and Montalembert, accorded to all qualified persons the free right to teach. The short-lived Second Republic, under which this concession was granted, did not show itself so markedly hostile to the Christian Faith as the First had been or as the Third was destined to become. After the fall of the Empire the leading spirits of the present *régime* soon began to show their hand. When Gambetta uttered his celebrated dictum '*Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi,*' it was only a question of time that this declaration of war should be extended to the whole Catholic system —indeed to Christianity itself.

Under the *Loi Falloux* the Christian schools enjoyed liberty. It is true that the liberty had to be paid for by an enormous pecuniary sacrifice. The Church of England, with all the generosity of its sons in the matter of school provision, has never so far been called upon to bear the grievous burden that fell to the lot of the French

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Catholics, who, unaided by a single centime from the State, were only too glad to be permitted to support their own schools entirely out of their own pockets, while also contributing their quota of the cost of the State schools.

The Catholic schools prospered beyond all anticipation. Not only were the Church's schools more popular than the State's, so that the Religious Orders could show a larger number of scholars than their Government rivals, but, under the system of free competition, the pupils of the Christian schools secured more than their proportion of examination successes.

The next sledge-hammer blow was delivered eighteen years ago under the *Loi Ferry*, by the absolute secularisation of all State-given instruction. The last remnants of religious teaching in the Government schools were swept away. Yet, even now, Christian parents were assured that the 'lay' instruction should at least be strictly neutral—should on no account be anti-Catholic or anti-Christian. How that pledge has been kept is a matter of history. As the Comte de Mun has lately pointed out in a remarkable article,[1] it was found impossible to teach practical Christian morality apart from Christian belief and sanction. The promised neutrality has been cynically violated: 'not moral instruction only, but lectures on history, on botany, on zoology, provided at every turn the opportunity for an attack' on the Catholic Faith. A leading official has roundly declared that 'in all this story about God and the world there is not a single word which does not provoke a mute and melancholy denial. With its ideas about the necessity of redemption and of expiatory sacrifice, the Christian moral system presents nothing more nor less than a coarse ideal.'

Such being the character of the State's system of instruction, the Church, though hampered in many ways, continued for fifteen years longer to supply Christian training, without being seriously molested in the discharge of her duty. In 1901, however, M. Waldeck-Rousseau inaugurated his administration by a fresh attack on the Religious Associations, which were now placed under disabilities shared by no other societies. Henceforth individuals were to be free to combine in a common life only on condition that their aim should be strictly non-religious. Existing congregations were bidden, under penalty of forcible dissolution and expulsion, to apply for 'authorisation.' Unless such an edict were to be a mere mockery, the intention must have been that some of the associations, at least, would be 'authorised.' Indeed three years ago it was repeatedly declared that the 'authorised' congregations would be protected. M. Combès himself seemed to promise that toleration should be accorded to such an organisation as the *Frères Chrétiens*, whose devoted

[1] *National Review* (April 1904), 'The Religious Crisis in France,' p. 222.

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services to educational work are universally acknowledged. Yet against these, too, the sentence of condemnation has recently gone forth. M. Waldeck-Rousseau did not contemplate these extreme measures. But it can hardly be matter for surprise that the all too slender party of Moderates, of which M. Ribot is the distinguished spokesman, should be disposed to censure M. Waldeck-Rousseau's abandonment of office immediately after his success at the General Election of 1902, a course of action by which the powerful weapon he had himself forged for use against the unauthorised Orders was left in the merciless hands of M. Combès, whose quarrel is with all the Religious Associations without distinction. The education hitherto given, as the Comte de Mun assures us, to sixteen hundred thousand children voluntarily confided to Christian instructors in fifteen thousand schools, is now forbidden by law, and the State schools, in which the teaching given violates the consciences of these children's parents, are to enjoy an absolute monopoly. In support of this arbitrary measure it is contended that the Church's influence is injurious to the State's welfare. The same line of reasoning will presently, perhaps, be employed in justification of a further step—the prohibition of children's attendance at the parish Catechism.

The anti-Christian *animus* makes itself felt wherever Government officialism can impose its will. No Republican *employé*, no officer of the army or navy who hopes to be regarded with favour at headquarters, dares admit his attendance at Divine worship. Unlike the Republican Government of the United States, which is scrupulously yet benevolently neutral towards all Christian creeds, the Republican Government of France seems bent on exhibiting itself as in every possible way and on every possible occasion aggressively anti-religious. Comte Boni de Castellane, in a recent Parliamentary speech, protested—surely not without reason—against the notion that the President of the Republic is the Chief, not of a Catholic State, but of a non-religious (*laïque*) State; justifying his protest on the ground that, whatever be the attitude of its rulers towards religion, the State itself is composed of thirty-eight millions of Catholics, and that the President of the Republic acts as a Catholic in appending his official signature to the Concordat.

The case for the Government rests on the allegation that it has been forced into its present policy of repression by the concerted hostility of the Clerical party, the latent aim of whose policy is declared to be the overthrow of the Republic. Even those who sympathise with the much-vexed Church of France are fain to admit that the history of the Boulangist conspiracy and of its political heir, the Nationalist agitation, lends colour to the charges directed against French Catholics regarded as an organised party. The Boulangist-Nationalist movement, an alliance between extraordinarily heterogeneous groups, was as little creditable in its aims as in its methods.

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It reached the pinnacle of its discredit in connection with *l'Affaire Dreyfus*. No episode in the annals of French Catholicism has left so unpleasant an impression behind it among all who love truth and justice and mercy and fair dealing as the jaundiced policy respecting the *Affaire* adopted by leading organs and spokesmen of Church opinion in France. It is true that in England Dreyfus was generally held to be innocent. But his innocence was not the ground upon which our British sympathies were alienated from French Catholics. What shocked public feeling here was the belief that the Catholics did not care whether he were guilty or not—that they thought everything of inflicting injury upon a Jew because he was a Jew, and nothing at all of upholding the rights of Divine Justice. It is certain that newspapers like *La Croix* and associations such as the Assumptionist Fathers inflicted an infinite amount of harm on the Church, by presenting her adversaries with a serviceable handle for their reproaches. Over this thin ice the Comte de Mun skates lightly enough. But the very reticence of so zealous a partisan seems to betray an uneasy consciousness that some at least of the Catholic leaders in France, by their undutifulness towards the form of Government deliberately adopted by the country, have afforded an unhappy excuse for an attack, not only on the Church, but on historical Christianity itself.

The dignified self-restraint and forbearing moderation of the Pope during this critical period must be acknowledged by every fair-minded observer. But to the silence which he imposed on himself there obviously had to be a limit. The Catholics of France were looking to their Chief Pastor for guidance and consolation, and it was impossible that he should neglect to aid them at such a time. On the other hand, Pope Pius has doubtless weighed well the probability—almost the certainty—that any intervention whatever on the part of the Vatican will be represented as an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the State and even fiercely resented as a fresh act of aggression. If, however, Pius the Tenth believes that the present secular rulers of France are determined in any case to force a rupture, he may quite possibly resolve to face the risk of precipitating the catastrophe, while discharging what he regards as his duty towards the faithful.

Meanwhile, however, the tug of war between the contending sides is to a notable degree stiffened by the fact that Roman Catholicism, so far as the masses of the French people are concerned, is the only recognised expression of Christianity. In France the religious alternative lies really between Atheism and the Church. French Protestantism, it is generally acknowledged, is an almost negligible factor in the religious situation. It would be difficult for the ordinary onlooker to name offhand any French Protestant of first-rate importance save M. de Pressensé, whose numerous English admirers have long wondered to see him throw the whole weight of

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his influence in the scale of Atheism as against his fellow-Christians of the Roman Catholic Church.

The most recent and most striking indication of the goal which the dominant party has in view was afforded last month by the official decision as to the observance of Good Friday, the anniversary of the Crucifixion having been carefully selected as the most appropriate day for removing from every Court of Justice in France the Divine Figure of the Crucified. The significance of so formal and deliberate an act cannot be mistaken. The amazing plea that the Cross has become the mere badge of a political party appears to be modelled on the wolf's accusation against the lamb in the Æsopian parable. It evokes the retort that those who proffer it must, to be consistent, account Good Friday a political anniversary.

It is safe to affirm that among the vast majority of people in France no such excuse would be either alleged or listened to. By friend and foe alike it is in reality well understood that the Image of Christ is removed from the seat of judgment for the same reasons that have banished His Name from the schools.

Such being the present attitude of the Republic towards Religion, it is a matter of extreme interest to speculate what further steps are likely to be taken in accentuation of it. M. Combès has long since intimated, not obscurely, his intention to 'deal with' the Concordat between the Pope and the Republic at no distant date. The separation of Church and State would of course involve a far more serious upheaval in France than it would here. When Bonaparte retained the confiscated revenues of the Church of France, he undertook to pay the stipends of all its clergy as well as to take over the maintenance of its fabrics. The termination of the Concordat would then, in the first place, mean the confiscation of every clerical stipend in the country, and the entire dependence of most of the clergy on charity.

It may, however, be urged that, great as this catastrophe would be from one point of view, it might at least be welcome as bringing with it the liberation of the Church from her State fetters. The opposite event is far more likely to occur. So far from giving the clergy their liberty, M. Combès has evidently the intention of drawing their bonds tighter than ever. It is inconceivable that he should be willing to permit the discharge by the secular clergy of the functions forbidden to the regulars. The Premier's undertaking to 'deal with the Concordat' was elicited from him by this very consideration—namely, that the parish priest will step in to supply the place of the expelled Religious Orders. Therefore M. Combès will 'deal with' the secular clergy: in other words, he is planning for them an era of increased rigour.

To such a forecast it may be objected that, though the Premier may be willing enough to end the Concordat, the measure itself will

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prove 'impossible' by virtue of its unpopularity. A large proportion of the men and the great body of the women of all classes, rich and poor, will presumably demand the maintenance of religion, of its ordinances, and of its ministers. The thrifty French peasant must disapprove any legislative measure which, besides depriving him of various creature-comforts, forces upon him the unpleasantness of having to choose between the total cessation of the offices of religion and the necessity of defraying the cost of them out of his own pocket. When one recalls the part played by the Church and the local clergy in the every-day concerns of France outside the large towns, the cogency of the argument may be admitted.

There is also the consideration, forcibly stated by Comte Boni de Castellane, and undoubtedly calculated to exercise no small amount of influence on the public mind, that to France, as the Eldest Daughter of the Church, has been conceded the protection of Roman Catholic missions all over the world. This is a source of political strength which French patriotism greatly values and would be unwilling to see transferred elsewhere.

On the other hand, the following facts remain unquestioned: (1) The anti-Church legislation so far has received the support of large majorities in Parliament; (2) in its latest phases it was passed after special appeal had been made to the country at the General Election of 1902; (3) owing to whatever cause, be it ignorance or apathy or positive approval, Jacques Bonhomme has shown no sign whatever that the anti-Church policy runs counter to his wishes. That a determined, well-led, and well-organised minority is constantly successful in imposing its will on an unorganised, heterogeneous, leaderless, unwieldy majority is a fact of which historical instances are plentiful in all countries. The greater number of Englishmen never approved of Cromwell's rule or of the murder of their king: as soon as they dared they effected the restoration of the monarchy. Almost certainly the majority disapproved the religious changes made by Henry the Eighth. Beyond question the French Revolution was engineered through its successive phases by mere cliques of resolute men.

In the present instance the really important question is far less how the bulk of the nation regards the Concordat than what may be the intentions concerning it of those who wield the nation's power. The theoretical objections to a rupture between Church and State may seem to the outside critic extremely convincing, and they may be backed by a very large body of public opinion. But neither of these facts will avail to prevent the rupture taking place if the decidedly strong men in office, who are known to hold decidedly strong views on the subject, determine that it shall occur. And among Frenchmen who are closely in touch with the prevailing current of opinion throughout the country the opinion widely prevails that the Govern-

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ment intends to end the Concordat at no distant date. Max Nordau, than whom there is no more shrewd observer of current events, thus expressed himself only a few days ago:

> It is certain that this country is passing through a period of fierce Anti-Clericalism. Never, as to-day, has the religious question been placed with such crude frankness at the base of political life, and never, as to-day, has the vote of the electorate (which is the most exact thermometer for determining the opinion of a people) been so explicitly pronounced. It is for this reason that it has been possible to break with a tradition, and to dare to touch that which has been sacred for centuries.

It has been already observed that the present phase of the religious question in France has much in common with, and throws some light upon, certain problems pressing for solution in our own country. The points of resemblance, as well as those of dissimilarity, are clearly apparent even from a bare recital of the facts. It will be seen, however, that such unlikeness as exists between the two cases is due rather to varieties of environment than to any essential or fundamental difference in the question ultimately at issue. In France the fight is waged between the Roman Catholic Church and a highly aggressive Atheism. Between these opposing forces there lies no debatable ground, no unoccupied territory. To all intents and purposes they divide France between them. As Gambetta said, 'Il y a deux Frances.' French logic, incisive, clear-cut, relentless, uncompromising, sees no third position intermediate between the two magnetic poles of religious opinion—the Positive and the Negative. Between the extremes there is no mean. Upon this point, at any rate, both parties are agreed.

Mr. Gladstone once remarked that John Bull has an inveterate dislike for abstract propositions. In England our national way of looking at the practical side of things rather than at the theoretical must tend to modify the external aspects of the religious question, and perhaps to obscure its true import. Amongst us there is no very considerable body of avowed Atheists. Agnosticism, chiefly of the passive kind, is of course to be met with frequently. But the forces of unbelief, under whatever title they choose to be known, are recruited but slowly here—at all events by comparison with their successes in other countries. The infidel propaganda is chiefly carried on by professional tub-thumpers, suborned, it is believed, by an association of well-to-do Atheists—and by a few sensational weekly papers circulating amongst the working classes. But it is a remarkable fact that not a single daily organ of public opinion, and only one weekly newspaper enjoying any considerable circulation, will so much as touch the Atheistic propaganda with the proverbial bargepole.

The religious controversy in this country, heated as it is, is carried on for the most part between rival bodies of Christians. So far from

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the issue lying between two extremes, the battlefield is dotted over with militant forces fighting under countless flags of every device. Even in the Established Church itself a place is claimed for all imaginable, and some wholly unimaginable, forms of religious belief.

The contrasts between the two sets of conditions is complete and striking. If in France the warfare is more intense and the losses incurred by the Christian forces are more severe, the champions of Christian belief enjoy one immense advantage: they are at unity amongst themselves, they present a united front, they speak with one voice, they understand for what they are contending, they know what forces are arrayed against them. Unity and definiteness of aim constitute at least one essential preliminary of ultimate victory.

In England we live in a veritable Babel of confusion ever worse confounded. Among us counsel is darkened by words and unity of action is paralysed by multiplicity of impulse. The Church not only lacks cohesion and discipline in its ranks, but too often, even at a grave crisis, looks in vain for strategical skill in the leadership.

On the other hand, we may modestly claim to possess one valuable asset denied to our neighbours. We have moderate-minded men amongst us—not merely people holding moderate opinions, but men holding every variety of opinion in a moderate spirit and approaching opponents in a moderate temper. It is our racial characteristic to set store by reasonableness and fair-mindedness, and a partisan zealot fails to commend his views, however plausible.

In view of these patent diversities in the aspect of the religious issue in France and England, it might seem paradoxical to express a fear lest the cause of Christian faith in this country is in danger of the same perils that beset it in France. But who can fail to perceive that the internecine warfare between Christians can have no other effect than the weakening of the whole Christian position? At this very moment the country has to face the probability of an *impasse* on the schools question. While Churchmen and Roman Catholics insist on denominationalism, the Protestant Nonconformist bodies are firm for universal, compulsory, 'unsectarian' religious instruction. Unless a *modus vivendi* can be devised, the patience of the people may not improbably be exhausted. Then it will be seen that the only outlet from an impossible situation is the frank adoption of Secularism. As things now are, and unless the position be soon and considerably modified, Secularism is the prospect already before us. But Secularism spells Indifferentism, and the example of France should warn us in time that the non-belief of one generation may easily become the unbelief of the next. Indeed it may be said that Indifferentism has even now gained a great hold in the country. What other result could be expected from the jarring discords prevailing among the Christian communities? The danger is lest the soil be prepared for the reception of anti-religious propaganda.

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If it is a sufficiently serious peril that the divisions among Christians expose them to the assaults of the common enemy, another grave danger also menaces British Christianity—a danger from which French Christianity is happily free: namely, the tolerated presence amongst us, especially within the Church of England, of teachers who deny or call in question—and this without authoritative censure or even remonstrance—the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith.

Ever since the Divine Redeemer was judicially murdered, not by the spontaneous will of the people, but by the machinations of the clergy of the Established Church, religion has always received the deepest and worst wounds, not from avowed enemies, but at the hands of those who profess its creeds. Pagan and infidel attacks throughout the centuries have done comparatively little to obstruct, and practically nothing to destroy, the teaching of the Gospel, and it may remain for us in these days of universal toleration to realise that persecution and violence are harmless compared with apathy and cultured cynicism; that the sneer is a far more dangerous, because a more insidious, weapon than the sword; and that whereas assaults from without have failed altogether to carry the strongholds of faith, the process of undermining within is a constant menace even to the citadel of Truth.

A few years ago talk ran high and loud as to the imminence of a crisis in the Church, but this crisis, if it ever existed, only affected the externals of religious duties, and its remedy has been found in the innocuous and familiar form of a Royal Commission.

But just now it would seem that a far more deadly danger, lurking below the surface, threatens the very foundation-stones of belief, and it is possible to think that while an august council is deciding as to the authority for a few grains of incense or the legality of a lighted candle, the divines who are playing pitch and toss with the tenets of the Christian Faith may hear the accusing cry of their congregations that they have taken away the Lord altogether and that no one knows where they have laid Him.

GEORGE ARTHUR.

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DR. MACLAGAN AND HIS GREAT WORK

[I VENTURE to supplement Sir William Broadbent's warm personal appreciation of Dr. Maclagan by a quotation from the high professional estimate of him published in a leading medical journal (*The Medical Press*) on the morrow of his death; now just a year ago. It seems to me to presage the verdict of the future upon the great work of his life; for to have abolished almost entirely one form of acute bodily suffering is to deserve the lasting gratitude of mankind. I also append an extract from the *Lancet* of the 4th of March, 1876, giving his own original account of his discovery.—JAMES KNOWLES, *Editor, Nineteenth Century and After.*]

'THE death of Thomas John Maclagan, M.D. Edinburgh, M.R.C.P. 'London, has removed from our midst a medical man who has con- 'ferred an unspeakable boon upon suffering mankind. The great 'work for which his name is, or should be, ever memorable is the dis- 'covery of the curative action of salicin and arising from that of the 'salicylates upon rheumatism. That method at once revolutionised 'the treatment of a most formidable malady, which was brought 'under the control of the physician in a striking manner, not only 'as regards severity of symptoms and the duration of attack, but also 'in the prevention of sequelæ. There is no more definite thing in 'the whole range of practical medicine than the specific influence of 'drugs of the salicyl group upon acute rheumatism. Indeed, the 'action of salicin and the salicylates in that complaint entitles them 'to be added to the scanty list of specific remedies in the possession 'of scientific medicine. It is difficult always to look at contemporary 'events in their proper perspective, but it seems certain that Thomas 'Maclagan deserves a niche in the temple of Fame as one of the 'great benefactors of the human race. His name will be added to 'those of Syme, Simpson, Lister, and the long list of illustrious men 'who have made the University of Edinburgh famous in the annals 'of medicine.

. . . . . .

'The discoverer of chloroform, likewise a great benefactor of the 'human race, has a single statue in Edinburgh, although in our 'opinion he deserves one in the most prominent place in London,

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'every one of whose citizens has sooner or later cause to bless the 'man who introduced anæsthetics to this country. Side by side with 'Sir James Simpson should be placed a statue of the discoverer of 'the action of the salicylates in rheumatism. A noble trio might 'be completed by a figure of the originator of antiseptic surgery. 'Some day the world will wake up to the recognition of its real bene-'factors.'

THE Editor is anxious that a tribute of esteem and regard should be paid in the pages of this Review to the memory of Dr. T. J. Maclagan, his friend and mine, who died on the 20th of March, 1903, and he has entrusted me with the duty of placing on record his claims to such recognition. If it were possible to publish a list of the distinguished men who were present at the funeral ceremony in St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, that alone would show that it was no obscure individual who was thus honoured.

Dr. Maclagan furnished a striking instance of the influence which opportunity and circumstance exercise upon a man's career. He stood at the head of his own department of the medical profession —that of the family physician. Had he been on the staff of one of the great hospitals and medical schools, the same qualities of intellect and character which placed him in that position would certainly have carried him to a most prominent place among the leaders of the profession as a whole.

The physician in general practice finds the claims upon his time so exacting that he has little opportunity for original work. He is often debarred from making scientific use of his cases lest he should disclose the identity of his patients, and still more by the impossibility of following them up by *post-mortem* examination. He has not, moreover, the wide and varied field of observation afforded by the wards of the hospital or the services of house physician and clinical clerks in the continuous observation and minute record of symptoms. More almost than anything else, he misses the stimulating influence of young inquiring minds among the students and the necessity imposed upon the hospital physician and clinical teacher of explaining his views with regard to each case as it comes before him, with the possibility of the *post-mortem* before his eyes in case of an erroneous diagnosis.

It is in this kind of work that Dr. Maclagan would have shone, in virtue of the accuracy and keenness of observation, the penetrating insight into the problems of disease, the critical acumen, constructive capacity, and power of lucid exposition which he possessed. He came from Dundee, however, where he was physician to the hospital, too late to begin at the bottom of the list of assistant or out-patient

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physicians, since he would have had men much his juniors above him, and before he reached the wards he would probably have been well on in middle life.

Dr. Maclagan's chief title to a niche in the temple of medical science is in his recognition of rheumatism as belonging to the miasmatic rather than to the eruptive class of fevers, and his perception of its close analogies with malaria which led to his introduction of salicin as the remedy; but his study of fever displays the remarkable intellectual qualities by which he was distinguished.

The specific fevers have from time immemorial been attributed to the operation of a poison in the blood, and the analogies which could be traced between the fever process and fermentations had long been recognised, so that when the part played by the yeast-cells in splitting up sugar into alcohol and carbonic acid was demonstrated, it was inferred that fevers were due to the action of a living organism in the blood, and fevers were called zymotic diseases. When Dr. Maclagan wrote on the germ theory of disease in 1876 it was already in a vague form largely accepted. It had been established experimentally that the contagium was particulate, the enormous increase of the poison in the blood implied that it was a living organism, but no organism had been identified in the blood except the spirillum of relapsing fever and the anthrax bacillus. Bacteria were not then supposed to constitute the disease germs. They were known to be concerned in putrefactive processes, but it had been found that as they increased in number in a medium known to contain contagious particles the potency of the contagium diminished. The isolation of different kinds of bacteria by plate cultures, and the cultivation of each separate species in suitable media, had not at that time enabled bacteriologists to distinguish between the bacilli and cocci, which were on the one hand disease germs and on the other the agents of putrefaction. This knowledge was not available, still less the knowledge of the specific toxins generated by the different microbes, or of the astonishing defensive operations on the part of the system, the devouring of the bacteria by the white blood-corpuscles, the elaboration of substances which cause the microbes to club together and lose their activity (agglutinins), or which kill bacteria (bactericide), or dissolve them (bacteriolytic), or which neutralise the toxins (antitoxins). Dr. Maclagan took the germ theory as he found it, somewhat vague and halting, flew upon its weak points, and then, by the aid of one or two simple postulates—open, it must be admitted, to serious question—the theory in his hands became precise, harmonious, and consistent. It had an explanation for each factor and feature of the febrile process—the high temperature, the frequent pulse, the wasting, the thirst, the increase or decrease of the products of metabolism, the cerebral symptoms, the critical perspiration or diuresis. Then, regarding the microbe as a parasite requiring a special

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nidus for its propagation, an explanation was given of the varying incidence and severity of the different fevers, of their special symptoms and of the subsequent immunity. Although now undermined at many points, it remains an admirable piece of clinical reasoning and constructive theorising.

The miasmatic theory of rheumatism displays the same mental characteristics of clear insight and sound judgment. He points out that, like malarial fever, rheumatism is irregular in type and variable in its course; both are attended by profuse perspiration; one attack, so far from protecting from another, predisposes to it; unless arrested by appropriate treatment, both are apt to have a protracted and uncertain course. When Dr. Maclagan first propounded his views on rheumatism in 1876 it was believed to be a disease arising within the system and not introduced from without. One theory of its causation was that it was due to lactic acid, another that it was neurotic in origin. Both these he shows to be untenable by cogent arguments, and he adduces a final point of similarity between malarial fever and rheumatism in the fact that each can be abruptly cut short by the appropriate remedy—quinine in the one case, salicin in the other; and he concluded that, as has been definitely ascertained since with regard to quinine and the malarial parasite, the cure is effected not by any action on the blood or tissues but by the actual destruction of the parasite, a result which is not attainable in the eruptive fevers.

It may be observed in passing that to attain the object the remedy must be administered in full doses, and Dr. Maclagan repeatedly found it necessary to protest that to give salicin in routine fashion, 10 grains three times a day or every four hours, was to bring it into discredit and to court failure; to fulfil the required indication and kill the organism 20 or 30 grains should be given every hour for six doses on two succeeding days.

When Dr. Maclagan first wrote on rheumatism, Laveran had already identified the microbe of malarial fever as a protozoon affecting the red blood-corpuscles. It is only within the last few years that Sir Patrick Manson and Major Ronald Ross have traced its introduction into the system by the bite of a species of mosquito, an *Anopheles*, which transfers it from a person suffering from the fever to another previously healthy, acting as an intermediary host in which the plasmodium undergoes developmental changes. Later, yellow fever has been found to be passed on from the sick to the healthy by another species of mosquito, a *Culex*, and has in consequence been practically banished from Havana. More recently still, African sleeping sickness has been traced to a trypanosome conveyed by the bite of a kind of tick.

Many observers, among them Dr. Mantle, of Halifax, have described a micrococcus obtained from rheumatic joints as the organism probably concerned in the production of rheumatism, but it is only quite

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recently that convincing experimental demonstration of its agency has been afforded by Drs. Poynton and Paine. Even now its derivation and mode of entrance into the system are unknown. There is no sufficient evidence that it is transmitted directly or indirectly from person to person.

Dr. Maclagan just lived long enough to see his original hypothesis established as a fact of science.

I have said that Dr. Maclagan stood at the head of his own department of the medical profession. I am not sure that he had the largest practice, extensive as his was. He lacked one element which goes far to constitute the fashionable family doctor—a touch of charlatanism; of this there was in him no faintest trace. A distinguished physician once said in an introductory lecture that the two extremes of society were worst off in the matter of medical advice. The fashionable world fell largely into the hands of men who interfered least with its ways, promised immunity from the consequences of agreeable transgressions of the laws of Nature and of health, and had an immediate remedy for all ailments—specifics for headaches, sedatives for sleeplessness, 'pick-me-ups' for depression, totally regardless of the day after to-morrow. The evil consequences may, he hopes, be postponed by a disciplinary course at some foreign spa, or, when the day of reckoning at length comes, the consulting physician, now to his intense disgust styled a specialist, can always be called in.

Dr. Maclagan was not possessed of such flexibility of adaptation, but was honesty and straightforwardness personified. Happily, these qualities are not rare in the medical profession, but they were exemplified in Maclagan in so high a degree as to constitute an additional distinction and title to respect.

W. H. Broadbent.

'THE TREATMENT OF ACUTE RHEUMATISM BY SALICIN'

'By T. Maclagan, M.D.'

'A perusal of the literature which bears on the question of the treatment of acute rheumatism is a task from which few would rise with any definite idea as to how that disease is best treated. Purgatives, diaphoretics, sedatives, alkalies and alkaline salts, colchicum, aconite, quinine, guaiacum, lemon-juice, sulphur, mercury, veratria, tincture of muriate of iron, &c., would each be found to have in turn attracted the favourable notice of one or more of those who have directed attention to the subject. Of all these different remedies, not one stands out prominently as that to which we can with confidence look for good results. "Each and every plan of treatment which has been hitherto proposed is regarded by the profession as unsatisfactory."[1] In accordance with this impression, we find eminent and trustworthy physicians treating the disease on a purely expectant plan—that is, not giving drugs at all, and

[1] *Aitken's Practice of Medicine*, sixth edition, vol. i. p. 819.

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apparently with results as satisfactory as those which follow the administration of any of the usual remedies.[2] We have, indeed, no remedy for acute rheumatism—a malady which not unfrequently proves fatal, which is always accompanied by great pain, and is a fruitful source of heart disease.

Under these circumstances, I need make no apology for bringing under the notice of the profession a remedy which, so far as my observations have gone, has given better results than any which I have hitherto tried, and I have tried all the usual remedies over and over again.

In the course of an investigation into the causation and pathology of acute febrile ailments, which has for some time engaged my attention, I was led to give some consideration to intermittent and to rheumatic fever. The more I studied these ailments the more was I struck with the points of analogy which existed between them. On a detailed consideration of these I shall not now enter. Suffice it to say that they were sufficiently marked to lead me to regard rheumatic fever as being, in its pathology, more closely allied to intermittent fever than to any other disease, an opinion which further reflection and extended experience have served only to strengthen.

Rheumatic fever is nowadays generally regarded as being produced by some cause or agency which is generated within the body. My own investigations into its pathology have led me to reject this view, and to adopt the old "miasmatic" view of its mode of origin, according to which the cause which gives rise to the disease is introduced into the system from without.

Holding this view as to the pathology of rheumatic fever, impressed with the points of resemblance between it and intermittent fever, and bearing in mind that we have in quinine a potent remedy against the latter, there seemed to me good reason for indulging the hope that some remedy would yet be discovered capable of exercising a similar if not equally beneficial action on rheumatic fever.

In reference to the action of quinine on the various forms of intermittent and remittent fever, and, indeed, with reference to the action of the Chinchonaceæ generally on the diseases of tropical climates (ipecacuanha in dysentery, for instance), there is one fact which has always strongly impressed me—the fact, namely, that the maladies on whose course they exercise the most beneficial action are most prevalent in those countries in which the Chinchonaceæ grow most readily; nature seeming to produce the remedy under climatic conditions similar to those which give rise to the disease.

Impressed with this fact, and believing in the miasmatic origin of rheumatic fever, it seemed to me that a remedy for that disease would most hopefully be looked for among those plants and trees whose favourite habitat presented conditions analogous to those under which the rheumatic miasm seemed most to prevail. A low-lying, damp locality, with a cold, rather than warm, climate, give the conditions under which rheumatic fever is most readily produced. On reflection, it seemed to me that the plants whose haunts best corresponded to such a description were those belonging to the natural order Salicaceæ, the various forms of willow. Among the Salicaceæ, therefore, I determined to search for a remedy for acute rheumatism. The bark of many species of willow contains a bitter principle called salicin. This principle was exactly what I wanted: to it, therefore, I determined to have recourse. It will thus be seen that the employment of salicin in the treatment of acute rheumatism was no haphazard experiment, but had a fair foundation in reason and analogy.

Salicin has long enjoyed a reputation for tonic and febrifuge properties, and was at one time a good deal used as a substitute for quinine. It has of late years, however, gone very much out of use, and now it does not even find a place in the *British Pharmacopœia*.

[2] Dr. Garrod in *Reynolds's System of Medicine*, vol. i. p. 906.

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The idea of treating acute rheumatism by salicin occurred to me in November 1874. I had at the time under my care a well-marked case of the disease which was being treated by alkalies, but was not improving. I determined to give salicin; but before doing so, took myself first five, then ten, and then thirty grains without experiencing the least inconvenience or discomfort. Satisfied as to the safety of its administration, I gave to the patient referred to twelve grains every three hours. The result exceeded my most sanguine expectations. For some days prior to its administration the temperature had ranged from 101·8° to 103°; the pulse was 120, and the joints were swollen and very painful. On the 26th of November the alkaline treatment was stopped, and that by salicin commenced. On the following day, after eighty-four grains of salicin had been taken, the pulse had gone down to 100, the temperature to 99·6° (from 102·8° the previous day), a fall of over 3°, the pain and swelling of joints, but especially the pain, had much abated, the joints could be moved a little, and the patient expressed himself as being much better. On the next day (the 28th of November) the temperature was natural and the pain all but gone, the joints still remaining stiff. From this time he convalesced steadily and quickly.

The case was a very striking one; but, by itself, could not be regarded as proof of the beneficial action of salicin. I was quite aware that cases of acute rheumatism do sometimes unexpectedly improve without any treatment, and had no surety that this was not a case in point. It afforded me, however, strong encouragement to persevere with the salicin. This I did; and all the cases of acute and subacute, and several of the cases of chronic, rheumatism which have come under my care since then have been treated by this remedy, and with results much more satisfactory than I ever got from any other remedy—the results being most marked and most satisfactory in distinctly acute cases, and least so in chronic cases.'

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THE STATE AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

To many, scientific knowledge, natural knowledge as the founders of the Royal Society chose to call it, seems to be advancing by 'leaps and bounds;' every day brings its fresh discovery, opening up strange views, turning old ideas upside down. Yet every thoughtful man of science who has looked round on what others beside himself are doing will tell you that nothing weighs more heavily on his mind than this: the multitude of questions crying loudly to be answered, the fewness of those who have at once the ability, the means, and the opportunity of attempting to find the answers. Among the many wants of a needy age, few, if any, seem to him more pressing than that of the adequate encouragement and support of scientific research.

Such a one, brought up in the midst of ideas dominant in this country, turns for help to private endowment, to rich men, desirous for one motive or another to be known as benefactors, or to universities and like bodies, to whom, in times past, money has been given for the advancement of knowledge. He turns to these at first. But sooner or later, finding, as he does find and always will find, that private endowments cannot supply all the aid for which he seeks, he is brought face to face with the question, Ought not the State to provide the help which is still lacking?

No one can deny that the progress of science is a matter of national concern; the welfare of the State no less than the well-being of the single citizen is bound up with the advance of natural knowledge; the material prosperity of the country and, what is as important, the intellectual strength of the people are at stake in the right and speedy answering of the many questions clamouring to be answered. Is it not the duty of the State to help directly that which is so essential to its well-being?

Such a question, however, need not be asked; for, as a matter of fact, the State does spend money, and large sums of money, on inquiries which, whatever be their immediate aim, cannot be spoken of otherwise than as purely scientific inquiries; some of them indeed are of a markedly abstract nature. It is difficult to say exactly how much it thus spent; but if any one took the trouble to examine

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the Government yearly estimates for the period of a few years, and took note of the expenses incurred in scientific inquiries carried out on the one hand by the authority of one or other of the departments of Government either as part of their ordinary work or for special purposes, and on the other hand by the authority of Royal Commissions, Departmental Committees, and the like, with the view to obtaining a sound basis for legislation, he would find that these amount in the aggregate to a very considerable sum. In addition to this, the State, using the Royal Society as its agent, makes a yearly grant in aid of researches initiated and carried out by private individuals, working independently, and wholly free from Government control. And sometimes the State makes, as in the case of the Antarctic expedition, a special large grant for a special investigation.

Leaving aside for the present these latter grants and having in view the former Government expenditure only, I wish to consider briefly whether the money so spent is spent in the most economical way, and to the best advantage, either for the purposes of the Government or in the interests of science.

At the outset it is desirable to realise that there seems to be, or rather there is, and always must be, a fundamental antagonism between the spirit ruled, by which the State pays for scientific work, and the spirit led, by which the man of science succeeds in piercing the secrets of Nature, and accomplishes fruitful scientific work.

The spirit which rules the State in its ordinary payment of scientific work is, put baldly, that it should have its money's worth in return for the money spent. Let us suppose that in preparing for administrative action or for legislative measures a scientific question presents itself, and that an answer to this question must be found before the action is begun or the measure framed. The money value of the answer will depend on the importance of the action or measure itself, and on the prominence of the answer in shaping the action or framing the measure. The State can, by the help of these two factors, determine in a business way, within certain limits, how much it is justified in paying for the scientific work which provides the answer. It has itself no interest at all, or a very indirect one only, in the scientific features of the answer; it accepts and must accept the answer, whatever it be, as the judgment of science at the present day, and shapes its action or frames its measures accordingly. If the answer be clear and sharp, so much the better; if, as frequently happens, the question put being a difficult and complex one from a scientific point of view, the answer is vague and uncertain, it still answers its purpose, and can be paid for without offence to the business conscience; the only difference is that the action has to be shaped or the measure framed in a way to suit the vagueness and uncertainty.

In accordance with this spirit the paid scientific servant of the State, who for hire is working out the answer, must keep his eyes steadily

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fixed on the answer, and on that alone; he must not wander away from the prescribed end; he must not be tempted to follow up questions which incidentally arise in the inquiry, but the answers to which might and probably would have no bearing on the main issue; a narrow path is laid out for him, he must not stray from it.

Very different is the spirit which guides the independent man of science, the private worker in any inquiry which he takes up; for that spirit is the spirit of perfect freedom. In the first place he is free to choose his inquiry; he selects a problem, not because that particular problem is allotted to him by some one else, but because the problem attracts him. Something within him pushes him on to solve it; or rather—and this is the happier case—the problem is such as to give him no rest until he has at least done his best to solve it. He starts on the inquiry with an impulse denied to him who undertakes a task not chosen by himself but offered to him by others.

In the second place—and this is the really important point—having taken the first steps towards the solution of the problem, having put the first questions, he is free to follow wherever the initial answers seem to beckon him. And experience has shown that absolute freedom to follow wherever Nature leads is the one thing needful to make an inquiry a truly fruitful one. Whatever be the nature of the inquiry on which a man sets out, whatever be the initial problem which starts him on his quest, sooner or later, as his work unfolds before him, there comes a time when there stares him in the face some new question arising out of the results which he is gathering in, but leading him right away from the goal immediately before him. The new question may be a small thing; if so, he merely notes it and passes on. But it may hold within itself the promise of things far greater than any possible result of the inquiry in hand. What is he in this case to do? Shall he, abandoning the old inquiry, throw himself heart and soul into the new inquiry thus suddenly opened up? Occasions such as these test the possession of the real gift of inquiry, the genius of research. The man who has not this gift either loses his way in fruitless wanderings into barren side issues, or misses golden opportunities by refusing to pay heed to any side issue. He who has the gift seizes on the right side issue, giving up everything to follow that; and the story of science shows us how again and again a new truth, standing out as a great landmark, has been won by the man of genius who dared to leave his main inquiry and follow out the trail which crossed his path.

In the third place, the private independent inquirer is free to be what we may call reckless in his research; and this is no slight advantage. Charles Darwin in the course of his work was again and again led to make what he used to speak of as a 'fool's experiment,' an arrow shot without definite aim into the unknown in the hope that it might bring something down. And we know from his Life that, not once only, a fool's experiment became in his hands the starting-point of a new

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line of fruitful inquiry. Freedom thus to play 'the fool' is no mean help towards success in research.

All these several advantages, born of perfect freedom, are denied to the State-aided inquirer.

He takes up this inquiry rather than that, not because the spirit calls him, but because the State bids him. In the inquiry he must be ever sober, never reckless; the cost of a 'fool's experiment' must not appear in the estimates laid before the public. And, above all, he cannot follow side issues. He is bound by contract to bring the research on which he has been put to its own proper end. Trail after trail may cross his path; he may have visions of the splendid scenes to which this or that cross trail might lead him, did he dare to follow it up; but he must not step aside, he must push straight on towards the goal to reach which he is paid. He may tell others of this or that side issue, and they may reap the success denied to him. Or, keeping it to himself, he may mark it in his notebook, meaning to return to it when his main work is done. But he will never return to it. He will forget it; or new work imposed on him will prevent his touching it; or if, haply, the opportunity to take it up again should come to him, he will find that the inspiration which moved him when the thought first came to him has vanished, the virtue has gone out of him, the accepted time has passed; he can now do nothing with the idea which once seemed so full of promise.

These are some of the reasons which bring it about that, while a poor man's mite invested in a free, untrammelled, perhaps even reckless, inquiry may come back again as a new scientific truth, not only of great theoretic beauty, but of great practical value, the contributions to science which appear as the return for the large sums spent by the State on official scientific investigations are rarely, if ever, more than mediocre and are sometimes even poor. Research which the Government orders and pays for by the piece may perform some of the drudgery of science, may produce good meritorious useful work, though the usefulness is often curtailed by reason of the narrow limits imposed on the inquiry; it does not and cannot be expected to give birth to new creative ideas, to thoughts which move mankind. Yet these are the results of real value, even of real money value. The State may think that it gets its money's worth for its money, because it has received an answer to the question which it put, and feels assured that for any vagueness and uncertainty in the answer, not the inquirer whom it pays but the present state of science is to blame. How much more than its money's worth might it have got had the same money been spent in an inquiry the result of which wholly changed the present state of some branch of science!

We are placed in this dilemma: inquiry needs money, but has even greater need of freedom; the State can offer money, but it gives money at the cost of freedom. Is there no way out of the dilemma? Is there

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no plan by which the State can spend money on inquiry, and secure at one and the same time that inquiry should on the one hand enjoy that perfect freedom which is essential to its being fruitful, to its bringing forth new ideas and making real advance, and on the other hand be always prepared to furnish answers to questions raised by the needs of the State ?

A way out of a like dilemma has been found elsewhere. The Universities all the world over have a double task to perform—to make knowledge and to teach it. The money value of teaching can within fairly satisfactory limits be duly appraised, and hence teaching can be paid for on business principles. The power of making knowledge cannot be so appraised, and cannot be paid for on the same principles. But the Universities have hit upon the device of paying directly for teaching, and of encouraging the making of knowledge by paying for it indirectly, giving to the makers of knowledge the posts and emoluments of teachers. And in spite of the obvious difficulty that the power to make knowledge and the power to teach knowledge which is made are quite different things, not necessarily combined, and rarely combined equally in the same individual, the plan, at least where a wise administration taking broad views has not insisted on too stringent regulations, has worked well, to the great good both of teaching and research. Might not the State follow this example ?

I am bold enough to think that it might, and will venture in the following lines to sketch the broad outlines of a plan by which the State, while obtaining in a more economical and far more effective manner than at present the answers which it needs to questions of pressing practical importance, would afford a powerful aid to research, and so to scientific progress. I must not attempt to deal, in this aspect, with all branches of science ; I will limit myself to that part of science which has to do with public health (using that word in a broad sense), and with which I am more or less familiar ; but what I am about to suggest in respect to this might with proper modifications be applied to all other branches of science.

Let me, first of all, state very briefly the position of affairs in respect to public health, and call attention to a contrast.

On the one hand, whenever a measure relating to public health is concerned, there is almost always a demand for more knowledge. We want to know more about the causation and spread of disease and about the circumstances affecting health before we can legislate with certainty of success. At home we want to know more about the spread of tubercle, of typhoid fever, and other infectious diseases ; we want to know more about the proper means to secure that the water we drink, the food we eat, and the air we breathe, should not be channels of disease ; we want to know more about the invisible elfic micro-organisms which swarm around us, to learn which are our friends, and which our foes, how to nourish the one, how to defeat the other ; we

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want to know more about the best way to shield man in the factory and workshop against the works of man. Abroad, in our Colonies and Dependencies, we want to know more, even though in some cases we have already learnt much about plague, malaria, sleeping sickness, beri-beri, and the host of other diseases which at times lay waste a country, and which are always a bar to adequate development and a cause of distress and of expense. Both at home and abroad we want to know more of the manifold diseases of cattle, which are always hindrances to prosperity and again and again rise to the height of calamities. Both at home and abroad we want to know more about many other things bearing directly or indirectly on the health of the people. Moreover—and this is a point to be firmly laid hold of—whenever, in any of the above cases, we attempt to know more, we often find that each thing we get to know brings into sight other things which we did not know we had to know; at each step the inquiry opens up and broadens out; again and again what seemed to be a simple problem which a few observations would solve, turns out to be a loose free end projecting from a tangled knot. It is the mark of a scientific inquiry—and it is with scientific inquiries that I am dealing—that, however clear the first step may be, no one can tell beforehand whither it will lead.

On the other hand, in face of this almost deafening roar of questions crying to be answered—for such it seems to him who listens—they who offer themselves upon call to attempt the answers to these questions may without disrespect be called a feeble folk and few. Certainly they who are both willing to give themselves up to the work and have the power to do the work well are few; more are willing, but these are for the most part feeble. Nor is the cause of this dearth of labourers in a field of so much scientific promise, and of such urgent importance to the public weal, far to seek. The scientific training needed to equip a man for the researches in question is, at present at least, part and parcel of the training needed for the medical profession; the young men who can devote their lives to these researches are to be found in that profession. Hence the difficulty; for the following case again and again arises. A young man, while he is pursuing his medical studies, while he is being trained in the many sciences and many applications of science which make up the equipment of the doctor, feels drawn far more forcibly to the theoretical studies into the nature and causation of diseases which may broadly be designated as the science of pathology than to the practical application of that science and of other knowledge to the cure of disease. Not only is he so drawn, but as he progresses in his studies he develops ability, it may be conspicuous ability, to advance that science by his own labours; he may probably go so far as to devote some time to apprentice researches. But sooner or later he has to face the following position. The posts allotted to the science of pathology are very few, and most of them at least are ill paid. If

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he devotes his life to pathological inquiry, he must look forward to a continual struggle against a narrow income, not to say poverty, and even brilliant success will not bring him more than the salary of many a routine official. If, on the other hand, shunning all original scientific research, and equipping himself only with the scientific results gained by others, he throws himself into the practical side of his profession, he knows that with the ability he possesses he is sure of a satisfactory income, and has a chance at least of reaching great wealth as well as great fame. No wonder that he chooses the latter as the better way.

Not only are men for this reason lacking, but another great want is also pressing. Inquiries of the kind which I am discussing need, for the prosecution of them, adequately large and adequately equipped laboratories. I need not labour this point; save in one or two places, no such adequate accommodation can be found, and they who are behind the scenes well know in what a hole-and-corner fashion many important pathological researches touching closely the public health have to be and are carried out.

A very moderate expenditure would soon change all this. What is needed is the endowment, and where necessary the establishment in London, and not in London only, but in the provinces, of adequate laboratories, each supplied with a staff of investigators of various grades. The highest posts should carry emoluments large enough to tempt men of great eminence to hold them; the lower posts should be numerous enough and paid well enough to secure the needed number of promising younger investigators.

Such institutions—and this is the point which I wish to urge—would be most economically conducted and would prove most fruitful in scientific work, and so most useful to the public, if they belonged not to the Government alone, not to this or that University or other body alone, but to both together. I am bold enough to propose that the Government should not have its own workers and its own laboratories jealously reserved for its own use, but should be partners with Universities and like bodies, sharing in the uses and sharing in the pay of the same men and the same laboratories. I am advocating the establishment of 'Regius' Laboratories, with a new kind of 'Regius' Professors, Directors, and other officers.

The profit to a University of such a plan is obvious. A larger and a more eminent staff than the funds of the body itself could provide would be supplied. Instead of, as at present, one or at most two men with two or three ill-paid assistants attempting to grapple in inconvenient and ill-equipped rooms called by euphemism laboratories with the whole of the large and varied knowledge which I have been speaking of compendiously as 'pathology,' each branch of that large knowledge would be cared for by a man skilled in and devoted to the subject. I cannot better illustrate what I mean than by calling attention to the mournful fact that in this country in no place where pathological

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research is being carried on, is there a post occupied by a man whose energies are directed to, and who is qualified to carry out the study from a purely biological point of view of, the living organisms which we know to be causes of disease; yet in the case of many a disease our knowledge is standing still for the want of the prolonged systematic aid of a trained naturalist. Such an enlarged staff, moreover, would, under the plan in question, be amply supplied with problems for research; and where teaching is carried on at the same time, though this cannot, to my mind, be regarded as a necessary, even if a common, adjunct, that teaching would gain enormously in scope and value.

I may add that the free and independent inquirer in a University or elsewhere would profit by being made to bear from time to time the responsibility of having to find answers to questions of pressing practical importance; through his being thus kept in touch with active life, his academic liberty would be saved from the peril in which it undoubtedly stands of passing into licence.

But I need not dwell further on the advantages which the plan offers to Universities and like bodies.

What I wish especially to urge is the great gain which the State would secure by such an arrangement. If at the present moment the State were, as it most certainly ought, to attempt to grapple, by the help of the best scientific inquiry, with the pathological problems the solution of which can alone furnish sound bases for the administrative measures of the several Government departments, it would have forthwith to establish and furnish, either for each department or for several departments combined, extensive and expensive laboratories. These would have to be of a most varied character, so that each particular set of inquiries could find its proper accommodation; and, since the problems needing solution come and go, it might and probably would happen that a special accommodation served a temporary purpose only, or at least from time to time lay idle and unused. In like manner the State would have to find and pay the men best qualified to carry out the investigations; and since the problems, as I have just said, come and go, in order to obtain, as the State ought to obtain, the very best men for each particular problem, the State must either retain a large permanent staff, or trust to enticing into special temporary service this or that investigator of known repute, as this or that problem came to hand; the latter alternative is hazardous in the extreme; both are in the highest degree expensive.

The plan which I am suggesting is that the State should not provide its own laboratories and its own scientific staff occupied with the work of the State and nothing else, but should contribute, to an amount to be determined by arrangement, to the establishment and maintenance of laboratories and scientific staffs, for pathological research in connection with Universities and other bodies in different parts of the country,

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receiving in return the right to use those men and laboratories for the researches needed to secure bases for administration. This is not the place to unfold the details of such an arrangement, or to dwell on the way in which the various obvious difficulties of such an arrangement could be met. Among other things it would entail the establishment of a supreme co-ordinating mechanism of a permanent character. Such a mechanism might be found in a select body of men, representative on the one hand of the interests of the State, and on the other hand of the interests of science. On these and other details I am prepared to speak fully when the proper occasion presents itself. Meanwhile I will content myself with pointing out that in addition to the total large saving in expenditure the plan presents the following among other advantages.

When any special problem presented itself, the State without delay, without wasting precious time in preliminary discussions and arrangements, would be able to find, in one part of the country or other (for in this as in other things specialisation would obtain, it being impossible to secure the best of everything everywhere), the particular man or men and the particular equipment best fitted to solve the particular problem. Or if, as often happens, a department did not ask for an elaborate inquiry, but simply wanted to know what answer science in its present state can give to this or that question, it would be saved the trouble and risk of choosing an adviser, having always at its command the men best fitted by the common consent of their fellow men of science to give that answer.

Each department of the State could in this way, as occasion demanded, either alone on its own initiative have a needed investigation carried out, or could with the least possible friction and difficulty combine with other departments in an inquiry the results of which promised to be for the good of each.

Investigations carried out in this manner by the State would be quickened and kept straight by being always in touch with scientific work not directly belonging to the State. This, I venture to think, is a matter of the very greatest moment. I am only saying that which everybody knows when I say that a scientific investigation carried out, apart from the outside world of science, in a Government building, by a man who for the time being at least is a paid servant of the State, with no one looking on, with no one knowing what he is doing, runs great risk of becoming a sterile investigation. Every one working in a Government institution, however independent and original in spirit he may be to start with, is naturally and inevitably led to take up 'official' views and to assume an 'official' attitude. Such a disposition, while it may at times be of value, is not without its drawbacks even in matters of administration; in matters of scientific research it is always harmful, and may prove disastrous. Scientific inquiry, in order to be fruitful, must be free to move, unhampered by such re-

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straints, and flourishes the best when it is the most exposed to the criticism of those who are looking on and can see things hidden from the inquirer himself. A free atmosphere, ample entrance of light from without, and open discussion—without these real and great success in inquiry can rarely be reached.

I am not unmindful that, owing to administrative necessities, cases may arise in which it is desirable that an inquiry should be completed before any one can even know that it has been undertaken. But these are exceptional cases and can be met by exceptional arrangements. And indeed secrecy is no prerogative of Government inquiries; private workers in science have, in times past and present, again and again, discovered and used the method of keeping their results unknown to their brother workers; some indeed have shown themselves to be adepts in arrangements for secrecy.

Nor am I unmindful that a great deal of Government scientific inquiry is of a routine kind, done to order in a mechanical way—mere office work, so to speak, with a scientific name. But this could as easily be carried out in connection with a University or other body as in a separate establishment of the State, perhaps could be more easily carried out in this way. And the fact of the routine work being in touch with other scientific work would bring the following double advantage. On the one hand, the routine work would have frequent chances of amending its methods and procedures with the help of the light afforded by the inquiries going on beside it; on the other hand, the many theoretic problems which all routine work in science is always suggesting day after day, but which the routine worker is compelled to ignore, the little irregularities which are always coming to light, and which he is obliged to smooth over or neglect, would furnish an ample store of possible inquiries for the neighbouring workers in pure science. These little irregularities, these occasional unexpected divergencies from the common rule, which the routine observer notes but cannot make use of, are just the things which, in the hands of a gifted inquirer, have again and again proved the beginnings of important discoveries.

Such are some and some only of the advantages of the plan which I am proposing. I have hardly done more than put forward a general idea, and in doing so have, by way of illustration, spoken only of what, using the term broadly, I have called pathological research, since with this I am more familiar, and since this perhaps is in special need of aid. But the same general plan would, I believe, be found upon examination to be applicable to other sciences, though each science would have to be treated in its own way. In the science of physics, for instance, the special institution known as the National Physical Laboratory seems an absolutely indispensable need, and indeed ought to be developed far beyond its present initial condition. In pathology, on the contrary, no such exclusive institution is called for. But the existence and maintenance of such a national laboratory must largely determine the

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other arrangements desirable for physics. So with the other sciences; each science has its special needs, and these must be met in special ways. But I must not enter into these points here.

My main contention is that the money which the State now spends on scientific research would be spent to the much greater profit alike of the State and of science if it were spent, not fitfully and irregularly as at present, but in the systematic manner which I have proposed. Should the State ever see its way largely to increase the sum so spent as many, regarding the money thus used not as spent but as invested, think it ought, the plan proposed would go far to insure that the State, for the money which it gave, would still continue to get back its money's worth.

M. Foster.

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AGAINST A SUBSIDISED OPERA

It is possible to be a convinced and ardent vaccinationist and at the same time to be utterly opposed to compulsory vaccination. Similarly, one may take all possible delight in grand opera, yet question altogether the desirability of a State-supported Opera-house.

Is it really just, in the first place, to tax the community in general for the support of a mode of entertainment which necessarily appeals only to the few? The individualist argument, as such, does not go for a great deal nowadays, perhaps. But even those most generously-minded with the contents of other people's pockets must draw the line somewhere, and the mere fact that in very many other countries opera is subsidised by the Sovereign, the State, or the municipality, as the case may be, is no reason whatever why we should adopt the same arrangement. On the Continent the State undertakes many functions which, for all our own collectivist tendencies, we have so far preferred to leave to the individual, and unless I am very greatly mistaken this matter of the provision of opera will remain, what it has been up to the present, yet another of them. In Germany, for instance, the habits and lives of the people are regulated in a manner which we should regard as absolutely intolerable; wherefore one may well understand it seeming quite fit and proper to the average inhabitant of that happy land that the provision of his amusements should be undertaken for him also by the authorities.

At the same time it is always well to bear in mind, what is sometimes overlooked when the practice of the Germans in this matter is considered—namely, that as regards all the more important of the subsidised opera-houses it is out of the privy purses of the rulers, and not by the direct taxation of the community, that they are endowed. Dr. von Mühlberg informed Sir F. Lascelles, indeed, that 'so far as he was aware such performances received no financial support from the State or from municipalities anywhere in Germany' (see the recently issued return). There was, however, clearly some misunderstanding here, since municipally-supported opera-houses

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certainly exist, as Sir Charles Stanford has recently recalled, at Breslau, Frankfort, Hanover, Stettin, Cologne, Strasburg, and in many other German towns, both great and small. Still the fact remains that, in the case of the larger cities, where the operas correspond more nearly to that which London would require, they are maintained not by the community but from the private resources of the Emperor, Grand Duke, or other ruler, as the case may be. It may be said that this comes to the same thing, but in point of fact the principle involved is essentially different. If any individual chooses of his own free will and out of the fulness of his heart to endow an opera-house in London, no one could conceivably take exception to such a proceeding. On the other hand, to achieve this end through the agency of rates or taxes imposed on the population at large is another affair altogether, which should be discussed accordingly as such.

What are the leading arguments in favour of endowed opera? A very fair summary of them is contained in the famous petition which was presented to the London County Council a few years since:

i. That in this, the richest capital in the world, there exists no means whereby the highest class of operatic music can be systematically brought within the reach of the great masses of the people.

ii. That under existing conditions the very classes of the community which would benefit most constantly by the presentation of the greatest operatic masterpieces are now debarred from enjoying such a privilege, and the musical education of the public is therefore restricted.

iii. That for this reason little encouragement is offered to young artists to pursue the highest paths of their profession, and little opportunity is offered for their advancement in them.

iv. That the development of native operatic art is seriously hindered and discouraged by the lack of any permanent establishment where the works of native composers can be produced.

In other words, it is represented that opera is a very desirable thing as an instrument of general culture and an agency calculated to promote the musical development and education of the nation, and that the State ought therefore to provide it, or to help in its provision.

Is there anything, in the first place, in this plea for opera as an educational agent? Some, no doubt, have held this. The late Lord Lytton, for instance, once wrote a very interesting report from Vienna on the condition of the working classes there, in which this opinion was formulated. Lord Lytton was enthusiastic in praise of the politeness and the urbanity of the Austrian mechanic, whose civil tongue and genial ways he attributed partly to his good education, but chiefly to his habit of attending theatrical and operatic

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performances. But testimony of this order can hardly be regarded as conclusive.

Carlyle, for example, discussed the matter in a very different spirit:

> Music [he observed in a characteristic passage] is well said to be the speech of angels; in fact, nothing among the utterances allowed to man is felt to be so divine. It brings us near to the Infinite; we look for moments across the cloudy elements into the eternal sea of light, where song leads and inspires us. Serious nations, all nations that can still listen to the mandate of Nature, have prized song and music as the highest, as a vehicle for worship, for prophecy, and for whatsoever in them was divine. Their singer was a *vates*, admitted to the council of the universe, friend of the gods and choicest benefactor to man.

That is an eloquent tribute, but mark the continuation in relation to opera:

> Of the Haymarket opera my account, in fine, is this: Lustres, candelabra, painting, gilding at discretion; a hall as of the Caliph Alraschid, or him that commanded the Slaves of the Lamp; a hall as if fitted up by the genii, regardless of expense. Upholstery and the outlay of human capital could do no more.

As to the performance:

> An hour's amusement, not amusing either, but wearisome and dreary, to a high-dizened select populace of male and female persons, who seemed to me not much worth amusing. Could anyone have pealed into their hearts once one true thought, a glimpse of self-vision. 'High-dizened, most expensive persons, aristocracy so-called, or Best of World, beware what proofs you are giving here of betterness and bestness.'

That was written a good many years ago, and in the interval the conditions of opera have certainly changed considerably for the better. At the same time, the general proposition can hardly be gainsaid that since a very early period in its history opera has always been more especially associated with the most frivolous section of the community, with the absurdest and most vulgar rivalries of individual singers (not to add composers) and their supporters, and to a very large extent with music of the emptiest, shallowest, and most ephemeral character. Not that opera even of the lightest kind does not fulfil a perfectly legitimate function; not that, as such, it may not be heartily enjoyed and admired by the most cultivated musician. But this is a very different matter from admitting that any case can be made out for its support at the expense of the general community on educational grounds.

Even were it otherwise, the number who would benefit would be absurdly disproportionate to that of those who would be taxed. Say the house were open during ten months, or forty weeks, of the year, and assume an average attendance of say 2,000, and your total annual attendance works out at some 480,000. That is to say, less than half a million people would be benefited at the expense of the entire community. And the disproportion would really be greater

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than this, for of the total attendance a large proportion would doubtless be regular habitués going again and again. That is to say, a small fraction of the public would get its opera below cost price at the expense of the nation. It is absurd to say that the burden would never be felt. Taken alone, possibly this would be the case. But many a mickle makes a muckle, though this is an adage which seems seldom to be remembered in discussions of this kind. I repeat, only the most convincing demonstration of the benefits to result would serve to justify on grounds of abstract policy a proposal of this kind, and such a case has never been made out.

Then it is implied again that music would gain so much. But would it? Doubtless it would benefit to a certain extent. The public taste would possibly be improved. Our operatic composers would be encouraged to write. Our native artists would find employment. In these respects no doubt there would be gain—though less, I fancy, than some suppose. As to the development of the public taste, for instance, it must always be remembered, what has been suggested already, that operatic music as a rule is not of the highest order. Perhaps there are hardly a dozen operas in existence worthy to be reckoned musically in the same category with, say, Beethoven's sonatas or Schubert's songs. And even when operatic music is great—when it is the music of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, say, or *Fidelio*, or *Die Meistersinger*—it is seldom or never appreciated as such by the majority of operatic audiences. Opera-goers as a class are the least musical of all people professing to love music, and as a rule are quite incapable of appreciating the really great achievements of the art. Enjoyment of opera, that is to say, is perfectly compatible with a total absence of any general musical culture, and utter ignoramuses who in the concert room—a place they never think of visiting—could not tell a Bach fugue from a Beethoven sonata, may be heard at Covent Garden expressing their opinion with complete assurance (as likely as not in an adverse sense) respecting, say, the 'Liebestod' of *Tristan*, or the 'Trauermarsch' of *Götterdämmerung*. So far as concerns the cultivation of the public musical taste, it would be far better business to subsidise Mr. Newman's orchestra at Queen's Hall and keep the Promenade Concerts going all the year round than to run a national opera-house. At the same time, I am far from denying that a well-conducted opera-house would effect some amount of good in this respect, and in time possibly not a little. I am denying merely that it would achieve enough in this way to justify a further addition to the rates and taxes. Music, as someone has put it, should lighten our burdens, not increase them.

Another argument always advanced, but not cited above, is to the effect that as the National Gallery, the Royal Academy, the British Museum, and so on, are State-supported, the sister art of music can

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fairly claim like consideration. But the analogy is really misleading. The British Museum, for instance, is an institution the like of which private enterprise could not possibly undertake to provide. And, to a lesser degree, the same applies to the National Gallery and the Royal Academy. To which it may be added that the latter is assuredly not a favourable example of endowed art. There is moreover another difference between institutions such as these and a State-supported theatre or opera-house. In the case of the former admission is free, or, if it is not, all at least pay alike. In the case of an opera-house this would not be so. On the contrary, the people gaining most benefit would be the occupants of the more expensive seats, or, in other words, those who needed such assistance least.

But a State-aided opera-house is undesirable on other grounds. In the interests of opera itself it is not to be encouraged. We all know the characteristics of officialism, with its tendency to red tape, routine, and like engaging qualities. Is there the smallest reason to suppose that a State-aided opera-house would enjoy immunity from the vices inherent, from their very nature, in governmental institutions? Take the case of Germany, for instance—always held up to us as a model for imitation in this respect. One could hardly find a more striking instance of the obstinate indifference to new ideas inherent in State-managed concerns than the long struggle which the greatest of all operatic composers encountered before he could win acceptance for his works in the land of his birth.

In France again, though Paris boasts the costliest opera-house in the world, and the French have always been devoted to opera, the process has been equally slow, and to this very day some of Wagner's greatest works, with which we have been familiar for years and years in London, with its opera run by private enterprise, have still to be heard at the State-equipped opera of the French capital. The disgraceful circumstances which attended the first production of *Tannhäuser*, when the work was hooted off the stage by a public which had enjoyed for generations the alleged benefits of a State-supported lyric theatre, are ancient history of course. But perhaps it is even less creditable to the Paris opera that to this day it has not seen its way to producing some of the composer's later and still greater works. Many will recall the comically-belated outburst of enthusiasm which attended the first performance of *Siegfried* a year or so since, while it is a fact of course that *Götterdämmerung* and *Tristan und Isolde* have not yet been heard in Paris at all. Could one find a more striking instance of the sort of 'enterprise' characteristic of State-supported opera-houses? It may be said, perhaps, that there were special reasons for delay in the production in France of these German masterpieces; but inquiry will show that the directors of the Paris Opera have been equally oblivious of their

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duties in other directions. One might have thought, for instance, that within recent years Russian opera—of which there are many fine examples—would have been listened to with special interest and enthusiasm on the banks of the Seine. Not one has been produced.

Who can doubt that it would be much the same with ourselves? The result is indeed unavoidable. Your State-supported institution is inevitably the enemy of progress. If anyone is disposed to think the matter would be ordered otherwise with us, let him reflect on the general tendencies of those who would in the nature of things be placed at the head of a national opera-house in London. What is the record of our own leading musicians in relation to the successive developments of the art? For years and years, as everybody is aware, official musicians in the country opposed the Wagner movement tooth and nail, and even to this day the spirit which prompted this attitude has not been wholly extirpated. Only a twelvemonth since a paper on the Wagner subject was read before the Incorporated Society of Musicians which would have been voted out of date by any cultivated student of this art if it had been delivered fifty years previously, while on the same occasion one of the best-known musicians of the day—an acknowledged chief of the musical world in this country—was not ashamed to get up and crack foolish jokes on the self-same subject in a spirit which was perhaps even more illuminating. Go into our colleges and academies, again, and make inquiries, and you will find essentially the same sort of spirit prevailing, to a very large extent, among those in authority. And then remember that it is musicians of this class who, in the natural order of things, would be entrusted with the direction of a national opera-house, if such an institution were established. These are the recognised heads of the profession—the 'great, wise, and eminent' of their calling, the front benchers of the musical world—to whom would infallibly be entrusted the destinies of a State-supported lyric theatre.

Does it need any great prophetic insight to imagine the spirit in which they would approach their task?

Let me make myself plain. I am not saying that up to a certain extent they would not discharge their duties efficiently enough. I do not doubt that they would produce very correct and enjoyable performances of certain works. No doubt they would give us *Don Giovanni* and *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and *Der Freischütz*, and *Fidelio*, and *Orfeo*, and so on, all in accordance with the traditions, and all in their way quite acceptable. Also, no doubt, they would give us *Lucia*, and *Rigoletto*, and *Les Huguenots*, and *Faust*, and *Carmen*, and other works of a later date, including of course Wagner's, which have now established their places in the affections of opera-goers. Whatever their personal likes and dislikes,

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public opinion would compel the production of all operas which have already gained general acceptance as works of interest and value. But would they lead? Would they initiate? Would they explore and discover? Would they bring to light, not only the geniuses of bygone generations, but the hidden geniuses of our own? To ask such questions is to answer them. Of course they would do nothing of the kind. The geniuses of our own day they would treat as their predecessors treated the geniuses of the past—with obloquy, indifference, and contempt.

One is always apt to suppose that while our ancestors may have been prejudiced and purblind, our own enlightened generation is proof against the repetition of such errors. That a second Wagner could ever be received as our predecessors treated Wagner seems to us moderns, to whom Wagner has become an open book, unthinkable; yet all the time our attitude in relation to a Richard Strauss, a César Franck, or a Vincent D'Indy, say, may be such as to prove in course of time that precisely the opposite is the case. I am quite prepared to agree that we have in point of fact made considerable progress in this respect, and that never before probably were the works of new men and original minds listened to and received with greater sympathy and less prejudice than at the present time. The case of Wagner provided an object lesson so striking that quite such a colossal blunder as was committed by the world at large in that instance is perhaps hardly likely to be repeated, at least for some considerable time to come. But among those by whom the policy of the open mind and the unbiassed judgment is habitually adopted to-day, it is safe to say that none are so few in relation to their class as what one may call the official and endowed musicians of the country—the academic bigwigs, the music doctors, the professors, the teachers, and the professional musicians in general; and it is from the ranks of such as these that those appointed to the direction of any State-endowed operatic organisation would naturally be drawn. In other words, by establishing a State-aided opera we should simply be setting up a sort of musical Burlington House, and that, it must surely be agreed, is a consummation devoutly to be avoided. I repeat that in the interests of opera itself a State-endowed institution with its inevitable tendency to obscurantism and old-fogeyism is a thing to be resisted.

I am far from saying, of course, that private enterprise secures immunity from these tendencies. It is in the nature of things that the novel and the unfamiliar shall encounter opposition. But I do say that the surest possible way to have things managed in a reactionary and unprogressive spirit would be to entrust matters to the hands of professional musicians of the class referred to. One has only to contrast the policy adopted by such a man as Mr. Robert Newman, for instance, always abreast of the times and ready to

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give trial to the new and original of every school, with the proceedings of such bodies as, say, the Philharmonic Society and the Royal Choral Society, to realise the different results obtained, according as the one class or the other is represented at the head of affairs.

I can imagine, of course, many replies to the foregoing. Some would urge, no doubt, that a subsidised opera, even if run on reactionary lines, would be better than none at all—that if it did nothing more than the accepted masterpieces its purpose would be achieved, and its existence justified. Others, I dare say, would argue that the support afforded by such a small subsidy as that which is suggested would still leave ample scope for the exercise of private initiative and individual enterprise—that while the State or the municipality might contribute a grant in aid of the upkeep of the establishment, to enable it to pay its way, this would not imply State or municipal control, in the ordinary sense of the term, and hence that no such fears as those above suggested need be entertained. I demur, however, to both assumptions.

In regard to the first, for instance, it is essential to remember that such a house would almost certainly operate in the case of London to negative entirely, once and for all, the establishment of anything better. Covent Garden, perhaps, would continue to hold its own, but otherwise the field would be permanently occupied. No manager would be daring enough to start an opposition house to one enjoying the benefits of a subsidy, so that the latter would enjoy a virtual monopoly and constitute the only establishment of the kind which we should ever be likely to get. This is a prospect which puts a somewhat different complexion upon the proposition that any opera, however inadequate, is better than none at all. If, as I suggest, the implication is that this inadequate opera would thereby become not only our permanent but our only opera, the truth of the proposition must be considered anything but self-evident.

Again, though the subsidy of the State or municipality might be less or more, as events might prove, it is tolerably certain that once any connection of the kind were established it would be quite sufficient to stifle very effectually any soaring ambitions on the part of individual managers or intendants. Government and municipal authorities alike have a knack of exercising to the full any powers which they may possess, and they certainly would not be slow to do this in the case of such an institution as the opera, in regard to which there is room for such diversity of judgment and such forcible convictions. Depend upon it, the 'cash nexus' in this instance would prove either a fruitful source of discord or a certain check to individual management, or both, and in the result a line of least resistance would be adopted, which would be fatal to the attainment of really satisfactory results. There would be a danger, that is to

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say, of stereotyping for all time a thoroughly unsatisfactory kind of opera-house, in place of which, if we are only content to wait until things develop themselves naturally, we may obtain before long, and without recourse to any subsidy at all, something very much better. And this brings me to my final point.

In other words, I make bold to affirm that a State-supported opera in London is not only undesirable for the reasons set forth, but also that it is unnecessary. I am convinced that only an enterprising capitalist is needed to demonstrate that opera can be run at a profit in London, without any support from State or municipality at all.

Of course the experiment of Mr. D'Oyly Carte at the Palace Theatre is often cited as pointing the other way. But, as a matter of fact, that experiment should go for nothing whatever. Or rather, when all the facts are taken into consideration, it goes rather to support the contention that opera could and should be made to pay in London. For one thing, even in spite of the impossible conditions which he imposed upon himself, Mr. D'Oyly Carte ran his enterprise for three months at a handsome profit, and if matters had been properly managed there is no reason whatever why the Palace Theatre should not be supplying the London public with high-class opera to this day. The really vital difficulty consisted in the fact that the theatre was not provided with the requisite amount of 'dock room,' or storage accommodation for spare scenery. Consequently it was impossible to run more than one opera at a time. Probably there is no opera-house in the world which could be maintained on these conditions. It was merely amazing therefore that the new English opera-house remained open as long as it did. It has always been understood that *Ivanhoe* ran for three months at a handsome profit, and this although the arrangements in other respects were far from favourable to success. The double cast, for instance, was anything but a happy system, while the prices charged —fifteen shillings for a stall, a three-and-sixpenny pit, and so on— were also far too high. Yet even so, and in spite of these adverse conditions, the house lived and flourished for a time. Can it be doubted, this being the case, that if a repertory of popular operas had been prepared and put on in rotation, in the proper manner, at the ordinary theatre rates, permanent opera in English would be firmly established by this time in the metropolis? Rightly considered, therefore, Mr. D'Oyly Carte's ill-fated experiment tells not against, but in favour of, the assumption that London would support an opera-house if it had the opportunity of doing so.

And other evidence points in the same direction. The fact is certainly not to be ignored that opera is run already in London at a very handsome profit indeed—that is, at Covent Garden, of course, during the fashionable season. It is generally understood that a

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return of over 20 per cent. has now been steadily secured by the Royal Opera Syndicate for some years past. The circumstances in this case are exceptional, of course. Covent Garden in the season is not so much an artistic as a social institution, and with the wealthiest aristocracy in the world to keep it going it would be astonishing indeed if it could not be maintained. At the same time this consideration cuts both ways, for if the support available is great, the expenses entailed are correspondingly large. Leading singers from all quarters of the globe are retained at prices fabulous compared with those which obtain elsewhere, and in every other way the expenses are greatly in excess of those demanded by the requirements of efficiency alone. Taken as it stands, the example of Covent Garden shows that, given good management and a desire to make it do so, opera in England can be made, not only to pay its way, but to return a very handsome profit.

Take, again, the case of the various travelling companies which give performances in London from time to time. As everyone knows, the old Carl Rosa Company, when managed by its founder, made a handsome profit for years and years, both in London and the provinces. If matters have gone less favourably with the company since those early days, this only goes to show the supreme necessity of good management in matters operatic—a point to be borne in mind by those who suppose that, given the capital and a well-meaning committee, an English opera-house would run itself. Of course it would do nothing of the kind, but, on the contrary, would inevitably fail to pay its way, and thus bring discredit on the whole idea.

And the experiences of the other touring companies, which have been more recently established, are not less to the point. The Moody-Manners Company, in particular, has done splendid work in all parts of the country by its performances, not only of early Wagner and more popular works, but also of such operas as *Siegfried* and *Tristan*; and the support which these performances have obtained has served to demonstrate in the most conclusive fashion the utter fallacy of the oft-repeated assertion that there is no public for grand opera in this country. And when they have come to London, and appeared at the various suburban theatres, or at Covent Garden, the result has been the same. Crowded houses and enthusiastic audiences have borne constant testimony to the genuine interest in opera of the London public, and this, once more, notwithstanding the fact that such performances have invariably been given under conditions far from favourable—on small stages, with inadequate orchestras, and usually in theatres never intended for opera.

The testimony of Mr. Hamish McCunn, who has had exceptional

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opportunities of forming a sound opinion on this subject, may be cited in this connection:

> In the provinces, and in London, performances by touring companies of opera in English—Wagnerian opera especially—have often evoked the greatest enthusiasm, even when given under the most disadvantageous and discounted conditions. *Tristan and Isolde*, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser*, and *Lohengrin* have been received (principally *Tristan and Isolde*) with the wildest demonstrations of delight. Having produced and conducted all these operas for two separate companies in London and in the provinces, I can vouch for the truth of this.

Then as to the assertion that London opera-goers accustomed to Covent Garden would never tolerate singers of the second rank. This again is a manifest fallacy, in view of the facts already cited. No doubt there is a public who answer to this description, who go to Covent Garden not to hear *Don Giovanni* and *Die Meistersinger*, but Melba or Caruso but it is equally certain that there are opera-lovers in plenty of the other kind, who want to hear opera for its own sake, and not for the sake of the singers. To suppose that the Covent Garden standard of vocalism—involving, of course, the Covent Garden standard of prices—would be essential to the success of permanent opera in London, is utterly absurd. Why should London opera-goers be more critical than those of Berlin, Vienna, Paris, or any other city? There is not the slightest reason to suppose that if an opera were established there would be any difficulty in finding good native singers. To think of the splendid voices more or less wasted at the present time at the Ballad Concerts is sufficient to refute such a suggestion. It has not been the poor singing which has told against the various operatic enterprises which we have had in London at various times, but indifferent *ensemble*, slipshod management, and inadequate orchestras. To suppose that Londoners would refuse to support a well-managed opera merely because it failed to provide them with Melbas and De Reszkes is ridiculous. On the contrary, it is probable that many would find positive satisfaction in the absence of these same arbitrary luminaries. Certainly the managerial path would be made more smooth thereby, and this is saying not a little. Singers quite good enough would be forthcoming in plenty if an opera-house were once established. At present, of course, nearly all our leading vocalists confine their efforts to the concert-room. To suppose that singers who draw crowds to the Ballad and other concerts at the present time would not be listened to with equal readiness on the stage is quite unreasonable.

Surely, indeed, it is preposterous to assert that a population of four millions would not contrive to support a single permanent opera-house, when the experiment has never been really tried. Bear in mind, in this connection, the case of the Promenade Concerts. Look at the audiences assembled at Queen's Hall night after night

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for months at a stretch during the hottest evenings of the summer, to listen to orchestral music always of a high class, and more often than not rigorously classical. Is there nothing significant in this? Bear in mind, particularly, the crowded attendances always to be found on the Wagner evenings—when it has happened again and again that hundreds have been turned away for want of room. Is it not almost self-evident that here is a public ready-made to support high-class opera when it comes? My own belief is that Wagner alone has almost revolutionised the operatic outlook: by which I mean that he has brought into existence a whole army of opera-lovers, who previously paid no attention to music in this particular form at all. Nor is there anything very surprising in this. From the serious musician's point of view modern opera is Wagner, and nothing more—practically speaking. There is Mozart, of course, and Beethoven, but these names practically sum up all the other operas heard nowadays which the serious music-lover really wants to hear. Many other works are charming and delightful, but they stand on another footing altogether. Hence, I make bold to say that there are thousands of music-lovers to-day ready to go and hear *Lohengrin*, or *Siegfried*, or *Tristan*, who could do without any further hearing of *Faust*, or *Carmen*, or *Lucia* for the rest of their lives. To this extent, therefore, the modern and ever-growing appreciation of Wagner is a factor of very high importance.

Consider again, in this connection—when speculating, that is to say, as to the existence of the love of opera in England—the enormous popularity of the musical play. Does not that go to show a readiness to appreciate music in dramatic form? Is it conceivable that this particular kind of entertainment could have obtained such extraordinary proportions if it did not serve to gratify a very significant and deep-seated love of music in association with the stage? The wonderful popularity of these musical comedies is doubtless very largely due to their bright dialogues, pretty dresses, and other factors; but music constitutes, none the less, one of their all-important ingredients, and, as no one can have failed to observe, is heartily enjoyed on its own account. It is impossible indeed to resist the conclusion that, of those who attend performances of these so-called musical comedies in such incredible numbers, a considerable proportion, at least, could be relied on to patronise legitimate opera if this were provided.

On every ground, therefore, this project of subsidised opera in London is open to objection. It is unfair to the community at large, who would thereby be called on to contribute compulsorily to a form of amusement in which many would find no interest whatever. It would be injurious to the very interests which it is proposed to serve, by establishing a kind of opera which, while in no sense perfect in itself,

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would permanently occupy the place of anything better. It is entirely unnecessary, since there is ample reason for believing that London is now perfectly capable of supporting such an establishment as that desired as an ordinary commercial undertaking, and that private enterprise may be safely trusted to provide this in due course.

HUGH ARTHUR SCOTT.

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LORD ACTON'S LETTERS

In this book, which has been long anxiously expected, Mr. Gladstone's daughter has told us a great deal about one of the most interesting of our contemporaries—quite the most remarkable man—who followed, with devoted loyalty, all the chances and changes of her father's fortunes, when many, who were at least as devoted during his first great Administration, found themselves utterly unable to acquiesce in his new departure.

The letters which she has given to the world extend from 1879 to 1885, and cover accordingly a period marked by many great events, such as the Midlothian campaigns, the struggle with Parnell, the Egyptian and Soudan expeditions, and the surrender to Home Rule. During the greater part of that period I was absent in India, and was not in correspondence with Acton, but at no period, even when we thought alike about many things, had I anything remotely approaching the opportunities of knowing what he was thinking that fell to the lot of the lady to whom we owe this full revelation of the working of the mind of one of the most learned Englishmen who ever drew breath.

I gather from a perusal of this volume, and from an excellent letter, quoted in the Introduction, from Mr. Jackson of Trinity, Cambridge, that alike with Mrs. Drew and with his Cambridge friends, Acton was much more communicative than with his political or social allies in London. I knew him, as well as most people not connected with him by religious sympathy or relationship, from 1860 till his death, but he very seldom talked either to me, or to any of the persons in whose society we most frequently met, about passing events or Parliamentary struggles.

While sincerely grateful for so much new light thrown upon a career which has always had, since first Montalembert talked to me about him at Paris forty-four years ago, a kind of fascination for me, I must notice an oversight which I regret. One of Acton's characteristics was a kind of playful cynicism which by no means spared himself, and with which he was apt to treat many things and persons he very highly esteemed. That was far from being a defect in his conversation, and gave harmless pleasure to most people who en-

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countered it, not least to those who were for the moment the object of his animadversion. Sharp sayings of this kind are quite in place in letters to an intimate friend, but they change their aspect when they are printed and pass into the hands of persons who never set eyes on the author, conveying thus a totally wrong impression of his views upon many subjects.

I could wish that Mrs. Drew, who has told us so much which it is pleasant and interesting to know, had struck her pen across a few passages which those who knew Acton will appraise at their exact value, but which those who did not know him will inevitably misunderstand.

The following passage on p. 41 will, I trust, be remembered when the next edition is called for:

> Please do not destroy the ease and serenity and confidence my letters, which are chatted and whispered more than written, by wanting to show them —even to Morley, in whom I have great reliance. I should write quite differently, as you rightly say, if I was not writing to the most chosen of correspondents.

Of course the case is a good deal altered when the writer is no more. Well-thought-out opinions may then often be properly published, and sometimes what a judge once called 'riding opinions'—that is to say, opinions formed on the spur of the moment, without much study. What I object to are semi-jocular pronouncements which are not really opinions at all.

Before I come to the Letters themselves it is only right to give a word of praise to the excellent memoir prefixed to them by Mr. Herbert Paul, which tells the reader all he need want to know before beginning them, and contrasts most agreeably with the plethoric two-volume life under which he so frequently suffers.

The first letter in the collection was dated at Mentone on October 31, 1879, and is chiefly interesting from its notices of various prominent persons whom its writer had seen while passing through Paris or elsewhere. He speaks, both in it and in a later letter, kindly and justly of M. Waddington—far more kindly than did Disraeli, who said: 'Oh, I hope they will not kill poor Waddington. It would make assassination ridiculous.' He has a good word too for Scherer, of whose Essays he always spoke highly, and for Taine, who, he remarked, had almost the solidity of Scherer and more than his brilliancy.

There is a strange judgment in his next letter, dated in the spring of 1880, in which he says that his correspondent would think Burke's Bristol speeches poor by comparison with some which her father had been delivering, but he goes on to add: 'Charles Sumner once said to me, "Mr. Burke legislated from those hustings,"' which is profoundly true.

In the same letter occurs a very weighty passage about Seeley,

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whom he afterwards succeeded at Cambridge, in which he complains that that historian did not go straight at the 'impersonal forces' which rule the world, such as Predestination, Equality, Divine Right, and so forth.

It is clear from a letter of the 1st of June that Acton was one of those who wished Mr. Gladstone, and not Lord Hartington, to take the helm in 1880. If that matter had been otherwise settled, it would, I think, have prevented many troubles, and Mr. Gladstone would have passed into private life in a blaze of glory; but it was out of the question; the popular vote would have gone overwhelmingly the other way.

Some remarks on Sir Bartle Frere introduce the observation (p. 17) that 'Indians are not generally a healthy element in the body politic, and he has the constant vice of Indians—Belief in Force.'

Every sensible man who has ruled in India or elsewhere must believe in force as a last resort. The symbol of our rule in that country, and indeed in all places where we really rule, must be the sword crossed with the scroll. That is only an adumbration of the truth that Government must have two pillars for its support, of which one is policy and the other the power of compulsion. Even Parnell, unscrupulous demagogue as he was, scoffed at the idea of governing Ireland without coercion, whether that country had or had not Home Rule. And in India the absence of coercion would inaugurate a devil's delight, such as that from which we rescued her when the Pindaree was still in the land, and many a bold brigand might say, with the hero of Sir Alfred Lyall's admirable poem:

> I rode with Nawab Amir Khan in the old Mahratta War
> From the Deccan to the Himalay—five hundred of one clan.
> We asked no leave of Prince or Chief as we swept through Hindusthan.

I am glad to observe that Acton pays a tribute to Sir Bartle Frere's 'breadth of mind,' which was so great a pleasure to me during the years I passed at the India Office in constant communication with him. But Acton was not at his best when speaking of India. He knew less about it than he did about most things, resembling in that his political leader, in the three volumes of whose life, in spite of Mr. Morley's all-embracing research, India is barely mentioned.

On p. 19 Mr. Morley is spoken of as a 'bald Cobdenite.' Acton never fully understood Cobden. I remember his meeting him at my house, and being evidently more struck by his *bourgeois* way of looking at things than by anything else about him. That was not surprising. Almost all of us felt the same while Cobden lived, but Acton, who saw so much of Sir Louis Mallet at Cannes during the period when these letters were written, ought to have learnt more about him from Cobden's most intelligent disciple, for Mallet's article in the *North British Review* on the 'Political Opinions of Richard Cobden,'

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afterwards republished by the Cobden Club, threw more light on the views and aims of that remarkable man than did anything that he himself either wrote or spoke.

A little later (p. 22) we come on some friendly remarks about Lord Reay and a judgment on Morier, true enough as far as it goes, that he was exceedingly able, resolute, and energetic. If he had always remembered that *douceur* goes further than *violence* he would have been the best of our diplomatists at that period. As it was I think he came next to Odo Russell.

Speaking of Sir Henry Maine, Acton says (p. 26): 'I may say that I esteem him, with Mr. Gladstone, Newman, and Paget, the finest intellect in England.'

On p. 31 there is a curious statement to the effect that Lord Arthur Russell had almost only one fault, a too great fondness for secrets. Lord Arthur Russell had what Renan called 'la grande curiosité' in a very high degree. It was one of his many merits; but I never detected in him the slightest desire to pry into anything which could legitimately be held to be a secret. Acton never realised that he himself was a walking problem to all his acquaintances, and it is impossible for intelligent men to live with a walking problem without desiring to comprehend it. I dare say a hedgehog thinks that every dog it meets is too anxious to pry into secrets. The fault, however, if there be any, is not in the dog, but in the strange enigmatic creature which excites his wonder. The power of exciting that kind of wonder is a doubtful blessing. Unless the interest is sustained by strong personal regard, it is apt to degenerate into the kind of feeling which Browning had for Carlyle. 'I never see him,' he once remarked to me, 'without being reminded of a leopard in the Zoological Gardens, at which one looks and says to oneself, "You're a fine spotted creature, you are."'

Excellent are most of the remarks on St.-Hilaire (p. 37 and the following pages), though requiring to be a little modified by some *caveats* rather further on. I knew him from 1860 until the end, and agree with all the praise, but I agree with the censure also, for in conversation during the month of April 1881 he certainly conveyed to my mind a wrong impression as to his policy about Tunis. I dare say the Legitimist Marquis was not far wrong when he said: 'C'est un honnête homme, qui nous coupera la tête de la manière la plus honnête du monde.'

At p. 40 we find the remark: 'Remembering Macaulay, Circourt and Rémusat, I do not care to believe that Cousin or Radowitz was far superior to them in talk.' I never knew Macaulay, but it would certainly have been difficult to beat Circourt in a particular kind of talk. Rémusat I knew, but less. As for Cousin, I am quite willing to believe in his greatness as a talker, though I was much more struck with his petulance; but both Renan and Littré thought I was wrong in

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preferring Villemain, whom I put very high indeed in that behalf. Hayward, a good judge in such a matter, thought Radowitz the best talker he had ever known. I fancied that Acton had been personally acquainted with him, which, it is clear from the passage I am commenting upon, he was not. That was a pity, for Acton had, I think, himself, more in common with Radowitz than with most people. I once, I think in 1863, when I was fresh from the perusal of the *Gespräche aus der Gegenwart*, said this to him, and he admitted that it was true.

Writing (p. 52) of Sir George Trevelyan, Acton says: 'The fulness of knowledge, the force and finish of the style, have revealed a new man. I see him compared to his uncle, and I think it is not an exaggeration.'

On p. 56 there is a true and notable passage about Burke:

> You can hardly imagine what Burke is for all of us who think about politics, and are not wrapped in the blaze and the whirlwind of Rousseau. Systems of scientific thought have been built up by famous scholars on the fragments that fell from his table. Great literary fortunes have been made by men who traded on the hundredth part of him. Brougham and Lowe lived by the vitality of his ideas. Mackintosh and Macaulay are only Burke trimmed and stripped of all that touched the skies. Montalembert, borrowing a hint from Döllinger, says that Burke and Shakespeare were the two greatest Englishmen.

'The blaze and the whirlwind of Rousseau'—what a happy phrase! His influence for a time was like nothing but a forest fire. The Duc d'Aumale once told me that his father, of all people, said in later life: 'Et cependant, j'ai été grand admirateur de cet animal-là.'

One could not expect to advance very far into any writing of Acton's without coming on a panegyric of George Eliot. In one of these letters (p. 57) he says: 'No writer ever lived who had anything like her power of manifold but disinterested and impartially observant sympathy.' In these words spoke the man, who in this Review declared that 'her teaching is the highest within the resources to which atheism is restricted, as the teaching of the *Fioretti di San Francesco* is the highest within the Christian limits.' At one time Acton very much admired George Sand, but in later life (p. 79) thought her a bad second to George Eliot, observing that she scatters over twenty volumes the resources her English rival concentrates into a chapter.

At p. 70 comes a strong denunciation of Carlyle, of whom he remarks: 'Excepting Froude, I think him the most detestable of historians.' They absolutely disagreed in tone, temper, and views of life, as much as they disagreed about Frederick the Great's *Matinées Royales*, in the authenticity of which Acton thoroughly believed, and which he republished, while Carlyle said, in my hearing, that it was 'the longest-eared platitude now walking about on this created earth.'

I did not know that Acton had been so much in favour of the Majuba arrangement, for which, however, I think there was a great

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deal more to be said than was generally known at the time. The mischief came later, when, instead of making it a cardinal point of policy to see that the Boers kept to their engagements, things were allowed to drift for a series of years till the inevitable catastrophe followed. We may think that the policy of 1881 was on the whole justifiable. I thought it was the least objectionable way out of the series of blunders which followed the ill-starred annexation of the Transvaal, and was prepared to defend it in the House of Commons, had not my appointment to the Government of Madras vacated my seat in Parliament before Sir Michael Hicks Beach's motion on the subject came on for discussion.

But I could not have said with Acton (p. 81): 'I declare that I rejoice in this inward victory with heartier joy and a purer pride than I have been able to feel at any public event since I broke my heart over the surrender of Lee.' That seems to me a rather wild utterance.

On p. 93 there is the following observation, truer than many of its author's political pronouncements: 'The transfer of power to the lower class was not the act of Mr. Gladstone, but of the Conservatives in 1867. It still requires to be rectified and regulated; but I am sure that in his hands the change would have been less violent.'

One of the greatest mistakes that has been made in England in our times was the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's very sensible and harmless Reform Bill of 1866. And that defeat was principally the work of Mr. Lowe, for whom I could have wished to have seen more moral reprobation in these pages. Acton believed, and I fancy truly, that he was the indirect cause of that politician becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868, a position in which he certainly did not strengthen his chief's Government. It is curious to observe from another passage written in 1880 that he was not satisfied with being made a Viscount, but wished to return to power, and yet he was very near the time when he had to say: 'I am like my father. He withered at the top.'

Acton had the strongest detestation for Lord Beaconsfield, and particularly objected to a national monument being raised in his honour on the motion of Mr. Gladstone. He says (p. 98):

> The monument is a homage paid by the nation, demanding more than parliamentary or other intellectual distinction, and implying public service of some exceptional merit and amount. This is wanting in Disraeli. And we deem not only that the good was absent, but that the bad, the injurious, the immoral, the disgraceful, was present on a large scale. Let us praise his genius, his wit, his courage, his patience and constancy in adversity, his strength of will, his originality and independence of mind, the art with which he learned to be eloquent, his occasional largeness of conception, his frequent good-nature and fidelity to friends, his readiness of resource, his considerable literary culture, his skill in the management of a divided and reluctant party, even his superiority to the greed of office; let us even call him the greatest Jewish minister since Joseph—but if we say that he deserved the gratitude of the nation, and might claim his reward from every part of it, I am afraid we condemn ourselves.

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Someone wrote to Acton that no Jew for 1800 years had played so great a part in the world. He did not agree with this, but thought that Stahl, who was a converted Jew and the most important man in the High Tory or *Kreuz Zeitung* party in Prussia, was distinctly his intellectual superior, and in fact the greatest reasoner who ever served the Conservative cause.

Nothing in the letters is more remarkable or characteristic than the notes on *John Inglesant*, with which his correspondent had been much struck and which Acton himself greatly admired, though he pointed out a great many, and some very serious, mistakes. He says incidentally that the writer never was in Italy. If that be so, it sufficiently accounts for the inferiority of all the portions of the book which deal with that country. The scenes at Little Gidding and the interview with Mary Collet in Paris are worth all the rest of it, good though much of that rest is.

On p. 167 there is an interesting defence of a list of ninety-eight books, drawn up by Acton and intended to complete the education of a young man 'who knew common things and was not preparing for a profession.' This list, which was given originally to Mrs. Drew, and which Acton's friends owed to her kindness, will, it is hoped, soon be published, but would be much the better for an exposition. Most unfortunately, its author did not live to draw up one. Near the end of his life he wrote to ask me for a copy of it, which I immediately sent him, and he purposed making it the subject of a paper to be read at Cambridge. This, alas! was never accomplished.

On p. 171 Acton speaks of Mrs. Craven as one of his earliest friends. He might have used a stronger expression, for she had him in her arms when he was only two or three hours old. In the early sixties he told me that she was the cleverest woman he had ever met. At a later period they were a good deal separated by political and religious differences, but he would have continued to place her in the front rank in point of ability. I gather from these letters that in the year 1881 he thought another of his lady friends even abler, but really the comparison of these two gifted women was not very fruitful—about as fruitful as to compare Westminster Abbey with the Parthenon. Both were first rate in their own line, but altogether too dissimilar for comparison.

The emotional side of religion did not appeal quite so much to Acton as some of its other sides, but he re-echoed the words of one of his allies who, writing in this Review of Mrs. Craven's principal work, used the phrase 'These consecrated pages.'

Like the late Sir James Stephen, who, when at the bar, defended so many of his 'unfortunate friends,' as he used to call them, he had a bad opinion of people who dealt in murder, irrespective of their motives, and confounded in a common horror men so different as Mazzini and S. Carlo Borromeo. Such a way of looking at things

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made it difficult for him to entertain for the Holy See that reverence and affection which is felt towards it by many of the faithful.

On p. 170 we find the remark:

It was an interesting question whether the Pope would definitely and unconditionally condemn murder, whether from religious or political motives. It would have borne untold consequences, as a direct revocation of the Vatican system, which stands or falls with the doctrine that one may murder a Protestant. But I don't believe that so audacious a change of front would have moved a single priest in Ireland.

Again on p. 185 occurs the following:

The Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes. It stands out from all those things in which they co-operated, followed, or assented as the distinctive feature of Papal Rome.

It was set up, renewed, and perfected by a long series of acts emanating from the supreme authority in the Church. No other institution, no doctrine, no ceremony is so distinctly the individual creation of the Papacy, except the Dispensing Power. It is the principal thing with which the Papacy is identified, and by which it must be judged.

The principle of the Inquisition is the Pope's sovereign power over life and death. Whoever disobeys him should be tried and tortured and burnt. If that cannot be done, formalities may be dispensed with, and the culprit may be killed like an outlaw—that is to say, the principle of the Inquisition is murderous, and a man's opinion of the Papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination.

If he honestly looks on it as an abomination, he can only accept the Primacy with a drawback, with precaution, suspicion and aversion for its acts.

If he accepts the Primacy with confidence, admiration, unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder.

Therefore, the most awful imputation in the catalogue of crimes rests, according to the measure of their knowledge and their zeal, upon those whom we call Ultramontanes. The controversy, primarily, is not about problems of theology; it is about the spiritual state of a man's soul, who is the defender, the promoter, the accomplice of murder. Every limitation of Papal credit and authority, which effectually dissociates it from that reproach, which breaks off its solidarity with assassins and washes away the guilt of blood, will solve most other problems. At least, it is enough for my present purpose to say that blot is so large and foul that it precedes and eclipses the rest, and claims the first attention.

Language like this has been heard hitherto only on ultra-Protestant platforms. In the mouth of a most devout Catholic who, before 1870, had not the 'slightest shadow of doubt about any dogma of the Catholic Church,' it is surely one of the strangest of portents.

Acton was at once the most Catholic of Catholics and the least papistical of Papists. After all his strong opposition to the proclamation of Infallibility, and after all the hard sayings he was accustomed to use about the Papacy, it is strange to find that he 'satisfied his bishop.' His bishop must, I think, have been a very sensible man, unwilling to lose, for a formula, the best lamb in his flock. If their communications were conducted *vivâ voce*, I should much like to have been the mouse behind the curtain. The interview must have

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closely resembled that historic one described by Byron at the commencement of which

> . . . betwixt his Darkness and his Brightness
> There passed a mutual glance of great politeness.

In all churches west of the Vistula, a great many pious opinions which were almost unquestioned, save amongst the very learned, fifty years ago, have gone on the wind's wings. If the current which is setting against venerable illusions, even in the Roman Church, is reinforced by a current of anti-papal opinion, the next generation and the one which will come after it will certainly witness some very strange developments.

The use of the word Ultramontane in these letters puzzles me. Pretty late in the sixties I had said in an article that Acton and his associates in the *Chronicle* were not Ultramontanes, but he maintained that they were. Whether it was that in later life he fell into the ordinary parlance, or whether after the Council of 1870 he deliberately changed the phrase by which he wished to be designated, I am not sure. The word has altered its meaning more than once in the course of history.

A great deal is said in various parts of this work about Canon Liddon, of whom the writer thought very highly 'as a spiritual force,' but distrusted chiefly as not being sufficiently hostile to the Papacy. Incidentally a somewhat startling opinion of the Canon's is quoted to the effect that Forbes, the Bishop of Brechin, was 'the first divine in the Church.'

On p. 195 the opinion is expressed that Odo Russell left a larger gap than he filled. I do not agree. I think that he was peculiarly well suited to be British Ambassador at Berlin all through a most difficult and thoroughly disagreeable time. I could not name anyone, in or out of the diplomatic service, who would have done the same work quite as well, but I could easily name an abler man who in the same capacity, at the same time, would have blown everything to pieces in about six months.

It is curious that Acton cared so much for Shakespeare's Sonnets, for his interest in poetry in general was very slight. He seems to have studied them under the guidance of Mr. Simpson, a man of ability, who differed, I apprehend, in some 'nice tenents' (to use Cowley's phrase when speaking of Crashaw) from the usual standard of orthodoxy. At least I remember that when I expressed to him my surprise at the very kindly way in which the author of the *Ideal of a Christian Church* had spoken to me about Clough, he replied: 'Oh, I dare say he would speak very kindly of you; but he would call me an Atheist.'

A good deal of exception has been taken to Acton's unmeasured laudation of Mr. Gladstone, but it is only fair to remember that he was entirely under the glamour of that extraordinary personality;

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that he most fully agreed with him on many points as to which there was great hesitation even in his own camp; and further that he was writing to a daughter who sympathised in the strongest possible way with her father's views, hopes, and aspirations. No passage in these letters will be more discussed than the pages to which I refer, but whether they agree or disagree with them they will have to be considered by all who may hereafter treat of the same subject, for there can be no doubt that Acton had opportunities of studying one of the most complex of characters, which were shared by very few other men.

I have mentioned elsewhere that in early days, when he was member for Carlow, Acton owned a bloodhound which was rather a compromising pet, as it particularly liked biting Irishmen. Some of his friends could have wished that some more authoritative successor of this discriminating animal had remained a permanent and influential member of his household; but it was not so to be. Whether it was that he followed Gladstone, as I used to think, or, as I have been since assured by one who had the fullest opportunity of knowing the truth, Gladstone followed him, he passed along with his leader into the Home Rule camp and the great ruin came.

There is a common idea that Acton did not write much, fulfilling Clough's aspiration 'to know his knowledge to the world unknown,' but that is entirely a mistake. He wrote enormously. Anyone who looks at the elaborate Bibliography published by the Royal Historical Society, will see with amazement how much he actually put forth in the shape of articles, long or short, and I doubt whether even that Bibliography, careful as it is, contains everything. An immense number of the papers mentioned in it were quite short, like those in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, which he particularly affected, but together they would fill volumes upon volumes. I hope and believe that ere long some of his Cambridge lectures, as well as some of his essays, will be given to the world in book form. The volume under review will, I think, throw light upon them and have light reflected on it.

His huge library, which had already in 1860, when he was only six-and-twenty, reached 30,000 volumes, was kept in a large room he built for it at Aldenham, which possessed none of the charms we usually associate with the word. Most of it was collected with a view to writing a book on the History of Liberty. Well did Mrs. Drew call that book, in memory of a beautiful story by Henry James, *The Madonna of the Future.* Acton thought liberty an end, not a means, but liberty in that sense is a hallucination, which no age and no country has ever seen translated into fact. His too exclusive worship of it in later life was the result of a reaction, for I well remember the time when he was prepared to sacrifice its claims, all too much, to the idea of unity.

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He might with advantage have remembered the words of Castelar, who knew only too well, by terrible experience, where unrestrained liberty may land a nation, and who said to the Italian Radicals:

> That which Julius II. could not effect with his cannon, nor Leo X. with his arts, that which Savonarola could not make a reality by giving himself to God, nor Machiavelli by giving himself to the devil, has been done by you. You have made Italy one, you have made Italy free, you have made Italy independent. All this you, who are without doubt the most favoured of the generations, have attained by having reunited to the efforts of previous generations and to their martyrdoms the vital idea *par excellence*, the powerful idea *par excellence*, the idea of liberty. But it is not enough to have succeeded. It is necessary at all costs to keep what you have got. A large experience teaches us how much easier it is to found than to consolidate public liberties. For the first, one great but common and rudimentary virtue is sufficient—the virtue of courage. For the second are required wisdom and prudence. Everything may be left in part to the hazards of the unforeseen, everything except the fate of nations.

It is strange that a man who had read so much and thought so much as Acton should have been an enthusiast for, as distinguished from a cool-headed friend to, Liberty. That the search after Liberty has improved the world in a thousand ways is unquestionable, but to expect ever to find it is to put oneself on the level of those who believe that the rainbow points to a mighty treasure which it is possible to seize.

It is well indeed that the *opus magnum* was never written. I fear that when we had got to the end of it we should have said with the Scottish statesman, after listening to Lord Belhaven's great speech against the Union, 'I awoke, and lo! it was a dream.' No! It is not to Acton as a politician or as a political philosopher that we must pay our homage. It is to the accumulator and dispenser of enormous knowledge, to the genial companion, to the good friend, to the man who had seen the cities and known the minds of men in many lands and in many ages. We need not attribute to him merits which he had not. He had enough of his own to throw a shadow over the lives of all who knew him, when he passed away, and to leave a gap in those lives which no one else will fill.

M. E. Grant Duff.

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BIRD LIFE AT BINGHAM'S MELCOMBE

(*Concluding the series*)

THE neighbourhood of Bingham's Melcombe is not so favoured, as regards either the number of its birds or the variety of their species, as some of those which I have described in previous papers. There is little water or water-meadow, little bog, no heather. The nightingale is common at Melcombe Park, three miles away, but does not visit Melcombe itself. The flint-bestrewn ploughed fields on the uplands and the 'broad backs of the bushless downs' do not afford the kind of cover which attracts, in any number, the sweetest songsters of distant Africa, the blackcaps, the garden warblers, the whitethroats, the willow-wrens, which add so much to the melodies and the charm of our English spring. There is not sedge enough to attract the sedge-warbler with its night-long, rather rasping song, or the reed-warbler with its exquisite little nest suspended within four reeds, or the black-headed bunting, their frequent companion.

On the other hand, there is, to begin with, a large rookery; and no true lover of birds can have a rookery in his immediate neighbourhood without finding, during three months of the year at least, ample material for observation, for speculation, for amusement, for delight. We think we know the rook well, and there are few people, living even in the murkiest of towns, who can be wholly ignorant of his general look, who have never seen his nest or heard his caw. But who has ever been able to get to the bottom of his character or can reconcile the many contradictions in it? A bird so friendly and so sociable and yet so litigious; so fearless of man during one quarter of the year, so shy and so suspicious of him during the remainder; so staid, so sober, so solemn, so eminently respectable in appearance, and yet so droll and so unconventional in all his movements; so aristocratic in his tastes and tendencies, and yet so democratic in his polity; so tenderly solicitous for his young, as long as they are in the nest, or perching above and around it, yet so callous to their sufferings, should any one of them happen to flutter or fall to the ground; so sharp-sighted that they always know a gun from a walking-stick and often, it is said, a Sunday from a working-day, and yet so inobservant as often to mistake a hamper tied to a branch for an old

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nest, and hasten to build their own new ones alongside of it; living, lastly, in a community so highly organized that no fresh tree can ever be occupied without the formal consent of the whole body—that they never light upon the ground to feed without stationing a sentinel to watch over their safety, on whose fidelity they implicitly rely, or to whose note of alarm or word of command they give instant and implicit obedience, so law-abiding that they have often been seen to assemble on the ground, place some offender in the midst, as in a court of justice, discuss his case in all its bearings, and, after due deliberation, fall upon and put him to death, and yet who, as individuals, have no scruple of conscience in committing petty larcenies of every description on one another, if only they can do so unobserved, carrying off the sticks, the food, or even the eggs from the nest of their nearest neighbour. Reconcile, if you can, these and half a dozen other similar contradictions in this familiar and delightful tenant of our parks or shrubberies, and then, and not till then, say that you have fathomed his character.

Who would not like to overhear, if only he could understand, the speeches for the prosecution and the defence—for, doubtless, some such there are—the summing-up of the judge, and the pronouncing of the sentence, in the solemn Areopagus of the rook nation? I incline to think that it must have been, not the exigencies of the rhyme alone, but a sense of the inherent fitness of things—it must have been their practice of assembling in these solemn convocations, their staid demeanour, their looks of mellow wisdom, their 'customary suits of solemn black,' combined, perhaps, with the resemblance presented by the queer white patches of skin at the base of the bill and round the chin to the white tie and bands or 'choker' of the parson of old times, which determined the important part assigned to the rook in the 'lamentable tragedy of the death and funeral of Cock Robin:'—

> Who'll be the Parson?
> 'I,' said the Rook;
> 'With my little Book,
> I'll be the Parson.'

Rooks build their nests, by preference, on the very slenderest boughs of the very tallest elms, which they calculate are able to bear their weight; and it is seldom that they make a mistake. It is seldom that a tree laden with nests—no slight addition, in themselves, to an already top-heavy elm—is blown down, whatever the force of the wind, or a single nest dislodged—so skilfully are they constructed—till the work of the breeding season is over. Most amusing is it to watch the rook in all the grotesque antics of his love-making, and most interesting is it to follow the progress of the nest from its first beginning to the very end. The love-sick bird makes desperate efforts to serenade in song the object of his

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affection, and his well-known caw sometimes rises into a shrill treble, sometimes sinks into a deeper bass. There are few things which love cannot accomplish in the world, but it cannot make a rook sing. Virgil, the poets' poet, the master of Dante, the author of so many of those single lines which, if heard only once, haunt for ever afterwards the chambers of the memory and the imagination, who had, in his early youth, watched the rooks near his native Mantua—where or whereabouts alone, in Italy, it has been recently observed that they still build—in his later life, on the lovely Bay of Naples, recalled in lines of singular and clinging beauty this episode of his youth:

> Soft then the voice of rooks from indrawn throat,
> Thrice, four times o'er repeated; and full oft
> On their high cradles, by some hidden joy
> Gladdened beyond their wont, in bustling throngs
> Among the leaves they riot; so sweet it is,
> When showers are spent, their own loved nests again
> And tender brood to visit.[1]

It would be difficult to say whether this description by Virgil of the rook at the nesting-time, or that of the rapid and noisy flight of the rock-pigeon when first disturbed from its rocky cavern, soon passing into a noiseless skimming, without one motion of its wings, or that of the swallow careering round the courts and colonnades of some Roman noble, sipping, as he flies, from the *impluvium* or the fish-ponds, or, again, that of the wild swoop of the eagle on the swan in mid air, and the tempest of feathers which falls from his victim to the ground, shows the more accurate and loving observation of bird-nature, or is expressed in more characteristically exquisite language.

Rooks are wasteful alike of their labour and of their materials in building. I have watched them at Melcombe fly over trees of every variety, suitable to their purpose, in order that they may visit Mount Pleasant, half a mile away, and there break off twigs for their growing habitation. Back the bird comes, with a stick sometimes longer than itself, which it often drops half-way, from sheer exhaustion. It never cares to pick it up, but goes straight back again to get another. If, during the delicate work of interlacing it with the fabric, he drops it to the ground, there it lies. The ground beneath a rookery is strewn with sticks numerous enough to construct double the number of the nests in the trees above. The rooks here have, of late years, deserted, in great part, the stately elms of the avenue, and transferred themselves to the younger and more vigorous ash and oak and fir trees of the plantation and the fish-ponds, two hundred yards away. The little migration is a danger-signal which all can understand, but nothing can be done to avert the danger.

There is an Indian proverb, which Lord Lawrence was fond of

[1] The translator is Mr. James Rhoades, quoted by Mr. W. Warde Fowler in his charming *Year with the Birds*, p. 150.

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quoting, 'Disputes about land are best settled on the land,' and when the nest of a too self-assertive rook is built in a tree in advance of the colony, and without its formal leave, the rooks assemble on the disputed tree, and discuss the matter, like so many sanitary inspectors, in all its bearings, and end by 'certificating' or condemning it. 'Not guilty, but don't do it again' seems sometimes to be the burden of their verdict; for it does not follow, even if the young are safely reared in the tree licensed for that year, that it will be occupied again the next. Something, perhaps, may have happened in the interim which makes the senators determine that it is unfit for rook occupation. Sometimes, so I have been told by one who watched them narrowly in early youth, a solitary position far from the rookery is assigned as a punishment to an obstinate marauder who has committed the unpardonable fault of being found out once too often. Social ostracism for a year must be a severe penalty to a bird so eminently sociable as the rook; but, like ostracism at Athens, it seems to be carefully divested of all painful consequences afterwards; for next year the culprit is allowed to return to the community with all his old rights and privileges unimpaired. Unlike Draco of Athens, whose laws were said to be written, not in ink but in blood, and who recognised but one penalty for all offences—death, rooks recognise degrees in guilt and reserve the extreme penalty of the law for the more heinous.

The saddest anniversary in the calendar of 'Parson Rook' is the massacre of the innocents, which takes place in May. Is it justifiable in a lover of birds, or not? Self-contradictory arguments are often advanced for it. The rooks, it is said, will become too numerous in the neighbourhood if the young are not killed off; or, again, they will become too few, for they will forsake it altogether. Rooks do sometimes forsake a rookery on a sudden, but not, I think, for this cause. For sentimental reasons, such as the pulling-down of the old house round which they have grown up, or even, it is said, the departure of the hereditary owner and the arrival of a newcomer, they have been known to leave it in disgust. And it is these partial migrations which suggest, perhaps, the true answer to the much-debated question whether rooks do more good or harm to the farmer. There is little doubt, I think, that feeding as they do, for nine months out of the twelve, almost exclusively upon grubs, especially the wire-worm, which is so fatal to the crops, they are, if only they are moderate in number, of incalculable service. If they do pull up some few ears of corn while it is growing, or eat a little of it when it is ripe, or pilfer the potato beds, a bird-boy put in, for a week or two at the critical time, is sufficient protection for the one, and a few skilfully interwoven threads will scare them from the other. But if they are allowed to multiply inordinately, as they

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would do if there were no rook-shooting, they must, in default of sufficient grubs, betake themselves to the crops; or, as they are accused of doing in dry seasons on the Scottish moors, they will destroy the eggs. Where they are moderate in number, watch them, if you will, while one portion of a big field is being sown and another is being turned up by the plough, and you will see that they sedulously follow the ploughman to get the grubs which he exposes to view, while they leave the sower alone.

When rooks take to building in trees where the litter which they make would be objectionable, it has been found difficult to dislodge them by any method which is not destructive or cruel; but Sir Peter Lumsden, of Candahar and Penjdeh fame, a keen naturalist as well as sportsman, tells me that he accomplished his object in a way which, without killing one of them, affords a striking and, I think, hitherto unnoticed proof of the solicitude of the older generation of birds for the younger, whom they have enjoined or allowed to settle in their neighbourhood. A young colony of some thirty pairs of rooks, an offshoot of a much larger rookery also in his grounds, had taken possession of a wood under which ran a zigzag path leading from his garden down to a stream which falls into the Spey, two miles off, at Craigellachie. This path he was anxious to keep spick and span; but no expenditure of powder underneath the trees was accepted by the young colonists as notice to quit. It was suggested that the firing of some signal-rockets towards the nests after dark might answer the purpose. A couple of dozen rockets, discharged in succession, seemed likely with their loud explosions and showers of fiery stars to be awe-inspiring enough in any well-regulated community of rooks. But the birds took no notice. They slept or appeared to sleep on, and not so much as a solitary caw evinced any alarm. The same expedient was tried the next night, with the same result. On the third night, double the number of rockets were fired, with no better success; but at sunrise next day it was clear that the fathers of the rookery had made up their minds that the triple night attack meant danger. They held a council of war in the old rookery, rose from it in dense clouds, circled high in air round their more callous descendants, cawed their loudest, and then fell, with one consent, on their nests. Within three or four hours they had destroyed them completely and carried all the sticks away. It is some seven years since this happened, and they have never attempted to refound a colony in so uncanny a spot.

A continuous calendar of the doings of the rook would be as interesting, I think, as the calendar kept by old Gilbert White of the doings of his old tortoise, Timothy. They often amuse themselves for a good part of the day by soaring high in air almost out of sight, and, from time to time, by dropping suddenly on each other in sheer merriment, or as if shot, to the ground. 'The rooks are blown

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about the skies,' says Tennyson, a close observer of the habits of the bird, and so they often are; but, as often as not, the reverse is true, and they cling fast through the tempest to their ancestral trees.

> The rook sits high, when the blast sweeps by,
> Right pleased with his wild see-saw;
> And though hollow and bleak be the fierce wind's shriek,
> It is mocked by his loud caw, caw.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Oh! the merriest bird the woods e'er saw
> Is the rook with his wild caw, caw.

During a good half of the year, as we shall see, the rooks are not continuous tenants of their rookery, but they always make a point of looking in upon it, each morning and evening, as they return from or to their customary roosting-place, just to see how it is getting on. A few of them often linger in the trees behind the rest; while, in autumn, they sometimes begin to repair such of their nests as have stood the summer well, or, as they think, may be useful as a foundation for those of the next year. Thus, in the height of summer or in early autumn, when deep silence seems to have fallen upon tuneful Nature, when she is taking her siesta and all the woods are still,

> The cawing rooks alone
> Maintain the song of life,
> And prate around the elms
> With hoarse rough colloquy,
> A music in itself,
> Or, if not music, joy.

The rook is the most sociable of birds, not excepting even the starling. They feed in company, they breed in company—whereas the starlings, when they have once paired, disperse widely for the purpose—they roost in company; not indeed in their own rookery, but, what is a sign of greater sociability still, in a vast collection of rookeries, a rook Parliament, in spots which, for some unknown reason, have attracted them for generations. Shakespeare had noticed—as what did he not notice?—this peculiarity of the 'sable pensioner.'

> Light thickens, and the crow
> Makes way to the rooky wood,
> Good things of day begin to droop and drowse
> Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse.

Two such 'Parliaments of rooks' I have had the opportunity of watching from early times—one of them at Warmwell, four miles from my old home at Stafford; the other, the property of the late Mr. Mansel Pleydell, the most delightful of men, a great lover of Nature and, for many years, President of the Dorset Field Club, at Clenstone, five miles from my present home at Bingham's Melcombe.

Let me describe the Warmwell gathering. Warmwell is a beautiful old Elizabethan manor-house with a rookery close in front

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of it. From about an hour before sunset, flock after flock of rooks from Kingston and Came, from Stafford and Lewell, from Tincleton and Moreton, and perhaps a dozen other rookeries, begin to arrive in rapid succession, till the number of the whole amounts to many thousands. They pitch down on a grass field about half a mile from the manor-house, blackening the ground, and are there joined by vast flocks of jackdaws coming in from the white chalk cliffs of the Dorsetshire coast, beginning with White Nose, some four, and stretching on to Lulworth Cove, some eight or ten miles away, the whole of them pitted with their nesting-holes. The solemn cawing of the rooks is thus enlivened with the shrill and cheerful chatter of the jackdaws. Meanwhile the home rookery of Warmwell, 'on hospitable thoughts intent,' and quite alive to their responsibility as hosts, remain quietly at home, ready to receive their numerous, their innumerable, visitors. At last, the latter rise in a body from the field, sweep round and round, or rise high in air with their myriad-throated cries, and then settle down on the trees reserved for them by their hosts at Warmwell. Once and again, as if moved by one common impulse, they all caw and chatter together in full chorus, and then, with equal suddenness, relapse into total silence. A stick, a leaf almost, might be heard to drop in the rookery. Then, as darkness comes on apace, not in one vast body, but each flock by itself, and each followed by another at a definite interval of time, each of them 'straight as the crow flies,' and each led by the ragged-winged 'many-wintered crow which leads the clanging rookery home,' they wing their way to the 'rooky wood,' a deep, dark, and damp plantation between the water-meadows and the heather more than a mile away, where they, as their fathers and their fathers' fathers have done before them, rest for the night. The Warmwell rooks, with the invariable etiquette, the true chivalry, of hospitality, always remain on their own trees till they have seen the last of their guests off safely first, and then, and not till then, 'bethinking themselves,' as Homer would say, 'of their own repose,' follow in their wake—

> And down they come upon the happy haunts,
> The pleasant greenery of the favoured groves,
> Their blissful resting-places.

The jackdaw abounds at Melcombe; and is like and yet unlike his constant companion, the rook. He is like him in his general appearance, in his habits, in his food; but he is more lissome, more lively, quicker in his flight, more graceful in his movements, especially when he is on the ground, more full of mischief, more domestic, and much less afraid of man. He makes himself at home everywhere, and claims a share of the food of the pigs, the pigeons, the chickens. He levies ample toll on the garden crops, especially on a row of peas,

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till one of his number, suspended high as Haman above it, *pour encourager les autres*, warns him off for the rest of the season. He builds in our hollow trees, in our chimneys, in our castles, in our churches, in our cathedrals.

> There is a bird who, by his coat
> And by the hoarseness of his note,
> Might be supposed a crow—
> A great frequenter of the Church,
> Where, bishop-like, he finds a perch
> And dormitory too.

No ruined castle, no cathedral in England, would know itself without its colony, sometimes its huge colony, of jackdaws. He is to the English cathedral much what the smaller kestrel is to the Cathedral of Toledo or the Mosque of Cordova in Spain. He appropriates every gargoyle, crowns every pinnacle or turret, perches by preference, chatters, and ruminates on the topmost vane. Well does the poet call him the 'steeple-living daw.' He nests in every nook and cranny of the building; takes the statues of Prophets and Apostles, saints and martyrs under his special patronage; and penetrates through the air-holes of the tower into the interior, littering the steps or filling the belfry with his ever-accumulating furniture. And what a lot he has to say about it all! In his more domestic character, he peers down, in the early morning, or even creeps down into our chimneys, as though he would like to know what we are going to have for breakfast, or at least whether the housemaid is properly sweeping the room. Sometimes, indeed, he helps her to light the fire. Finding that so many of our chimneys were blocked by their nests, and that it was so difficult to get them out, I unwillingly placed wire netting over the chimney-tops. One chimney was omitted. It happened to have a rather broad flue, reaching straight down from parapet to basement. The jackdaws discovered the omission, and dropped down it, every morning, enough sticks into the fireplace to light the fire. Finding that the sticks did not 'catch on' at the top of the broad flue, so as to make a foundation for the nest, they had apparently determined, with robust faith—as they will sometimes do in a tower—to build it right up, in defiance of all difficulties, from the very bottom.

In spite of all his shrewdness, the jackdaw is strangely wasteful of his labour, and shows much want of judgment while building his nest in a hollow tree. Why pile up sticks at all in a snug hollow, and why not content himself with that deliciously soft bed of cow's hair and wool and tags and rags of every description which he always constructs at the top of them, and in which his five or six grey-green eggs, with their black spots and blotches, look so inviting? And why, again, has not hereditary or personal experience taught him that when he wishes to put 'a round man into a square

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hole,' in other words, to get a long stick into a small opening, he must not take it by its middle and try to thrust it in in front of him —an impossible feat of gymnastics—but should hold it by the end, and draw or coax it in along with his slender body? The ground below the hole is strewn with the long sticks which, after many vain attempts, he drops with perfect *nonchalance*, and, like the rook, never cares to pick up again.

One of the biggest trees in our avenue, *statio notissima corvis*, in which no less than eleven pairs of jackdaws were accustomed to make their nests, was blown down two years ago, crushing an unlucky cow who was taking her Sunday siesta beneath. It proved to be hollow throughout, and contained many bushels of sticks in every stage of decay, of hair and wool, of owls' pellets and owls' feathers. More than once, I have known a pert and pushing jackdaw to occupy a hole in a tree in which an owl was already sitting on her eggs, pressing her loosely constructed nest almost down upon the bird of wisdom—dignity and impudence in very close quarters. But, if not a truce of God, at all events an armed neutrality seemed, in each case, to have been established between them. Since the big tree fell, and after a conference which they held at once on the stump, our colony of jackdaws—eleven pairs of them evicted at once from their ancestral abode, others of them shut out, about the same time, from the manor-house chimneys, and others, again, by the churchwardens from the church belfry—have been hard put to it to find proper lodgings. But they have strong local attachments. They do not appear to have diminished in numbers, and they have made shift, sometimes, to occupy a hole which a starling might think too close quarters, and, sometimes, a slight depression in a tree from which the nest stands up high in the light of day. Like the magpie, they know well how to accommodate themselves to circumstances.

Bring up a jackdaw from the nest, and he will be almost as amusing and mischievous as a magpie or a raven. He takes to his new position at once, and is on perfect terms of equality with the cat, the dog, the cocks and hens, and the cook. He easily learns to talk; and with his head held knowingly on one side, his bright, bluish eyes, and his neat tippet of grey feathers, he is always ready for 'treasons, stratagems, and spoils.'

> When nobody thinks of any such thing
> The little jackdaw hops off with the ring.

One characteristic of the jackdaw, and that the most lovable of all, I have never, I think, seen noticed, and that is his intense attachment to his mate. Though they go in flocks, the husband and wife are, I believe, always true to each other. Even in autumn and winter they may be seen sitting, a pair here and a pair there, on their favourite trees. But it is in early spring, before the work

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of nest-building begins, that their affection is most marked. There is no billing and cooing, no make-believe of flight and pursuit. They sit side by side, hour after hour, without a movement and without a sound, contented with themselves and with the world, and quite absorbed in their own hearts' happiness.

We are fortunate enough to have in the grounds of the manor-house, not as permanent residents, but as lodgers for a good third of the year, the two birds which surpass all other British birds in the brilliancy of their colouring—the kingfisher, with its rich chestnut breast and the gorgeous greens and blues of its back and wings and tail; and the green woodpecker, with its crest of crimson and black, and its body resplendent with greys and whites, and bright yellows and greens.

The little stream which I have already described as winding through the plantation has, on one side of it, a steeply-shelving bank of sand, rising above it to the height of some thirty feet, and covered with trees. Miniature landslips take place in this from time to time, leaving behind them almost perpendicular walls of sand; and it is in these for many years past—I can speak for some forty of them—that the kingfisher has found a secure home. The hole is always made by the bird itself, and is in a spot so sheer that it is impossible for a rat or weasel, and so crumbling that it is difficult for any larger foe, to climb up and disturb it. Its mouth is just large enough to admit the bird; it broadens somewhat inside, and has a slight upward trend, till, at the distance of three feet or more, it expands into a little circular chamber covered thickly with a bed of minute bones or bone-dust, on which repose in safety six or seven almost round eggs of glossy white, very brittle, and with a distinct tinge of pink from the yolk within. The bird always clings to the same hole till she is disturbed by a new landslip, which sometimes exposes to view the nest itself, with the castings, pellets, and bone-dust of many years. The new hole may be discovered by the fish-bones thrown out of it, which trickle in large quantities down the wall of sand on to the more level ground below. It has a noisome odour—what Shakespeare would call 'a very ancient fish-like smell'—and is filthy in the extreme. Yet the bird manages to pass in and out many times a day, a paragon of beauty, without one smudge or smirk on her lovely feathers. On leaving or entering her hole, the bird perches, for a minute or two, on a favourite branch just outside, hanging over the stream; and there, if you have been fortunate enough to hide yourself sufficiently from her bright and piercing eyes, you may watch all that is going on. She perhaps preens herself for a moment or two—though her feathers seem to need no preening—and then waits patiently for the ripple made by a small fish in the stream below. Down she plunges, head-foremost, into the water, glancing in the sunbeam as she disappears. She hardly

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ever misses her prey, and within two seconds she reappears, glistening more even than before, with the water-drops upon her feathers, and the silver sheen of the struggling minnow safely lodged in her large bill. A few blows upon its head against the branch below serve to kill or sufficiently to stun it. With a jerk of her head, she throws it down her throat, and then is off, up or down stream, to her next favourite perch.

If you have managed to hide successfully, take care never to show yourself till the bird is well out of sight, or she will be on the look-out for you in your lurking-place when she returns, and you will see little more. Always remember that it is not form or colour, it is sound and movement and scent, which scare the animal or bird you would wish to watch. Stand stock-still, and a hare or weasel will sometimes lollop right up to you and look you in the face. A rabbit will run up almost against your legs; a woodpigeon will pitch, and remain perched, within a few yards of your head. Move a muscle, wink with your eye, and they are off. On that same bough, a few weeks later, if fortune favours you, you will, after often listening to the cries of the hungry and fast-growing young kingfishers, deep within the earth, have the happiness of seeing some five of them sitting in a row, side by side, and already decked in something like their full plumage, waiting with impatient patience till the ever-active parent returns with a dragon-fly or a water-beetle, a gudgeon or a minnow, in her beak to feed them. If the stream is scantily supplied, as this is, with fish—which, by the way, is, I think, the reason why they do not stay with us all the year—and the parent-bird has to go far afield to find them, she is enabled by a kind provision of Nature to swallow several of them, and bring them back half-digested and doubly ready for the delicate frames of her ravenous young. The petrels or 'mutton-birds' of the Furneaux Islands, in Bass Strait—which, as Bishop Montgomery has shown, in an admirable description in the *Ibis*, have to go very far away to fish, and remain away from their young all day—come home, in the evening, similarly laden.

The kingfisher's flight is straight and swift as an arrow down the main river. She announces her approach, a second or two before you see her, by a shrill cry, three times repeated, as unmistakable in its sound as it is difficult to reproduce. Down she comes, flashing like a meteor in the sun, often closely pursued, in amorous play, by her mate, a second meteor, re-echoing her cry. As she approaches, it is her bright chestnut breast which most attracts attention; after she has passed, it is the tail coverts of verditer blue, the most exquisite of all colours, which enchains and entrances the eye and seems to leave behind it a trail of brilliancy. It is a little bit of the tropics transported, for the moment, into our more sombre northern atmosphere. In their flirtations, they will sometimes rise high in air and top the tallest trees. I have seen one fly over 'the old thatched rectory' at Stafford,

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making for the nest which, in one year, it constructed in a strange place indeed—a deep railway cutting. It happened to be the very year when the line had to be widened. Out flew the bird, almost in the face of the navvies who were unwittingly destroying her abode. They waited for her return, caught her in the hole, and killed her.

It is a strange instinct that enables the kingfisher, keeping, as she usually does, close to a running stream, to discover a small isolated pond which has been recently stocked with fish far away from it. There was a small pond in my garden at Harrow, a mile from the Kenton brook, into which I put a few small gold-fish. The kingfisher, though a very rare bird in those parts, discovered it, and came to claim his share. At the Down House, again, two miles from Blandford and the river Stour, Sir William Smith-Marriott constructed a small pond in which to rear young *fontinalis* trout. It was surrounded by bushes, and quite hidden from view till you came close upon it. A pair of kingfishers, nevertheless, soon appeared to claim their perquisite, and I am afraid the owner preferred the *fontinalis* trout to the kingfishers. How did they find the pond? The nearest water to which they could be making their way from the Stour was five miles away on the other side, and the intermediate country was as waterless as could be.

Little wonder is it, when the bird is so beautiful and its habits so remarkable, that legends grew and clustered round it from the earliest time. Ceyx, the husband of Alcyone, was drowned. Mad with grief, the widow flung herself into the sea after him, and her father, Æolus, the lord of the winds, changed, so it was said, the loving and ill-fated pair into halcyons or kingfishers, which built their floating nest of fish-bones upon the waves, and for twice seven days, in the depth of winter, sat upon their eggs, while Æolus kept the winds in prison—those 'halcyon days' which we talk of still.

> Blow, but gently blow, faire wind,
> From the deserted shore;
> And be as to the halcyon kind,
> Till we are ferried o'er.

The legend grew, and the halcyons themselves were soon supposed to be able to still the waves, and were addressed in prayer accordingly.

'May halcyons smooth the waves and calm the seas,' prays the Sicilian poet Theocritus. Nor did their knowledge of the winds and their power over them end with their lives. It clung to them even in death. The skin or the body of the halcyon, if hung up by a single thread, was supposed in England, from the time of Queen Elizabeth almost down to that of Queen Victoria, always to turn its bill to the quarter whence the wind was coming.

> But how now stands the wind?
> Into what quarter peers my halcyon's bill?

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says Marlowe. And Marlowe's greater contemporary, Shakespeare, alluding to this same belief, speaks of flatterers who

> Renege, affirm, and turn their halcyon beaks
> With every gale and vary of their masters.

The kingfisher has many enemies—'collectors' anxious to put him into a glass case; ladies, the slaves of fashion, who wear him in their hats; anglers, who construct their flies out of his wondrous feathers; and, worse still, fishing clubs, who place a price upon his head, and leave an ignorant and merciless water-bailiff to carry out their murderous behests. Degenerate followers these of Izaak Walton and his 'gentle craft'; for it is they who, above most men, ought to take pleasure in that which adds so much beauty and romance to the riverside. But better days are coming. The Thames Conservancy has already, as Mr. Cornish shows, made kingfishers to be common birds in the Thames Valley. The love of Nature and the love of beauty is a growing power, and the kingfishers may themselves expect, ere long, true 'halcyon days.'

Next after the owl and crow tribes I have always thought that the 'climbers'—the woodpeckers, the nut-hatch, the wryneck, and the tree-creeper—are the most interesting class of birds to watch. Like the Hamadryads of old, the guardian wood-nymphs who were believed, each of them, to come into existence, to flourish, and to die with the particular tree they guarded, their existence seems to be bound up with trees. Their life is in the woodlands or on the trees, and nowhere else. It is seldom indeed that they perch on trees; but they cling to them and they climb them; they excavate and nest in them. They seldom touch the ground; they never condescend to search a commonplace hedgerow. They are found only where trees are abundant, and they are most abundant where those trees are old and knotted and gnarled and tempest-riven and memory-laden, as they are in Savernake and Sherwood Forests.

And how admirably is their structure adapted—as is that of the sloth and other animals and birds of South America, which never touch the ground except by accident—to a strictly arboreal life! Look at their claws, pointing two forwards and two backwards, and so securing a firm grip of the tree. Look at the stiff feathers of the woodpecker's tail, pointing downwards and inwards, to serve as an additional support. Look at the narrow and shallow breast-bone, enabling the bird to press its body close against the bole of the tree. Look at the long and flexible neck, enabling the wryneck, for instance—the snakebird, as it is often called—to describe, this way and that, a full circle with it. Look at the long and strong and sharp bill; and, above all, look at the marvellously retractile tongue, which shoots out to more than twice the length of the bill, so that it can reach the deepest recesses in the tree, with its tip of horn

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furnished with little bristly feathers pointing backwards and coated with a glutinous secretion, of which, each time that it is drawn back into the mouth, it can find a fresh supply in the glands within, and from which no flying or creeping insect, once touched by it, can escape.

The green woodpecker is as cheery in his bearing as he is remarkable in his structure and brilliant in his plumage. Few sounds are more joyous than his 'laugh' in spring, his yaffala, yaffala, yaffala, which has given him one of his commoner local names, the 'yaffle.'

> The skylark in ecstasy sang from a cloud,
> And chanticleer crow'd, and the yaffle laughed loud.

Few birds have a greater variety of local and of pet names—rain-bird, hew-hole, wood-knacker, wood-spite, wood-wall, whet-ile, hufil, eccle, hecco, jar-peg, and popinjay, among them—a sure sign that he is a general favourite. Delightful, too, is the resonant tap, tap, tap, given in rapid succession—'the woodpecker tapping the hollow beech-tree'—which may be heard to a considerable distance, and is often the first thing to apprise you of his presence. Watch him at his every-day work. He is shy and solitary, but his size and his bright colouring enable you to see a good deal. He generally pitches low down on the trunk of a tree, and works his way upwards in spirals, like the warrior soldiery round Trajan's Pillar, showing himself now on this, now on that side of the tree. He searches every nook, 'tipper-tapping' as he goes, now to dislodge any solitary insect which may be lurking beneath, now to strip off a big bit of bark which will expose any number of them a once, and now, perhaps, for future purposes, to test the solidity or otherwise of the tree. He always uses his tongue rather than his beak to secure his prey; and when he nears the top of the tree, having examined on his way up one or two of the bigger branches which point upwards, he never goes down again, as a nut-hatch would do with ease, to scan the parts that he has missed—he appears to be unable to do so—but flies off in a series of graceful and regular curves to a neighbouring tree. It should be mentioned that, at one time of year, the green woodpecker forms a marked exception to the rule that climbing birds spurn the ground, for he is passionately fond of ants and their eggs, and you may see him searching the pastures, and passing, with long and very awkward hops, from one ant-heap to another made of swelling, but still more or less solid turf, and tearing them open with his bill; or he will visit the much larger and looser heaps made by the big black ants out of fir-tree spines in the fir-wood, and, plunging his long red tongue at full length into them, he draws it back again quite black with warmly protesting ants.

But, best of all, watch the woodpecker, if you have the chance, at the time of the year when she is most accessible—when, that is,

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she is either at home, or preparing the home that is to be. I was able, last year, to watch the whole process from beneath a thick yew-tree, just fifteen yards from the chestnut in the shrubbery which she had selected. When by 'sounding' a tree—a beech, a birch, or an elm by choice—the woodpecker has found one which she believes to be hollow at the heart, she pecks her way towards it by a geometrically round hole. More often than not she is mistaken; for you may find ten holes which have been begun and then abandoned, for one which she has been able to complete. She wastes no time, her mistake once discovered, and goes elsewhere. When, at last, she has penetrated a tree which proves to be rotten at the core, she has the far more serious labour—for she has so little room for her body and so little purchase for her bill—of carrying the hole down a foot or two at right angles; and then, upon the collected wood-dust, without making any further nest, she deposits her five or six eggs. They are of a brilliant white, which, while they are unblown, allow delicate lines to be seen through them extending from end to end of the egg, as delicate and regular as the exquisite little lines on the blossom of the wood-sorrel.

Let me describe briefly what I saw and heard while watching this particular woodpecker. The chips flew fast and thick from the soft chestnut-tree as the bird clung to the bole and kept hammering away at the spot she had selected only six feet from the ground. The surrounding grass was soon white with them. There was no attempt at concealment, though a path ran close by. Indeed, for one woodpecker which I have known to go to the enormous trouble of carrying away the chips to a distance, I have known ten which left them exactly as they fell. The excavation of the hole was the work of days; and as soon as it was finished a pushing, self-asserting starling determined, as it too often does, to appropriate her labours. The woodpecker is a peaceful bird; I would almost say, she is for 'peace at any price.' 'Anything for a quiet life' would seem to be her motto. She will allow herself to be ejected by a starling whom she could kill with one stroke of her powerful bill. She will even allow, as I have more than once observed, a nut-hatch, a bird not half her size, to take possession of her hole, and calmly to plaster it up with mud till it is of a size to admit no bird bigger than herself. Strange that a bird so eminently pacific should have been selected to be the sacred bird of Mars; that she should have been allowed to join the she-wolf in nursing his infant twins, Romulus and Remus; and should ever afterwards have been regarded not only as one of the most weatherwise of birds, but also one of the most trustworthy birds of omen, by the most martial people that ever lived, the conquerors of the world, the ancient Romans. *Martio cognomine insignes*, says Pliny of them, *et in auspicatu magni*. I ought perhaps to add that the starling has such a disagreeable odour, and is of such dirty habits, that no fastidious and self-respecting bird, like the woodpecker, let alone her

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disposition, would ever enter a hole that he had long occupied. In vain did I try to scare away starling after starling, which came 'prospecting' for itself; and it was not till I had shot four of them, that the others gave up their burglarious attempts, and the woodpecker, which, together with her mate, had been sadly looking on from some apple-trees in the adjoining orchard, returned to her hole, pulled out the starling's wisps of hay, laid her eggs, and hatched her young in safety. As I came, day by day, to the hole, the bird would climb up and look out at me with her crimson crest and her beautiful eyes, and then fall back with an 'All right; I see you mean no harm' sort of expression. It was interesting, too, to feel with the hand the stifling heat developed inside the hole, as the young birds grew towards maturity in their narrow quarters, and to listen to the extraordinary hissing sound, concentrated and almost demoniacal in its intensity, when one tapped the tree gently outside. It reminded one of what Milton calls the 'universal hiss' which came from the fallen angels, when they found themselves suddenly transformed into serpents,

> Who hiss for hiss returned, with forked tongue
> To forked tongue.

And most interesting of all it was to see the young birds when they were fully fledged, but had not yet found their wings, clinging on to the bole above the nest or climbing up it, till, at the first alarm, they slunk back into it as into a safe harbour of refuge. The hole is now occupied by a colony of bats, and I fear that no nut-hatch or titmouse—no, not even a starling—will ever deign to enter it hereafter.

I have dwelt at length on some of the birds which are most characteristic of Bingham's Melcombe; at others I can only glance. The moor-hen is a constant inhabitant of the fishponds and the brook. The wild duck often builds her nest on one of the islands in the ponds, and gives to her adventurous brood their first lesson in navigation there. Vast flocks of wood-pigeons from the beech-woods of Milton Abbey visit the fields and coombs in winter, while, in summer, the woods are resonant with their love-lorn plaints and with the low crooning of the turtle-dove—one of the most soothing sounds in Nature. The jay, the most beautiful and restless of his tribe, with the rich chestnut plumage of his body, his dainty crest incessantly rising and falling, his wing-coverts with their alternating bars of white and blue, sometimes awakens the plantation with his harsh scream, which, in the breeding season, drops into a short, low love-note. A pair of wheat-ears may occasionally be seen on the open downs, while two or three pairs of stone-chats are always flitting nervously from furze bush to furze bush on the hill above the house, or perching on the topmost spray and scolding vigorously the intruder. The yellow-hammer is to be found in every hedge which

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skirts the chalk downs; the bullfinch descends in numbers, in early spring, to levy heavy toll upon the buds of the fruit-trees of the garden; and the goldfinch, the most gaudy and perhaps the most vain of birds, which, a few years ago, seemed to be dying out everywhere, is now, thanks to the Wild Birds' Preservation Act, becoming one of the commoner finches. Three years ago, in autumn, I saw some hundreds of them congregated together in a berry-laden double hedge; and two or three pairs always deign to visit the garden in the spring, building their nests in the yew-hedge or in the apple-trees. A large holly-bush in the garden, close to the house, which is always thickly covered, by the end of October, with fast-reddening berries, loses them all by the middle of November. They are all knocked down or carried away by hosts of missel-thrushes, song-thrushes, and blackbirds. All other holly-bushes in the neighbourhood they keep in reserve till they are hard put to it in the sharpest cold of winter. It is useless to try to scare them away from our and their pet bush. Why is this? Is it that these particular holly-berries are sweeter in themselves than others, or are they sweeter in the eyes of the beautiful marauders because their sweetness is a stolen one? They knock off and waste many more than they carry off; and feeding on their remnants we have, within the week in which I am writing this, seen twice over, for the first time in this neighbourhood, the shy and solitary hawfinch. Among rarer birds still, I may mention a hoopoe which was seen, and, happily, not shot, in April last, and was afterwards observed, unhurt, in a quite different part of Dorset, and three buzzards, two of which pitched on a tree close to us in the sharpest frost of last winter, while the third was seen lazily beating over the rabbit warren in one of the later autumn fogs.

In the early summer morning, the bowling-green is the favourite resort of all those birds who are most alive to the fundamental truth that 'it is the early bird that catches the worm.' Look out of the window upon it, at the very first dawn of day, and listen to 'The earliest pipe of half-awaken'd birds' in the shrubs close by. You may see, if you are lucky, the hedgehog scuttling off, when, like the ghost in *Hamlet*, he 'scents the morning air,' from the soft sweet grass which he has been searching all night for insects, to the friendly shelter of the yew-hedge. You may see the rabbit which has managed, in spite of every obstacle, to push his way into the garden, taking his last nibble at the forbidden fruit or flower. Presently, down upon the grass there comes with a flop, a cock blackbird, still more than half-asleep; he is followed by another and another; then drop in the song-thrushes; then the more lively and active starlings; then the 'careful' and friendly robin; and then the little, cringing, unobtrusive hedge-sparrow; till the whole of the lawn is dotted with bird life in action.

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But the true proprietors of the bowling-green—our and its prime favourites—the two birds which will hardly leave it through the live-long summer's day, do not appear till a little later in the morning: the spotted fly-catcher and the water-wagtail. The fly-catcher claims as his department the lawn-tennis net, the croquet-hoops, the garden-seats. From these he watches for each passing gnat or fly or moth, and with quick, graceful, noiseless flight dashes out on them as they pass. You hear a slight click of the slender bill; and the bird, after sometimes catching by repeated zig-zags three of them in one flight, returns, perhaps a dozen times over, to his post of observation before he shifts to the next. His mate, you may be sure, is sitting on her nest not far away; nor will it be long before you see him visit her. He does not mind being watched; though, as you approach the sanctuary, he will do his best to scold you away with his little tremulous complaint.

But a still more welcome and still more cheery tenant of the lawn is the pied or water wagtail—the 'polly-wash-dish,' as people sometimes call him. He seems to have taken a lease of it for life; he claims it as all his own, and resents any intrusion upon it. Watch his movements; he runs two or three yards with his little nimble feet. He stops and thinks, his long pied tail, longer, in proportion, even than the magpie's, and something of the same colours, shaking up and down, as if it could not be still. He dashes off again, taking a turn now to the right, now to the left, as he catches sight of his tiny prey. Now and again, he springs a foot or two into the air to catch a fly upon the wing. Then he dashes forward, as if he were in for a long race, faster than you would think such slender legs could carry him. But again he stops dead short, digging his bill into the grass as though he would bury himself in it, his tail high in air as though he would turn a complete somersault—and a somersault it would often be, were it not for the grip that his long, slightly curved hind claw has upon the turf. His nest is safely hidden in the creepers of the house or in some niche or ledge of the garden walls. You are anxious to discover it; he is equally anxious to conceal it. When his mouth is crammed with insects, he will fly to the roof-ridge, and, perfectly aware that you are watching him, will watch you, in turn, for many minutes together, leaving his mate and young ones to hunger as they may, rather than betray his secret. The wagtail frequently migrates from one part of the country to another, and sometimes congregates in flocks; but he pairs for life, and the same pair always reappear, sometimes when they are least expected, and all the more welcome from their occasional absence, on their favourite lawn. Their devotion to one another is extreme, as a scene I witnessed some forty years ago, but which is as fresh in my memory as if I had seen it yesterday, will show. I will relate it, and with it I will conclude this paper and this series of papers on bird life.

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A wagtail had been killed, probably by a stone, and was lying dead in the middle of the circular drive in front of the Down House, Blandford. The survivor seemed beside himself with grief. Like Eve in Paradise, he 'knew not what death was,' or, at most, the reality was only gradually breaking in upon him. He kept running up to the body with loud and plaintive call-note. He called, but there was no response. He caressed the body, caught hold of it with his little bill, coaxed it to move, drew it after him for a yard or two. He even tried to rise with it in the air. Then, like one distraught, he dashed away to the edge of the gravel drive, and then, as quickly, dashed back again, to go through the same mournful processes. Sometimes, he would fly right off in wavering, uncertain flight as far as the eye could follow him, as though he could bear the sight no longer; but, without stopping to rest, he hurried back in straighter and quicker flight, unable to tear himself away, or as if he hoped that something might have happened in his absence. This long-drawn tragedy, this abandonment of grief, I watched from the window, throughout the afternoon, till darkness came on. Next morning, the body had disappeared, and I saw the survivor no more.

R. Bosworth Smith.

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THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES

THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY A JOURNEY IN AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND TASMANIA

If there is any special reason which has prompted me, after my return from the Antipodes, to write an article upon the Church in Australasia, it is that I may find an opportunity of expressing, in some public manner, my gratitude for the singular kindness which I experienced, all through my journey, alike in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, from a great variety of persons, and perhaps most frequently, as is natural to a bishop on his travels, from the bishops and clergy of the Church. To pass through countries where everybody seems glad to welcome a stranger, if only he comes from the land which is always and everywhere known as 'home,' is a delightful experience; and that delight has recently been mine. It would be but a small return, and yet I would eagerly make it, if it were possible, by any word of mine, to excite or quicken, among Churchmen at home, an interest in the history, both past and present, of the Church in Australasia, and in other regions of the Empire beyond the seas.

I hope that nothing I may say, in appreciation of my own Church, will be taken as a disparagement of any other religious body. So far as I could judge, the activity of the Church is reflected outside the Church; or it may be that the activity outside the Church is reflected within her. The Roman Catholics are a powerful force not only in ecclesiastical affairs but, from their habit of voting *en masse* for the objects which they have at heart, in politics also. The Presbyterians, apart from their numerical strength, have always at their command the sagacity, resolution, and energy of the Scotch race. It appeared to me that the religious denominations, whether in Australia or in New Zealand, were fully as numerous and as various as at home. I used to amuse myself on Saturday mornings by reading the list of services and meetings advertised for the coming Sunday, which would often occupy as much as two columns of a large daily newspaper; and among them were, at least in some cities, notices relating not only to all forms of Christianity, from Roman Catholicism to the Salvation Army, but to such vagaries as Christian science (which has always seemed to me neither Christian nor scientific) and the extra-

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ordinary system founded in America under the name of Zionism by Dr. John Alexander Dowie, the Second Elijah, as he styles himself, who is a native, I was told, of Adelaide, and was once the minister of a small chapel at Melbourne; he has lately returned, after his misfortunes in Zion City, to Australia, and, if I may trust the telegraphic news, has met the proverbial fate of prophets in their own country, and, I am afraid I must say, has richly deserved to meet it.

Amidst this congeries of religions the Church of England holds her own. She is naturally in a large degree the Church of the English, as the Roman Catholic Church is of the Irish, and the Presbyterian of the Scotch. She is also, as in many parts of the Empire, to some extent the Church of the governing class; more so, I thought, than in Canada, but less so perhaps than in India. Upon a rough estimate she counts among her members something between a half and a third of the population. According to the last census, in 1901 the proportion of the members of the Church of England to the inhabitants was as follows:

	Population	Church of England
New South Wales	1,359,341	623,131
Victoria	1,201,183	423,704
West Australia	503,266	185,023
Queensland	362,604	106,987
Tasmania	172,475	86,436
New Zealand	772,719	315,263

The Church membership, in fact, amounts to 1,740,544 out of a total population of 4,371,538 souls.

Such is the proportion now; and it has been much the same for many years. Of course there are some cities which, owing to the circumstances of their original foundation or other causes, present a rather one-sided character. Thus, in New Zealand, Christchurch, like the whole Canterbury settlement, was avowedly a creation of the Church of England; similarly, Dunedin (as the name of its harbour, Port Chalmers, attests) was a Presbyterian foundation. The difference between the Anglican cathedrals at Christchurch and Dunedin, the stately Presbyterian church overlooking Otago Harbour, are unmistakable witnesses of their histories and characters. Upon the whole, too, the Church of Rome is more powerful in Australia than in New Zealand; she is more powerful in Sydney than in Melbourne. Adelaide, again, was originally a Nonconformist settlement; it still retains something of the spirit which asserts itself in 'the dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion'; but the Church, under the three wise and moderate bishops who have successively ruled her there, has made great progress, and everybody, I think, says a good word for her now.

In point of buildings the Church of Rome takes the first place. In Australia, as much as in Canada and India, she early learnt the

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advantage of imposing sites. It seemed to me that in some places she had sacrificed utility to show, by erecting her churches and still more her cathedrals on lofty eminences at some distance from the common life of the people. At Melbourne, for example, the Anglican cathedral, though less conspicuous than the Roman, yet in its position, which is owing, unless I am wrong, to the prescience of Bishop Moorhouse, is probably more useful as a centre of worship and preaching. Still, no English Churchman can look at Roman Catholic edifices like the cathedral at Sydney, as seen from the harbour, or the cathedral at Dunedin, where it dominates the city, or the schools, convents, training colleges, and nursing homes in many parts, and especially at Sydney, without feeling that, if the Church of Rome has thought too much, the Church of England has thought too little of impressing the mind and spirit through the eye.

The Anglican cathedrals, even when they are not commanding in locality, are often stately buildings. At Sydney, at Melbourne, and at Adelaide in Australia, at Christchurch in New Zealand they are equal to any modern religious buildings at home. Of the other Australian cathedrals, except that at Perth, I am not qualified to speak from personal observation; but it is well known that the late Bishop of Brisbane expended a great part of his energy, and, I am afraid, sacrificed his life, in raising funds for the erection of a worthy cathedral in his diocese. In New Zealand, except at Christchurch, the cathedrals or pro-cathedrals are generally built of wood, whether from scarcity of funds or, as has sometimes been the case, from fear of earthquakes; but in Auckland, at least, a magnificent site, chosen by Bishop Selwyn and reserved since his day, awaits the erection of a cathedral which shall worthily represent the permanency as well as the dignity of the Church in New Zealand.

It occurred to me to inquire in several places whether the passing of persons from Anglicanism to Romanism or *vice versa*, or from one Protestant denomination to another or to the Church of England, was a common event. So far as I could learn, such conversions are few, not enough to affect the numerical proportion of the denominations. Here and there a man or a woman has become a Roman Catholic, often at the time or in consequence of a mixed marriage. Here and there, too, whether in the same or in other circumstances, an Anglican becomes a non-Episcopalian. And there are instances of persons born outside the pale of the Church who are similarly led to recognise the historical claims of episcopacy. The Salvation Army has rather lost numbers in the last few years; but of its social work I heard much praise everywhere. As a rule, the Churches in Australasia are content to do their own work; they do not—even the Church of Rome does not—poach upon others. The Australians, in fact, and the New Zealanders are practical people; they do not trouble themselves overmuch with speculative questions; they have not got ages

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of history behind them; they care to ask not what a Church was or did in a remote past and a distant country, but what it does or is capable of doing for society now. Accordingly, there is less scruple among the laity than in England about diversifying or interchanging their forms of worship; Anglican Churchmen go to non-Episcopalian churches, and non-Episcopalians to Anglican churches; even some Protestants and some Roman Catholics attend each others' services from time to time with little sense of inconsistency. The personality of ecclesiastical leaders is a potent influence for good or evil. Cardinal Moran, in Sydney, can hardly claim to have won the blessing of the peacemakers. But ecclesiastics like Archbishop Carr and Dr. Fitchett (not to mention any Anglican bishops and clergymen) deserve and enjoy the respect of all parties. The Bishop of Tasmania told me of the kindly welcome which he received, upon landing in his cathedral city, from the venerable Roman Catholic archbishop. The fact is that a man is taken for what he is worth with less regard to his theological position than at home.

Anglicans and Roman Catholics, Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians, have, alike in Australia and in New Zealand, been drawn together by antagonism to a common enemy. Whereas in England Churchmen and Nonconformists, equally desirous as they are of religious education in elementary or, to use the Australasian name, public schools, display an acrimony as tragical as it is irrational in regard to the particular form and manner of the religion which shall be taught there, in Australia and in New Zealand they stand shoulder to shoulder in resistance to educational secularism. It would be difficult and perhaps impertinent in a stranger to pronounce a judgment upon affairs in the Colonies, where colonial opinion is itself divided. Local traditions, associations, circumstances, feelings count for much; and of these he can know little or nothing. Australia and New Zealand are not less qualified than disposed to settle their educational problems among themselves. All I can say is that I met a good many thoughtful men and women who regarded secular education in the public schools as a necessity; I did not meet one who did not regret the necessity. It is impossible to feel surprise in any Christian country, where religious differences are virulent and morbid, that statesmen should try to avoid the evil of sectarian animosity by shutting the doors of the schools against religious teachers and religious teaching altogether. If there is any such argument as can overcome or modify that policy, it can only be that, great as is the evil of exciting religious bitterness, the evil of bringing up children without religion is still greater. I do not think it is an unfair statement that men and women in Australia are less familiar with the Bible than they are at home. Preachers have told me that the names which occur in the Old or New Testament, if they are mentioned in sermons or speeches, do not seem to awake any response. This is not

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an evil characteristic of the poorer classes alone. When I was visiting the Jenolan Caves, it happened that the guide, pointing to a curious stalagmite formation, said: 'That is what we call Lot's wife,' and a young lady at my side did not know who or what Lot's wife was. But the ignorance of sacred things is worst in the class which wholly depends for its education on the public schools; and it is lamentable in its depth and its extent. I heard, on authority which lies beyond the possibility of error, that there are boys and girls of ten or twelve years who have never heard the name of God or of Christ. In these circumstances it is no wonder that the persons who feel the most disinterested concern for the future of the Commonwealth, from the Governor-General downwards, have publicly advocated the reading of the Bible in schools. The 'larrikin' is an unpleasing feature of Australian society now; there are other features scarcely less unpleasing. But Australian society to-day is greatly leavened by the influences and associations of home. It is often urged that, when that society gets its tone altogether from its own public schools, where its coming generation has been educated (if, indeed, it be an education) without the fear or knowledge of God, and without the love or knowledge of Christ, it will slowly but surely move to the edge of a moral precipice.

In Australia the different States have adopted somewhat different educational systems. It is not necessary to describe or distinguish them here. All that need be said is that public opinion originally favoured secular education, but has come, or is apparently coming, in most or many parts to desire some religious teaching, however simple, in public schools.

My object is not so much to portray the education given in Australia or New Zealand as to infer from it how far it may serve as a model for educational legislation or administration at home. Where the minds of men are excited or embittered, the calm voice of reason seldom gains a hearing. Yet, if it were not so, the experience of the New World might perhaps correct the prejudices of the Old.

There are in the field of education at least three distinct policies, all theoretically compatible with justice.

One is, as people do not agree upon religion in the same way as they agree upon reading, writing, and arithmetic, to exclude religion from the schools supported by the State. This is just; but it may mean a lowering of national morality, it may mean an offence and an injury to many religious consciences.

A second policy is to eliminate from the religious teaching given in schools all such matters as are in dispute among Christians, if not, indeed, among the members of all religious bodies, and to make the *residuum*, and only that, the subject of teaching in schools. And whether this *residuum* is no more than the bare reading of the Bible 'without note or comment' or includes such common articles of belief

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as the Fatherhood of God and the supremacy of Christ's example, still it is arrived at by the same process of exhaustion and it may be defended on the same general grounds. The teaching of such a common religious creed as this is what in England is called undenominationalism. I will not deny that many devout and earnest citizens, whether in England or in the Antipodes, approve it. I will not deny that I myself see many advantages in it, nay, that if it were possible, it is what I should think best in the interest of society. But it is not just unless the persons affected by it are willing to accept it. To say that it is just in itself and that all persons, whether they will or not, ought to accept it, and that it can be legitimately imposed upon those who will not accept it, is to give the majority the right of tyrannising over the minority. And it is abundantly clear that there is no such thing as a religious element common not only to all Christians but to Jews and secularists, and that what is supposed to be the *residuum* of Christianity will certainly not be acceptable to Romanists, and in all probability will not be acceptable to Anglican Churchmen.

This being so, a third course remains; it is to support out of public funds all schools, whatever religious teaching they give or whether they give any religious teaching or not, provided that, and in so far as, they give a secular education of the character and degree which the State demands. To this course public opinion has lately inclined in England. Upon it the Education Act of 1902 proceeds. I cannot pretend to regard it as an unmixed good. The education of children, as it were, in water-tight religious compartments is not the ideal state of things. After all, in a world constituted as ours is, one of the first and best lessons which a man or a child can learn is how to get on with people with whose secular or religious opinions he does not agree, to look for the good in them and not the evil, to know and appreciate and respect them. Orthodoxy gains as much as heterodoxy when they rub shoulders together. But what I am now arguing is that the public financial support of denominational schools, as they are called in England, may be wise or unwise, it may be easy or difficult; it is not unjust.

It may be worth while, however, to remark that the educational system of New South Wales presents some features of particular interest and value. The Bishop of North Queensland, in an article contributed last February to this Review, has anticipated me in calling attention to it. But I make no apology for insisting upon it, as it seems to be the nearest approach to a fair solution of the religious problem in education.

The three sections cited by the bishop from the Public Instruction Act of 1870 provide:

(1) That secular instruction shall be held to include undenominational religious teaching—in other words, that the elements of religious

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truth shall be taught in all public or State schools. This is the effect of Section 7.

(2) That apart from and in addition to this elementary religious teaching 'a portion of each day, not more than one hour,' shall be set apart for denominational teaching if the clergy or other authorised teachers of any denomination choose to avail themselves of it, but that, if they or any of them do not attend to give the denominational teaching at the time agreed upon, that portion of time 'shall be devoted to the ordinary secular instruction.' This is the effect of Section 17. It is provided also that two religious teachers belonging to different Churches shall not give their teaching at the same time.

(3) That no child shall be 'required to receive any general or special religious instruction' except with the assent of his or her parents or guardians. This is the effect of Section 18.

The merits of such a system as this are not far to seek. It provides the religious teaching common to all or nearly all Christians—*i.e.* to all or nearly all the inhabitants of a Christian country. It provides also the special or denominational religious teaching by which many Christians set great store.

It places the religious teaching, both general and special, upon the same level of dignity and authority as the secular teaching; the children (unless specially exempted) must attend it, and attend it as a regular part of their studies.

It gives parents or guardians full control over the religious education of the children whom they send to school.

I cannot help thinking that in the divided state of Christendom these or such as these are the true lines of educational policy.

Australian experience, no less than English, suggests that the religious training of the young cannot be safely left to homes or to Sunday schools, or to voluntary classes in elementary schools. Many parents are unable, some are unwilling, to take the difficult task of religious teaching upon themselves; they lack the knowledge or the time or the disposition for imparting it; and, however sacred be the halo which the relation of a parent to his child throws around the teaching of religion within the home, is it reasonable to assume that persons who generally refrain from teaching their children any other subject will be their best teachers in the most difficult subject of all? And if in England the atmosphere of the home is not always favourable, and perhaps in the higher classes is not so favourable as it used to be, to religious teaching, the circumstances of Australian life are sometimes actual obstacles. Nor, again, can the Sunday schools supply what is needed in religion. Australian statistics prove that not half the children who go to the public schools go to Sunday schools as well. The fact is that the Sunday school, in a country where education is free and compulsory, has lost something of its old value. Time was when parents sent their children to the Sunday

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school not only, perhaps not even chiefly, because religion was taught there, but because it was the only place where anything was taught at all. But a child who receives secular teaching, and perhaps some religious teaching with it, on five days of the week, does not need the Sunday school as children needed it when there were no other schools.

It will be noticed that the educational system of New South Wales avoids the absurdity of making all subjects compulsory except religion; or, to speak more exactly, it gives the parents, and in a secondary degree the children, the choice between religious and secular teaching in the time set apart for religion, but not between religious teaching and play. He must be strangely ignorant of human nature who cannot or will not see that, if there is any reason or excuse which will get a child off an hour's schooling, it will almost certainly be pleaded. What young people object to is not the religious lesson, but the lesson. Even in England it happened not long ago in a well-known school that two boys brought a letter from their mother asking exemption for them from a religious service on Ascension Day as they were Plymouth Brethren. The request was readily granted; but when the boys found that, instead of going home at the time of divine service, they would be expected to do a stiff piece of Latin prose while the service was going on, they expressed a preference for the chapel.

Upon the whole, it seems to me that the Bishop of North Queensland is justified in regarding the Public Instruction Act of 1870 in New South Wales as 'perhaps the most successful and fair attempt made in any part of the world to deal with the problem of education.' At all events, the Act satisfies equally the rival sentiments in favour of general and of special religious teaching, and the universal sentiment in favour of some religious teaching.

But education is not the only province in which Australasia may possibly teach a useful lesson to the Mother Country.

Nobody who has travelled widely in the Colonies can, I think, entertain any strong dread of disestablishment. He may dislike it, as I do, principally because it seems to him that the State, if it cuts itself off from the motives and sanctions of religion, loses a part of its dignity and sanctity, and so of its title to the obedience and respect of its citizens. He may believe, as I do, that the practical sense of the community as shown in Parliament is a wholesome restraint upon the temper and conduct of the clergy, who are only too apt to live and move in a world of their own. And he may hold, as I do, that in an age of fading beliefs, if so great a country as England were to repudiate her historical alliance with the National Church, she could not but, in so doing, inflict a serious blow upon Christianity all the world over. Colonial experience forbids the hope that a severance of Church from State would lead to a reunion of the Church and the non-Episcopalian bodies; in no colony, so far as I can see, do Churchmen and Nonconformists stand closer together than at home; in one Colony

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at least—South Africa—they seem to me to stand further apart. The establishment of the Church at home is not the cause of Nonconformity. Disestablishment would not draw the non-Episcopalian bodies into the Church; it might drive them further away. For as an aristocracy, when it loses political power, tends to become more socially exclusive than ever, so the Church when emancipated from the State is apt to become more and more exclusive ecclesiastically.

But that the Church at home, if disestablished and disendowed, would endure and flourish, and would not break into fragments but would remain a powerful and energetic body, Colonial experience decides. And to one who believes in the Church as a spiritual institution, the Colonies afford great encouragement. It has been my fortune to see the life of the Church—I may almost say, in all parts of the British Empire. But let me cite the example of the Australian Church alone. The Church in Australia is, as it were, the creature of yesterday. There are persons living who remember the time when the site on which the noble city of Melbourne now stands was the home of the wombat and the dingo. Bishop Broughton, down to the year 1847, used to sign himself W. G. Australia. In fact, all Australia was an Archdeaconry of the See of Calcutta down to 1836. Bishop Perry, whom I used to see in my undergraduate days at Cambridge, was the first Bishop of Melbourne. Upon the pillars in the nave of the Cathedral at Sydney are graven the names of the bishops who assembled there in 1850, all of them founders of the Church in their several dioceses. William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan; George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand; Francis Russell Nixon, Bishop of Tasmania; Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide; Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne; William Tyrrell, Bishop of Newcastle. And now after so short a time to find everywhere stately cathedrals and goodly churches, with services indistinguishable in their rendering from the best services at home, except, perhaps, in some of the richly endowed cathedrals, to find churches built and the means of grace provided and sustained not only in cities and towns but, so far as my travels led me, in the villages and remote settlements—I cannot speak from personal knowledge of many parts of the bush—to find an increasing body of clergy, lay-helpers, and deaconesses, and associations formed for missions at home and abroad, for humanity, temperance, and purity; in a word, to find a Church life which is a worthy imitation or adaptation of all that Church life means in England—all this is a revelation of the power inherent in the Church. For these results it is impossible to assign too much credit to the early bishops and clergy of the Church and their successors to the present day. There has been, and is, a noble spirit of consecrated devotion in their lives. They tell a story of an English ecclesiastic who, in the course of a journey through Australia and New Zealand, preached a sermon warning his clerical audience against luxury. He

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might have spared his pains. No bishop or clergyman whom I saw possesses the opportunity or the desire of luxurious living. Life in the Colonies is strenuous and self-denying. I remember a Colonial bishop (not in Australia) writing to ask me to stay with him, if I would put up with a house in which he did not keep a servant. Servants are scarce, as everybody knows, in the Colonies. Not seldom it is the bishop's wife or daughters by whom the dinner is cooked and served. Perhaps I may venture to say that, when this has been so, I have enjoyed a very good dinner. The bishops would be the first to rejoice at being delivered from the burden of the old and stately palaces which make such a drain upon the incomes of the Episcopate at home. Wherever I have travelled in the Colonies, I have almost always thought that the bishops lived, just as they ought to live, quietly and simply, in houses large enough to admit of moderate hospitality, but without anything approaching to style or pomp or luxury. I have never seen a manservant in any bishop's or dean's or archdeacon's house. I do not doubt that some of the higher, as well as many of the lower, clergy are inadequately paid; but there is no such difference between the incomes of the bishops and clergy as evokes a painful sentiment at home. The Church at home does not always realise or remember how much work the bishops abroad do, and how poor is their remuneration for doing it. I think of one devoted bishop with whom I have had the honour of conversing; he has spent a long life in the foreign service of the Church; his salary, when he was consecrated to his See, was *nil*; after some time it was raised to 100*l*. *per annum*; it has never, I believe, exceeded 250*l*. There may be even harder cases; I have heard of them, but I have not come across them. Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania have all reaped the benefit of self-sacrificing episcopal lives. Nor have the bishops in self-sacrifice been parted from their clergy. No English Churchman, no English Christian can read to-day without emotion the noble letter in which Selwyn replied to the offer of the bishopric of New Zealand:

Eton College, Windsor: July 14, 1841.

My Lord Primate,—To the call of the Church conveyed by your Grace I can make no plainer or shorter answer than in the words of the Gospel, Matt. xxi. 30, Ἐγώ, κύριε. I trust that I could have answered as willingly, if I had been called to some less favoured portion of Christ's vineyard. As it is, I feel that 'the lot is fallen unto me on a fair ground; yea, I have a goodly heritage.'

I have the honour to remain, with great respect,
Your Grace's obedient and faithful servant,
G. A. Selwyn,

especially when it is felt how much his Episcopate meant to the diffusion of Anglican Christianity. For to him it was given to create and organise a Church. The Church of New Zealand, in its charter as in its character, still retains the impression of his mind. There is still shown in Auckland the little chapel in which he drew up the constitu-

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tion of the Church of New Zealand. He may have drawn the lines too tightly, I cannot tell; he may have thought more of continuity than of development; a Church needs freedom in her history as much as in her origin; but his praise is and will ever be in all the Churches. It was not in my power to visit the Melanesian mission, but in the pro-Cathedral of Auckland I looked with venerating interest upon the little wooden cross which Bishop Patteson was wont to carry with him on his missionary cruises, and had with him when he won the crown of martyrdom. The Melanesian mission is one of the glories of the Church of England. The Bishop of Melanesia has, I was told, been depressed of late, partly by ill-health and partly by unkind and unfounded criticisms, such as ignorance is always ready to level at self-sacrifice, upon the slowness and costliness of his steamer, the new *Southern Cross*. Happy, indeed, should I be if this article should come into his hands, and so assure him of the respect and confidence felt for him and for his mission by one who has watched it with an ever-growing sympathy not only from England but from New Zealand. But no bishop in Australasia, except, perhaps, Bishop Patteson, stands higher in the popular estimate than Samuel Marsden, who lived and died a simple priest.

It would not be right, among the sources of strength upon which the Church can always rely, to forget the co-operation of the Christian laity. For this, indeed, I was prepared; I had known it in India. All over India, where the missionaries and the clergy in general are necessarily few, the Church depends more than at home upon her laymen. There is scarcely a station in which some devout layman does not, in the absence of any *padre*, hold Divine Service in the little church week after week. I could mention stations which have seemed to be morally and spiritually raised by the example of two or three devout lay residents. Laymen do not officiate in church in Australia so much as in India; there is not the same need of their ministrations. But in the general life of the Church they play an inestimable part. The Church at home is only now beginning to learn what a reserve of strength she possesses in her lay members. She will learn it more and more, and will need to learn it, as the growth of population and the inadequacy of the supply of clergy and the poverty of clerical livings force her to look for new means of maintaining and expanding her ministry. The Colonies have learnt it already. There the Church has made a fresh call upon her laity; and nobly have they responded to it.

Perhaps the main reason for the greater activity of the lay members of the Church in the Colonies may be found in the greater power assigned to them. For one essential element of Church life, *i.e.* legislation, is denied to the Church at home, but afforded to the Church in the Colonies.

In England the Church can make no law for herself without the

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consent of Parliament. In the Colonies she is her own lawgiver. And the result is significant. I can hardly imagine a greater contrast than the languid interest attaching, within the Church as well as without, to the proceedings of Convocation at home and the vivid anticipation of a Synod of the Church in Australasia. When I was in New Zealand, the triennial Synod of the Church was about to hold its session at Auckland. It would then be called to deal authoritatively with a number of matters affecting the Church in an intimate way, some of them being only matters of form or usage, but others being matters of such high moment as the revision of the constitution of the Church in an important article or the election of a primate. The bishops and clergy with whom I stayed, and laymen of the Church as well, seemed to feel that they were really going to take part in deliberations and decisions vitally affecting the Church, that they were called upon to act and to reflect before acting, and that the action once taken might be irrevocable. And in fact, where the Church is free from the trammels of the State, and can do as she will, and all dioceses and parishes have promised conformity to the ruling of the general Synod, all the causes which excite activity and energy in ecclesiastical affairs exist in the minds and spirits of Churchmen. It is possible that the Church at home is too timid. I have often thought she would command more respect if she did not so nervously shrink from facing a revision of the Prayer-book. But it is certain that circumstances tend to make the Church in the Colonies bolder and stronger.

The Churches in Australia and New Zealand are, I think, less troubled by ritualism than the Church at home. Here and there I heard of a clergyman committing what I can only call the insane folly of emptying his church for the sake of a posture or a vesture labelled as a principle. But such cases are rare, and public opinion condemns them. It would seem that self-willed clergy in Australasia, and especially, I think, in New Zealand, are subjected to two restraining influences which are not felt, or not equally felt, at home: the bishops can move them at will, and their congregations can withhold their salaries. It is highly desirable to increase the power of the bishops at home. And if vicars and rectors derived at least half their endowments from the good will of their parishioners, it is probable that they would more frequently listen to the voice, I will not say of common-sense, but of Christian charity. Still, it is only fair to remember that the cases in which a priest is a law to himself, and acknowledges no other law or no authority to interpret the law but one which does not exist, and cannot possibly be called into being, are few in England; in Australasia they hardly occur. On the other hand, the Churches in Australia and New Zealand have generally preserved the comprehensiveness of the Church at home. Perhaps the balance of ecclesiastical parties is not so well observed among the

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Episcopate as it is in India. But in New Zealand there is nothing, and in Australia there is little, of the one-sidedness which has given the Church of South Africa a singular consistency and unity, but, if I am not mistaken, has somewhat impaired her present and future influence upon the fortunes of the country whose name she bears.

The Colonial Churches stand in supreme need of a good clergy. Nowhere is the opportunity of the Church greater. Nowhere is her task more arduous. It was a pleasure to me, therefore, to learn that the supply of candidates for Holy Orders was not diminishing, but, at least in some quarters, showed a tendency to increase. There are good theological colleges both in Australia and in New Zealand. It seemed to me that the Church in Australasia found not more difficulty, but rather less, than the Church at home in recruiting the ranks of her clergy from her own people. And this is as it should be; for not only will it be more difficult for the Mother Country, as the years pass, to supply clergy enough for the Church both at home and abroad, but clergymen coming out from home are often less well suited than clergymen born in the Colonies to appreciate the spirit and accept the conditions, and, it may be, to bear the hardships, such as they are, of Colonial life. Nor could any mistake be greater, in the interest of the Church at large, than to discourage foreign clerical service by filling up, habitually or generally, the higher offices of the Church abroad with clergymen sent out from home.

It is not improbable that, if gaps are left in the ranks of the clergy at home by the unwillingness of young men to take Holy Orders, they may in some degree be filled by men ordained abroad. For in any estimate of the number of men ordained, the ordinations held in the Colonies and in India must be taken into account. There are now more than a hundred Colonial bishops; and if each of them were to ordain three deacons annually, they would together make a sensible addition to the forces of the Church. I cannot help thinking then that it is a matter of great importance to relieve the Colonial Churches, as far as possible, and with as little delay as possible, from the disability put upon them by the Colonial Clergy Act. It must be recognised that Colonial and Indian ordination cannot be treated exactly as equal to ordination at home; no one will propose to demand of a Hindu or a Maori candidate for Holy Orders the same knowledge, both in nature and in amount, as of a candidate who has taken a degree at Oxford or Cambridge. But would it not be possible, without any prejudice to the liberty of local bishops in ordaining men for service in their own dioceses or province, to establish, on the authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, a standard of examination for Holy Orders, so that all priests in all parts of the world who prove themselves to have attained this standard, as tested by an officially appointed examiner, should be equally eligible for appointments and preferments throughout all parts of the British Empire?

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There is need of a cultivated clergy in the great cities of Australasia. Cities like Sydney and Melbourne, Adelaide, Wellington, Christchurch, and Hobart (to mention only those which I have visited) are distinguished not in commerce or politics alone, but in various branches of science and learning. They are worthy of the highest intellectual and spiritual help which the Church can give them. The Episcopate of Bishop Moorhouse at Melbourne is a witness of Colonial admiration for noble gifts directed to a noble end.

The Church must send out her good men to the Colonies. But it is equally true that she must not send out her bad men. It was stated to me in Australasia, and I could hardly credit the statement, did not my experience in India bear it out, that, if a clergyman gets into trouble at home, he is often sent out—and sometimes even with a recommendation from his bishop, who, if he did not know the truth about him, ought to have known it—to begin life afresh in a Colonial diocese. One bishop told me during my travels that not long ago there were living in his diocese fifteen clergymen who had come out to him from England, and not one of them could he allow to officiate in his diocese, although he was in sore want of clergy.

It cannot be too strongly said of all classes of men, and especially of the clergy, that, if a man cannot live a good life at home, the worst possible course is to send him out to the Colonies. For in the Colonies the temptations are greater, the restraints are fewer. And there is nothing which a colony and the Church of a colony so bitterly resents as that the failures of the Old World should be dumped down there. The Church in Australasia needs not the worst, but the best, representatives of English Churchmanship. She justly complains if unworthy priests, sent out from England, do dishonour to the youthful days of her history. But if the Church at home owes it to the Colonial Churches to forbear sending out her moral failures, so those Churches in their turn owe it to the Church at home to be scrupulous about receiving such failures. For if it should happen that a clergyman who had been disgraced at home were, even without any proof of penitence or time for evincing it, not only permitted to officiate in a Colonial diocese, but honoured and rewarded there, and entrusted with solemn and delicate spiritual duties, such a diocese, and perhaps the province of which it forms part, would for many a long day deserve to lose the respect of earnest and devout Churchmen.

The Colonial Churches then are wise in their insistence upon a high moral character in their clergy. For it is a feature of the life of the Church abroad, as compared with the life at home, that personality is a more important factor. It is a sufficiently important factor of the clerical life at home; but it is, I think, still more important in the Colonies. For the forces of habit and tradition and association are not so potent in a new as in an old country. Thus success and failure

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in the clerical life are more rapid and striking than at home. In the Colonies a good man fills his church almost at once; an inefficient man empties it all at once. If a congregation does not like a clergyman, its members feel little scruple about leaving his church for another or for a non-Episcopalian place of worship, or about staying away from church altogether. And, what is worst, if they do not like him, or if they think him unequal to his work, they cease to support him by their money—in a word, they starve him out. The Colonial bishops experience few difficulties so great as that of providing for their deserving elderly clergy.

It is not impossible that in this difficulty the Church at home might afford some relief to the Church abroad.

The work of the clergy in the Colonies is often in some respects harder than any clerical life at home. I do not say it is harder in all respects; but it is in some. The Colonial clergy, and still more the Indian clergy, sometimes live in enervating and dangerous climates. They live in an isolation of which their brethren at home have no experience: I have known clergymen who did not, and could not, see another clergyman once in twelve months. And it often happens that their parishes, or the districts assigned to them, in extent and character are more like English counties, or even combinations of counties, than English villages. I shall be forgiven if I plead the cause of the clergy who labour abroad; I have known them so well; I sympathise with them so deeply. And what is true of the clergy is equally or more than equally true of the bishops. From these considerations it seems to follow that the bishops and clergy who serve abroad should be young, and that when they grow old they should be brought home. It would, I believe, be an immense gain to many parochial clergymen at home to have seen something of the Church of the Empire. It would be fully as great a gain to the foreign clergy, when they have spent their best years abroad, to enjoy the peace of a quiet country parish at home.

At present there is much objection taken to any recognition of devoted service abroad. The Church has not yet learnt to think imperially. Not many years ago a missionary bishop who had administered a vast diocese in trying climates until he was an old man, and who had so long laboured at the hazard of his life among ruthless savages that in the estimate of a gallant admiral not particularly friendly to missions no man ever deserved the Victoria Cross better than he, was preferred to a modest dignity in one of the English cathedrals. His appointment was made the occasion for an outcry because he had not worked in the diocese in which his preferment lay. The Church has not yet learnt to think imperially. She still conceives herself as the Church of the nation, but not as the Church of the Empire. She will never rise to the greatness of her opportunity if she despises and neglects her sons who have led the forlorn

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hopes of her mission, if she lets them starve in their old age or fall helpless at their posts and die forgotten.

In Australasia the Church has much to do. Before her spread unknown, unconquered fields. But a stranger who travels there, unless his feeling be wholly different from my own, will wonder more at all that has been accomplished in so short a time by the energy of her sons with little or no support from the State, than at all that still remains to be attempted. He will realise that she too, in the British dominions beyond the seas, has had her heroes, her saints, her martyrs. He will come home with many thoughts stirring in his soul—admiration for the bishops and clergy who have served her there, an abiding interest in her development, above all with an unassailable conviction of her high and sacred calling.

J. E. C. Welldon.

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'AN EX-PRISONER ON PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS'

A REJOINDER

A SERMON preached from a perverted text may contain much that is worthy of attention. And a kindred remark applies to a Review article. If 'An Ex-Prisoner on Professional Criminals' had given the writer's experiences, and practical suggestions based on his experiences, the article in question would have been interesting, and possibly useful. But almost every part of it is founded on some misrepresentation of something written by me. This is discouraging to me, I confess. For the articles I have contributed to this Review have had a twofold aim. I have appealed to those who are in a position to control or influence legislation about criminals and crime; and I have sought to educate public opinion on the subject. My success in the one sphere has far surpassed my expectations; but if Mr. H. J. B. Montgomery is a fair representative of 'the man in the street,' I can have made no progress with the general public. But is he? What, for example, am I to think of such a statement as the following:

> Some time ago Sir Robert Anderson wrote an article—I believe it appeared in this Review—on the subject of 'Crime and Criminals,' in which article he asserted that most, if not all, the burglaries committed in London were in reality organised by a cabinet of burglars, who sat round a table and directed all operations.

Of course I have never written anything which bears the remotest resemblance to what is here attributed to me. I have said that burglars are generally 'professional criminals'; and in one article I stated that the men who organise and finance crime in this country are not more numerous than the Cabinet Ministers, and that they are as well known to the police.

Again, on p. 282, 'Ex-Prisoner,' in criticising my statements, speaks of 'the professional or habitual criminal class.' Now, no one who has really read my articles can have failed to notice the distinction I have drawn between 'habitual criminals' and 'professional criminals.' A man may be an 'habitual criminal,' and yet

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worthy of pity and help rather than of severe punishment; but a 'professional criminal'—it is my articles that have brought the expression into prominence and common use—is a typical 'anarchist,' and society is justified in taking whatever action may be necessary to protect itself against him.

The writer goes on to protest against my saying that these men are 'utterly irreclaimable.' And the suggestion that they are professional criminals by choice is 'to his mind sheer nonsense.' They are what they are, he adds, 'because their wills have been weak, and circumstances have been too strong for them.' I have never said that these men are 'irreclaimable.' As recently as in my January article, which 'Ex-Prisoner' claims to have read, I ventured to dissent from a statement to that effect which I quoted from Mr. Justice Wills. And I may here say that his lordship has since conveyed to me his acceptance of my criticism. My words were:

> This is all too true of others—wretched weaklings who seem to have neither moral nor intellectual fibre to save them in a world where temptations to evil abound and the way of life is narrow. But the criminals who give most trouble to the police are men of a different kidney, clever men who pursue a life of crime because their calculation of its risks leads them to the conclusion that in the long run it pays (p. 128).

And I went on to say that, while the reforms proposed by the Home Office Bill will have but little effect upon these men, the changes which reason and common-sense would suggest would lead not a few of them to give up the criminal career.

The public judge of these matters by what they read in Blue-books and newspaper reports of criminal trials, but my statements are based on knowledge of the criminals. Let me take a few typical cases. The three men to whom I am about to refer have given the police more trouble than any criminals of the type known to Mr. Montgomery.

A. B. was the son of a clergyman. He was a man of real ability, of rare charm of manner and address, and an accomplished linguist. For example, on the occasion of one of Madame Patti's visits to America he ingratiated himself with the Customs officers, and thus got on board the liner in advance of the 'Reception Committee' who went out with a special steamer. He was, of course, a stranger to the great singer, but she was charmed by his appearance and bearing, and the perfection with which he spoke her native language. She took for granted, moreover, that he had been commissioned for the part he played so acceptably; and the Reception Committee supposed he was a friend of Madame Patti, and upon his arm it was that she leaned in disembarking. All this was with a view to carry out a huge fraud, the detection of which eventually brought him to ruin. The man was capable of filling any position, but the life of adventure

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and of ease, which a criminal career provided, had a fascination for him.

C. D. was a man of still greater brain-power, though without the social and educational advantages of the other. His projects were generally on a grand scale. His share of the profits of one of the many crimes he planned—the greatest diamond robbery on record—was not much short of 100,000*l*. For years he lived in affluence in London, ready at any time to put down any sum of money necessary to 'bring about a job.' His last *coup*, though by no means his last offence, was the robbery of the famous Gainsborough picture.

Very different from both these criminals mentioned in the preceding paragraphs is E. F. But the one element common to all these men is that they persist in crime, not from any weakness of will, nor from any pressure of temptation, but in spite of means and opportunities to live honestly and in comfort. Of my third example I need only say that at the time of his last crime he had amassed so much wealth that on his discharge from penal servitude he brought an action against the administrator of his estate, claiming large damages for alleged maladministration of *one portion* of his personal property. And he owned besides a considerable amount of house property in London.

Someone will object, perhaps, that these are exceptional cases. But that is precisely what I have insisted upon. These men are few in number—not more numerous than Cabinet Ministers—and yet the trouble they give to the police, the losses they inflict on the community, and the evil they do in encouraging others to become criminals, are quite incalculable. And under our present system they are dealt with, when brought to justice for an offence, merely on their statutory *dossier*, which contains nothing but the record of 'previous convictions.' And their 'previous convictions' are always fewer than those of their dupes and agents.

These men are the aristocracy of crime. The professionals of the second rank are much more numerous, but a single wing of any large prison would hold every man of them. In my article of March 1903 I mentioned my old friend 'Quiet Joe' as a fair specimen of the class. I predicted that, on the expiration of the sentence then lately passed on him, he would at once resume the practice of his profession. And I need not say my prediction was fulfilled. In this class also are the English thieves whose conviction for bank robberies in France was reported in the newspapers last January.

In the third rank of 'professionals' I would place the ordinary burglar. Here is a typical case recently reported in the morning papers. After describing the arrest of the gang, the report proceeded:

At Newington Sessions yesterday the prisoners came up for trial. Their names and the sentences awarded them are: Ephraim Jones, four years' penal

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servitude; Edward Steer, twenty-one months' hard labour; William Fielder, eighteen months; Theresa Jones, three months. Jones, it was explained, had been a trainer of thieves for the past twenty-five years. The prisoners formed a dangerous gang who had operated at Wimbledon, Tooting, and Balham There had been 200 cases of house-breaking in the district since they began. Fielder had a banking account.

For twenty-five years a trainer of thieves, and with a score of 200 to his credit in his last innings as a burglar, Jones gets a four years' sentence. In the course of 1907 he will resume his life-work with a new set of implements, procured no doubt with the money which will be handed to him by the prison authorities as a reward for good conduct in prison. I am not questioning the discretion of the court that sentenced him. The force of my criticism depends on assuming, as I do assume, that the sentence was entirely in accordance with our present system. It is the *system* I am attacking. My aim has been to hold it up to the censure of every man of intelligence, and to the ridicule of every man who has any sense of humour.

If anybody supposes that a four years' sentence for the trainer of thieves, and an eighteen months' term for his comrade with 'a banking account,' have some occult relation to the principles of eternal justice, I will not waste time in discussing the matter for his benefit. The sentences have relation only to a stupid and mischievous system that has been developed largely by chance, since the abolition of capital punishment for felons. It is a system based in part on the mediæval superstition which assigns to human tribunals the duty of punishing crime, regarded as *sin*, and in part on the habit of dealing with crime and criminals on doctrinaire lines.

And my proposal is merely that we should shake ourselves free from superstition, and face the facts in a rational way. I am not an advocate of wild theories or of heroic measures. The reforms I suggest would have the approval of the vast majority of the community. I urge merely that the crime problem should be dealt with in the way that has led to such notable results in the sphere of sanitation. If for a single decade we reverted to our old ways of dealing with disease, fever epidemics would sweep away half the population of our large towns. If for a single decade we dealt with crime as intelligently as we now deal with disease, we should reduce by half the volume of recorded crimes against property. I make this limitation because crimes of violence—crimes due to drink, and lust, and hate—must be reached by other methods, and largely by influences of a general kind that raise the moral tone of the community.

Though our fathers would regard the results of modern sanitation as little short of magical, there is no magic whatever about the methods by which those results have been attained. The measures

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of a general kind to raise the health standard of the community have their counterparts, *to some extent*, in the spread of education and other influences which tend to raise the moral and social condition of the people. But here the parallel ends. When a case of infectious disease occurs we isolate it, taking adequate means to prevent its infecting others. And at the same time no effort is spared to ascertain how and when and where the patient contracted the disease; and his seclusion is enforced so long as there is any danger of his spreading it. But when 'Quiet Joe,' or Ephraim Jones commits a crime, the State proceeds to 'bring the criminal to justice,' which is achieved with dull stupidity on the 'punishment-of-crime' system, by inflicting a certain kind and amount of imprisonment upon the delinquent.

To test this by a definite case, I ask why should Ephraim Jones be sentenced to four years' penal servitude? The supposition that there is any occult connection between that sentence and his crime regarded as *a sin* is too silly for discussion. The sentence no doubt was entirely in accordance with precedent and custom, and that is its only justification. But let us ignore custom and precedent, and consider the case on its merits. Here is a member of a 'dangerous gang' of burglars, who for a quarter of a century has been committing crimes, and training others to commit crimes; and on conviction of felony he receives a sentence which will turn him loose again in a little over three years. Apart from professional 'humanitarians' and other lunatics, is there anybody who would defend this?

The 'humanitarians' will plead that he is not incorrigible. My only comment upon which will be that if so he is unlike the 'humanitarians.' The practical question here is not the theology of the Eden Fall, but the right way to deal with a man who for five-and-twenty years has persistently followed the life of an outlaw, preying upon the community, and dragging others down to his own level. Apart from the *bêtises* of received theories and precedents, would any sensible person hesitate for a moment to say that he ought to be deprived of the liberty which he systematically misuses to the injury of his neighbours?

At which the doctrinaire penologist will protest that it would be an injustice to punish anyone so severely for a single crime. Here comes up the punishment-of-crime theory again. Until the lid of that 'Jack-in-the-box' is fastened down we shall make no progress. We all believe in a Supreme Ruler of the world, whose word is 'Vengeance is *mine, I* will recompense'; and though the State has delegated power to punish, human punishments are merely a means to an end, and the end is the protection and well-being of society. A judge who supposes that he can impose a sentence which shall satisfy eternal justice must be either an atheist or a—well, the opposite of a philosopher!

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But an objection of another kind arises. The law entrusts a criminal court, with clearly defined and limited powers, to sentence a criminal for offences openly charged and proved against him by legal evidence; but it would be intolerable to empower a judge to deprive a criminal permanently of his liberty on a vague charge, laid and proved in a sort of Star Chamber inquiry.

This objection I endorse with emphasis. But I would say, in the first place, that this is precisely what takes place at present. Some judges indeed refuse to hear anything of a prisoner's antecedents beyond the fact of previous convictions formally proved; and I may add that the influence of such judges in encouraging crime can be rightly estimated only by the police and by the criminals themselves. But our best judges make use of the very inadequate and wholly unsatisfactory means of information available to them, and in a timid way give effect to it in apportioning a prisoner's sentence. Were it not for this the trials of some of the worst criminals would be practically a miscarriage of justice. And yet the system is un-English and really indefensible.

In the second place, I would say that my scheme is intended to meet the very reasonable objection here under consideration. Intelligent public opinion is setting strongly against our present methods of dealing with professional criminals. The Home Office Penal Servitude Bill is a proof of this. But that Bill is a mere tinkering with a problem which both claims and admits of solution. Not only so, but by implication it sanctions the system of holding a Star Chamber inquiry into a criminal's antecedents. An old criminal seldom disputes the justice of his *conviction*; but he frequently protests against the justice of his *sentence*. In imposing sentence the judge is generally influenced by statements made by the police about his career—statements which are sometimes incorrect, and which he never has a fair opportunity of meeting. And when a criminal whose character and antecedents are of the worst kind is convicted of an ordinary felony, no judge would now venture to deal with him in the way which the interests of the community require. Public opinion would not tolerate it.

If such criminals are to be adequately dealt with by being put away for very long terms, the sentence in every case must be the result of an open trial on the definite issue that the accused is a 'professional.' If the system is to be a success such a trial is necessary, and there would be no difficulty in carrying it out. No one will be tried on such a charge till after conviction of a serious offence. And if in any exceptional case there should not be time to give him fair notice of the charge, and a fair chance of answering it, there could be no hardship in detaining him as a hard labour prisoner till the next assizes or sessions, when he could be tried on the charge

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of being a professional criminal, and adequately dealt with on that issue, if found against him.

I am at liberty to state that Mr. Justice Wills concurs in the views expressed in the preceding paragraph, and this being so, I need add nothing to commend them to favourable consideration as being both reasonable and practicable.

Whether the verdict of a jury should be required in the 'professional criminal' charge is a question upon which the opinion of the judges would probably be decisive. Personally I think the intervention of a jury would be quite unnecessary. The cases would be like those which magistrates now deal with under the Prevention of Crimes Act, and the public would be perfectly satisfied with the decision of a judge. As to the sentence, I most strongly urge that it should be *in every case* indeterminate. A man who deliberately follows a criminal career should be treated as a moral lunatic, and detained 'during the King's pleasure.' Any element of uncertainty will bring in the element of 'luck,' and the sporting instincts of the Englishman will tempt many a man to take his chance who would never face the guillotine of a life sentence.

The objections which 'Ex-Prisoner' urges against this proposal are that no man is irreclaimable, and that men made desperate by an indeterminate sentence would be unmanageable. As for this second objection, it might suffice to say that if the criminals suppose that threats of making prison discipline impossible will coerce the community into continuing the present scandalous and stupid system of dealing with them, they may find to their cost that 'the resources of civilisation are not exhausted.' But when the scheme comes up for practical solution, experienced prison officials will testify that it is perfectly feasible. The prisoner's sentence would naturally be to penal servitude. But after serving the term adjudged adequate for his substantive offence he would pass to an asylum prison. And the visiting justices of that prison might have power to send him back to penal servitude for deliberate refusal to work, or for any serious act of violence. But here I am going over ground already traversed in previous articles. Indeed my only difficulty in meeting 'Ex-Prisoner's' attack upon my scheme depends on the fact that every point he raises has been fully met in my contributions to this Review during the last three years.

Take, for example, the question of reclaiming criminals. I have dealt with this in much detail. The first step to reclamation is repentance, and repentance will show itself in a desire to make amends for a crime committed. And generally the only amends which a thief can make is to tell what he has done with the stolen property. For the preservation of our public parks we are largely indebted to the theory that they are *Royal* Parks. And for certain purposes it is a useful fiction of law that every offence is committed

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against the King. But if the twentieth century should inaugurate an era of common sense in these matters, we shall wake up to the discovery that if a burglar steals my property he commits an offence against *me*. The King fiction rightly precludes me from taking the law into my own hands, but on that very account it imposes on the State the obligation to see to my interests. I want to know what the thief has done with my property. If my family solicitor takes my deeds and papers and refuses to give them up, a competent court will commit him to gaol, not for a term, but until he discloses what he has done with them. But if a thief takes my spoons and forks the law requires me, at some cost of time and money, to prosecute him, while it entirely ignores my claims to restitution. If on pain of a life sentence every thief was required to disclose what he had done with his ill-gotten gains, in a few years we should have far fewer thieves and absolutely no receivers.

On this subject of receivers Mr. Montgomery rightly says:

> There would be a marked diminution in the burglaries, house-breakings, pick-pocketings, and thefts generally annually perpetrated in London if the receivers of stolen goods, instead of the professional criminals, were exterminated or permanently incarcerated.

My scheme would, of course, include receivers, who are 'professionals' of the worst kind. But under our present punishment-of-crime system it is extremely difficult to catch a receiver. Whereas if the law would deal with the *thief* and not with the crime, no receiver could carry on his trade for long, and thieving would become unprofitable.

As for these men being reclaimable, my knowledge of human nature in general, and of criminals in particular, convinces me that if the vague risk of a longer sentence gave place to the certainty of a life sentence, the well-to-do, hard-headed 'professional' would at once become 'moral by Act of Parliament'; and that the weak men who cannot resist temptation ought (in pity for themselves) to be placed beyond the reach of temptation, and brought under influences fitted to win them to a better life. The 'Ex-Prisoner' denounces my scheme as 'a travesty on Christianity' (*sic*), and he taunts me with forgetting that a professional criminal has a human soul. Those who know me will possibly accept my assurance that my belief in Christianity, and my sense of the value of a human soul, have influenced me in taking up this question. What he says about prison chaplains is as unjust as his strictures upon Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. There are good and bad in both categories. My connection with the Prison Department brought me to know chaplains whose devotion to their work in seeking to lead prisoners to a better life won my respect and admiration. I knew others, again—happily a minority—who were mere officials, and had no fitness for, or interest in, their duties.

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But in a Protestant country the system of conferring on a chaplain the powers of a sort of religious gamekeeper is quite indefensible. The State has a clear right to punish criminals in any way the good of the community may require. But if it shuts them up in a prison it has no moral right to deprive them of food for either the mind or the soul, any more than to deny them food for the body. The very fact of imprisoning them creates the duty of providing them with suitable sustenance for every part of their complex being. And it is the neglect of that duty which leaves our prison system open in some measure to the reproach Mr. Montgomery brings against it, of being 'responsible for the manufacture of the English professional criminal.' Its effect on me would be not to make a criminal of me, but to drive me mad. I know all about the inside of the prison, not excepting the floggings; and, *pace* the 'humanitarians,' I would eagerly submit to the 'cat' on condition of being treated in all respects as a human being during my imprisonment.

I will not further notice 'Ex-Prisoner's' misrepresentations in detail. One more specimen may suffice. He says:

> Sir Robert Anderson's remedy is not to reform the prison system or attempt to reform the criminal, but to seize on the professional criminal and have him permanently incarcerated in the place that has made him what he is.

Here in a single sentence is a misstatement of all the main points of my scheme. I urge the abolition of the punishment-of-crime system which now underlies the administration of the criminal law both in our courts of justice and in our prisons. I urge that punishment should be inflicted only as a means to an end, namely, to deter from crime; that in ordinary cases the reformation of the offender should be the primary and principal aim of imprisonment, punishment being made subservient to that end. I urge that the same kind and measure of thought and care that are now given to a case of disease should be given to a case of crime. But I urge also, not only in the interests of the community but of the criminals themselves, that cases deemed 'incurable' should be permanently isolated, not with a view to punishment, but in order to protect society, and, I may add, to protect the criminals against themselves.

The simplest part of this scheme is that in respect of which people seem most incredulous, I mean stamping out *professional* crime. A very small share of the intelligent, patient, and detailed effort which has availed to stamp out epidemic disease would achieve this result in a single decade. The *real* difficulty depends on the short-sentence system—this senseless and hopeless procession in and out of gaol, which goes on without intermission day by day throughout the year. No one should be sent to prison if his case can be

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otherwise dealt with. And no one should be imprisoned without a definite object. If it be for punishment, let the punishment be made sharp and stinging. If for reformation, let the prison discipline be modified with that end in view. It is a fact, and a scandalous fact, that numbers of idle tramps commit offences in order to get into gaol during weather of special severity. It is a fact no less scandalous, that in the case of thousands of people who are not much worse than their neighbours, the effect of a short term of imprisonment is merely to destroy in them the fear of a gaol, and to render them less fit than ever for life out of gaol.

And the same means which might make a term of imprisonment the turning point of many such lives would avail also with some of those who seem the most hardened in crime. But this is a subject which it is difficult to handle in the pages of this Review. Some of us believe that God could feed a penal servitude convict, as He once fed a prophet in Israel, by the agency of the birds of the air. But we should all agree that this in no way affects the commissariat duties of the prison authorities. And some of us would hold that a like remark applies to the undoubted fact of Divine power to bring a prisoner to repentance. Moreover, it is not the fault of a prison chaplain if the very prisoners who most need his ministrations regard him much as Mahometans regard a Christian missionary. A mass of prejudice clouds their minds and closes their hearts against him.

In America the prisons are not administered by such cast-iron methods as with us. It fell upon a day that in Sing Sing Prison, New York, a converted prize-fighter, known to the scum of the city as 'Awful Gardner,' was put up to preach to the convicts. Among them was an Irish Roman Catholic, Jerry McAuley by name, who had been emigrated to New York at thirteen years of age, and placed there under the care of his grandmother. He soon got out of hand and went to the bad. His record may be estimated from the fact that while still a lad in his teens he was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. He knew 'Awful Gardner' well. To use his own terse words, he knew him as 'an all-round ruffian.' The service made a profound impression on him, and became the turning-point of his life. Indeed it led to a religious movement in the prison. The authorities gave free access to city missionaries to continue the good work, and Bible classes were formed among the convicts. So unmistakable was the change in Jerry McAuley that the governor of the State granted him a pardon.

Between a prison cell and a free life of honest labour there lies a gulf, and it was left unbridged when poor McAuley was released from Sing Sing. It was not strange, therefore, that a man with such antecedents soon fell under the influence of old habits and former companions. But after several bad lapses a city missionary

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got hold of him, and he was again set upon his feet. He decided to devote his life to the rescue of others of his own class, and the records of his mission in one of the worst streets of New York have few parallels in the story of philanthropic and Christian effort. McAuley is now dead, but the work he originated is still carried on by men who at one time seemed to be, like him, hopeless drunkards and hardened criminals, but who were reclaimed by his influence—indirectly a result of 'Awful Gardner's' preaching in Sing Sing prison. The facts are public property. My friend, the Rev. Dr. A. T. Pierson, who is at this moment in England, declares that a visit to 'the Jerry McAuley Water Street Mission' is like reading a new chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

Yes; without reserve I maintain that no criminal is irreclaimable, and I earnestly plead for reforms in prison administration that will make reclamation as common as now it is unhappily rare. But considerations of this kind only lend increased weight to my demand for reforms in another sphere. They afford no excuse for a system which leaves the community a prey to the depredations of professional criminals. The question here is a practical one. It is not whether an offender is to be regarded as irreclaimable from the standpoint of the Christian philanthropist, but whether a criminal court is justified in holding him to be, in a legal sense, incorrigible. If, as the result of a fair public trial, he is proved to have deliberately and persistently followed a career of crime, let him be dealt with as reason and justice demand; and let mercy show itself, not in turning impenitent criminals loose upon society, but in bringing them under influences calculated to fit them possibly for a return to liberty in later years, but at all events to prepare them for the life to come.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

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A NATIONAL PARK FOR SCOTLAND

No nation in the world is better entitled than we are to the possession of a 'National Park,' and to none is it more necessary. We have multitudes of open spaces, of recreation grounds, and of town parks in the neighbourhood of our great cities, but we have nothing that can pretend to be a National Park in the splendid sense which the words convey to a citizen of the United States. London has her Hyde Park, Epping Forest, and Richmond Park; Edinburgh her Arthur's Seat; and Dublin her Phœnix Park; and almost every city in the Kingdom has some green and leafy pleasure-ground, of noble or paltry dimensions, bestowed generally by some wealthy and benevolent citizen. But these are different, in their essence and their purpose, from a National Park. They are, of course, admirably useful for exercise and fresh air for the townsfolk, and it is delightful to see the enjoyment and the health which rich and poor, and especially the guttersnipes, derive from them. A National Park has larger though less ambitious and less imperative claims, but they are of a kind which a country such as ours cannot afford permanently to disregard; and we must not forget that every year that the acquisition and establishment are postponed the more difficult and costly their accomplishment will become.

The objects of a National Park I take to be:

(1) The preservation in its wild state of a large tract of country possessing natural beauty and grandeur in a high degree, varied in its character and in its physical features, and combining, if possible, mountain, valley, forest, moorland, lofty peak, rocky glen, greensward, lake, river, burn, sea-cliffs, and sea-shore.

(2) The strict preservation, in these appropriate locations, of specimens of all the indigenous fauna of our country: the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe deer, the hare, the badger, the otter, the wildcat, the fox, and the minor quadrupeds[1]; the capercailzie, the blackcock, the muirfowl, the partridge, the golden eagle, the raven, and all the glorious tribe of sea-eagle and sea-hawk, and all the lesser native birds;

[1] I am inclined to except the rabbit as being, in spite of his pleasant little personality, an alien immigrant and an 'undesirable,' but 'Cuniculum *expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*'

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the salmon, the sea-trout, the ferox, the grayling, the yellow trout, *et hoc genus omne*. With these in view as its main objects, the National Park should be established, and in its accomplishment many subsidiary advantages would be simultaneously attained. The enclosure, once acquired, is for ever 'dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.' These are the words of the Act of Congress of the United States passed in 1872 instituting the Yellowstone Park in Wyoming, that splendid prototype which our old country should not be slow to copy. Our eyes, or the eyes of some of us, may not have witnessed that glorious scene, nor yet the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees in California; but, while we can imagine their majestic grandeur, we may be serenely satisfied that the western shores of our North Britain can show districts not less romantic nor less beautiful, nor less suitable for a National Park. There are estates and stretches of country and islands in Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, or Sutherland equal, though, of course, on a smaller scale, to anything which the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific Slope can boast, and possessing, indeed, the peculiar and for this purpose inestimable advantage over the Yellowstone Park or the Yosemite Valley, that they are fringed by sea, by sea-cliffs, and by sea-shore.

The Yellowstone Park is, of course, unapproachable in magnitude by anything which in these small islands we could hope to devote to the purposes of a National Park. It is fifty-five miles in length, by sixty-five miles in width, an area of 3,575 square miles, or 2,288,000 acres, or very nearly the size of Inverness-shire.[2] The Yosemite Valley, granted by the United States Congress in 1864 to the State of California, on condition that it should be preserved 'for public use, resort, and recreation, and inalienable for all time,' is more modest in size, the valley being only about six miles long, and in width from half a mile to two miles. It would not be difficult to find an area considerably larger than this in the West Highlands and well suited for the purposes required. The island of Jura, about 90,000 acres in extent, or the island of Rum, about 43,000 acres, would either of them make a glorious National Park, and their acquisition is perhaps not wholly impossible. There are a good many sheep farms, two or three of them together, almost worthless to their owners or to tenants in present times, and not a few deer forests, yielding only a poor rental, which could be acquired at modest prices. It is unquestionable that there are many Highland proprietors who are ready and willing to sell suitable properties at a fair valuation. The change, too, would be beneficial to the working people, the farm hands, the ghillies, and the crofters of the district, for in the operations of forestry, in the cultivation of such patches

[2] Inverness-shire contains 4,088 square miles, or 2,616,545 acres. Ross-shire contains 3,078 square miles, or 1,970,004 acres.

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of ground as would be necessary to grow winter feeding, and in the preservation of the animal inmates of the park there would be need for a considerable amount of labour all the year round.

The park should be not less than 20,000 to 30,000 acres in extent, and 50,000 acres would not be excessive. Twenty-five thousand acres may be taken as the average size of a Highland deer forest, though there are many good forests, well suited for their purpose and showing excellent sport, of very much smaller area. Such forests as the Black Mount, Langwell, Reay, Braemore, and Atholl range from 40,000 up to 80,000 acres; but even with 10,000 acres, if the ground be sufficiently varied, all the essentials for the preservation of the big native game could be obtained. This is no unattainable ideal. A capital outlay of some 30,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* would buy a suitable place, and very little further initial expense would be essential.

The financial aspect of the scheme must, of course, be faced, and as it is of the essence of the project that the park, as it must be the property of the nation, should be bought with national funds, a budget or *pro forma* balance-sheet must be framed which would satisfy the taxpayer as well as strict economical critics. Clearly no rent whatever can be obtained for the land or for any portion of it, for it must be devoted, every inch of it, to national purposes. But it does not follow that no income can be earned. There are various ways, all tending to promote the use and advantage of this national asset by the people and for the people, in which some yearly return could be realised. The breeding and sale of improved stags for the stocking of other forests is not unprofitable, and there seems no reason why the large proprietors in the Highlands, seeking to improve their stock of deer, should not do better for themselves by buying from the National Park instead of, as at present, from the great deer parks of England. The breeding and hatching of salmon and trout, the sale of the ova and of the fry, is now a well-established and a profitable trade, and there is no reason why the Office of Woods and Forests, under whose care the National Park would probably be placed, should not derive a fair revenue from this source. The sale of seedlings and saplings of the finer kinds of conifers and hard-wood trees by the forestry department would also add to the annual income.

But it must be admitted that, from a financial or Treasury point of view, the main advantage to the nation would be an indirect one. I remember comparing notes with an eminent judge, now dead, on the profit or loss to be derived from a home farm. I maintained that if an accurate system of bookkeeping were adopted an annual deficit was certain, as my own experience invariably showed. His lordship strongly maintained the reverse, and when I defied him to prove it by the production of his accounts, he pointed to the first item in the credit side of his balance-sheet—'By health, pleasure, and enjoyment derived from the farm, 200*l.*' This item turned the scale, and I was

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bound to admit that he had made out his case and shown a profit. But in the ledger of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Scottish Office, or the Woods and Forests, or the Congested Districts Board, under the account headed 'National Park,' no credit need be taken for any fanciful item. The direct advantages of preserving intact a large and wild tract of country of great natural beauty, of protecting it for ever from the inroads of the speculator or the schemes of the mining or railway promoter, the dedication of it 'for public uses, recreation, and resort, and inalienable for all time'; the benefit to our food supply, to science, and to pleasure, of preserving and improving the wild animals and birds of our country, and of rescuing their genera and their species from extinction in face of the gradual encroachments of cultivation and over-population; the enormous and highly prized boon which would be conferred upon zoologists, ornithologists, ichthyologists, botanists, arboriculturists, and all the honoured band of scientific folk, who are struggling individually and through their learned societies to maintain and extend the credit of our country in their valuable branches of knowledge; all these are plain and direct benefits which would surely and promptly accrue from the acquisition and maintenance of a National Park. Would there be any spot in our islands or in Europe where the scientist, the student of natural history, the man or woman in search of rest and quiet, the true sportsman (though he must abstain during his stay from 'killing something'), would resort so eagerly for a holiday, for repose, or for study and research in his favourite branch of natural history? This attractiveness to visitors suggests consequentially, as it has suggested to our cousins in America, an hotel, conducted in a refined and suitable manner and on a thoroughly paying basis. Such an establishment, frequented as it would be at all seasons by the class of visitors above described, ought without difficulty to yield a good annual profit, and by these means the 'paying' question would be well nigh, if not completely, solved. But it is probable that the British taxpayer would not be very exacting on this point. The sentiment of almost every individual of every class would, if its objects were duly explained, be aroused in favour of the scheme, and sentiment in such matters counts for a great deal. Is there anyone who has visited any of the privately owned sanctuaries for wild animals that have been established, even on a small scale, by private proprietors, such as the Duke of Bedford's at Woburn, the late Mr. Waterton's in the Midland Counties, or a former Lord Glasgow's at Kelburne, without experiencing the delight of watching the wild animals in their protected security, and of noting the extraordinary tameness and domesticity of the most timid species after even a short period of absolute immunity from pursuit and the enjoyment of certainty that they will not be hunted or shot at?

There may be danger in attempting to combine the project of a

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National Park with any scheme of a more directly utilitarian nature. but it is difficult to escape the reflection that the work is, or might easily be made, in many respects ancillary and cognate to certain branches of the work of the Congested Districts Board. That useful and effective body (who have been doing excellent work for the Highlands, under the guidance of two patriotic Scots—the late and the present Secretary for Scotland, and an ardent Highlander, their present permanent Under-Secretary at the Scottish Office) possess among them, with their scientific advisers, all the knowledge requisite for the management of a National Park. The Board have recently, with a spirit that is much to be commended, and in the interests of the crofters and small holders of the Highlands, carried through the purchase of two large estates, Glendale (about 28,000 acres) and Kilmuir (about 40,000 acres), both in the island of Skye. It is true that neither of these properties is suited for a National Park, for neither of them is strikingly romantic or beautiful (except, perhaps, in the coast scenery), and both of them are populous and tenanted by large settlements of crofters and cottars; but the ownership of these important crofting estates, comprising between them nearly a thousand separate holdings, and the heavy responsibility which rests upon the State as proprietor of advising, instructing, and supervising their tenants as to the best manner of utilising their holdings, will, it is earnestly to be hoped, convince the Board of the expediency of establishing an Experimental Farm for hill, woodland, and arable holdings. If the Kilmuir or Glendale Estates are not suitable for an Experimental Farm, the combination of that scheme with a National Park in some other locality would seem to be possible, as well as convenient and expedient.

But the scheme of a National Park can stand on its own legs. That it is not Utopian, but eminently practical, has been proved by experience, and the Government that has the courage and the spirit to undertake and carry through its accomplishment will deserve and will receive an ample meed of gratitude.

CHARLES STEWART.

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'THE STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES'

THE State Registration of Nurses is brought forward by its advocates as a sort of panacea for all the real and imaginary grievances against nurses, and we are asked to believe that the laudable desire to protect the public from the incompetent will be effectually accomplished by this means.

Those who have legitimate cause for complaining of an unsatisfactory nurse do not always pause to consider how far the proposed remedy is likely to do any good. If, on relating their unpleasant experience, a sympathetic friend declares with conviction that 'Registration will stop all this,' the victim will vaguely acquiesce and join in the familiar cry that 'something must be done,' and that that 'something' must be 'registration.'

Before accepting misleading assertions as sober facts, it is well to inquire in what way registration would mitigate existing evils as alleged, and to ascertain what are the grounds of the very strong opposition to it which exists.

We must ask ourselves, would registration be of *practical* service in the difficult task of separating the chaff from the wheat? Would it tend to protect the confiding public from unsatisfactory nurses or merely to delude them into a false sense of security? Is the nursing profession so hopelessly disorganised and the means of enforcing discipline so entirely lacking as we are asked to believe? Is it true that the many ills which are so fervently dilated upon by the advocates of some system of central control are due to the want of this, or that they would be effectually remedied by it?

It is not more 'red tape' but more intelligent discrimination that is needed for the better organisation of the nursing profession.

Every year adds to the number of good nurses produced throughout the country, and, as a consequence, the number of those with indifferent attainments must increase also, because there will be a proportion of failures.

The chief amongst many reasons for existing difficulties is the extraordinary rapidity with which the demands for the best nurses of every kind have outstripped the supply. While this is the case, and wholesale demands in fresh directions continue to spring up, some

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discontent is inevitable. It is due to the necessity of frequently employing second and third rate nurses, not from choice, not wholly because it is admittedly difficult to distinguish between one and the other, but because a sufficiency of the best is not yet forthcoming.

The question the public ask is, How are we to distinguish between the two? How can we ensure, when we want an ideal nurse and are ready to pay for her, that her services will be at our disposal, and that we shall not be put off with a third-rate specimen of the profession?

It is here that the advocates of state registration step in, and would have us believe that at present it is impossible to discern a nurse's real qualification, but this is not so. This would only be the case if really good nurses were placed on a level with those who could just manage to get their names on the register by attaining the minimum standard of technical qualifications to enable them to be registered. Those with inferior nursing qualifications would produce the *same* evidence of supposed fitness, and the certainty which *is* to be had at present by taking ordinary trouble of inquiry would be less carefully sought after, and far more difficult to obtain.

If the 'hall-mark' of registration is set on good, bad, and indifferent on the grounds that evidence of a minimum standard of technical qualifications has been furnished, what *practical* guide will registration be as to the real quality of the nurse? It is dangerous to authorise a misleading label to be fixed on any commodity. However eager the multitude of those with inferior qualifications may be to be classed with those whose claims to rank first are indisputable, nothing can well be more detrimental to the standing of the best, or more calculated to mislead the confiding public, than to put all in the same class.

When we speak of qualifications we wish to emphasise the following important point. Registration can only pretend to register technical knowledge, and it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that technical knowledge is only one, and that the least important, side of a nurse's qualifications. It is blinding the eyes of the public, therefore, to teach them to look upon any system of centralised registration as a *practical* guide to the suitability of any nurse for undertaking the duties required of her.

The personal qualifications of a nurse are a more important factor in her practical success than her technical knowledge. It is this point which is too often set aside by the advocates of registration.

It would not be remarkable if the public who know that doctors are registered, and who have so recently been brought to see the necessity for the registration of midwives, were now ready to believe that the registration of nurses is equally desirable. It is urged that registration can provide similar security that those who have been

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registered by a central board will prove good nurses, but the analogy is misleading.

The primary value of a doctor and of a midwife to the public depends upon their possessing accurate knowledge of the special technical duties they profess to undertake. Therefore the fitness of both for registration can justly be ascertained by examination combined with the regulation amount of practical experience.

No one wishes to deny the advantages of excellent personal qualities in a doctor or a midwife, nor the necessity for technical skill and knowledge in a nurse, but the relative importance of these qualifications is beyond question, and it makes all the difference whether the members of any profession are to be classed according to what is of primary or of secondary importance in their respective callings. The *chief* essential in a midwife is accurate technical knowledge of her work. This explains why those who are earnestly opposed to the state registration of nurses were unanimously in favour of the state registration of midwives.

If the public will pause to consider the essential difference between the duties demanded of a nurse, who generally has to become an inmate of the patient's household, and be in close contact with him for the whole of the twenty-four hours, as compared with the doctor, who only sees the patient at brief intervals during that time, or as compared with a midwife, whose services are needed for a special occasion, it is not difficult to understand that the personal qualities of a nurse are the *first* consideration in securing her services. It also becomes clear that in regard to doctors and midwives registration *can* do all it professes to do, and may therefore be accepted as a reliable guide on the point of primary importance where they are concerned. But, although no one denies that it is essential for a nurse to be skilful in the discharge of her technical duties, in practice this almost invariably proves the *second* and not the *first* consideration in estimating the value of a trained nurse.

This is the daily experience of those whose duty it is to supply nurses to the public. Both doctors and friends come with anxious explanations of the kind of nurse they want, and if those who have the most reason to feel bitter over their disappointment and annoyances in connection with the trained nurses they have employed will analyse their experiences, they will find that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred their ground for complaint has been unpleasant personal characteristics in a nurse, or the lack of those qualities which make the right woman's presence acceptable in the sick-room.

Where nursing is concerned the results of examination are specially misleading. A nurse may possess plenty of technical knowledge of her work, and have no faculty for displaying this knowledge at examination. This is the constant experience of those who are responsible for the training of nurses. Another nurse, as we

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know to our cost, may be quite unsuitable for the care of the sick, and yet be quick at grasping theoretical instruction, and be able to pass any examination. An examination, however useful as a means of testing that a nurse has acquired a rudimentary knowledge of those matters which a nurse ought to know, is yet no test as to the relative capability of nurses, even with regard to the technical side of their work, when it comes to the *practical application* of their knowledge.

The only way that the probable fitness of any nurse for the duties required of her can be definitely ascertained is by careful inquiry from those who can speak with personal knowledge of the woman and of her work. It cannot be made too clear that passing an examination and complying with such other conditions of experience and length of training as a central board may demand, would *not* give any *practical* security to the public that a nurse was *technically efficient*. The registered facts would not help inquirers to ascertain whether a nurse was suitable for a particular post. What advantage then can the public or the best nurses hope to gain by it? Besides, what practical guarantee could registration afford that if a nurse were competent at the time of her registration her efficiency had been maintained? If it had become known to her recent employers that the quality of her work had deteriorated, what indication could a central board give of this? It is true that the authorities, who would place the nurse's name on the register, would retain the nominal authority to remove it, but who that has had reason to find fault with a nurse, and is thankful to get rid of her, is going to take the necessary steps for her removal from the register, unless she has been notoriously bad?

The sense of public duty would seldom outweigh the personal inconvenience of carrying the matter through, or overcome the good-natured reluctance most people feel to 'doing a nurse any harm.' As the active sense of annoyance subsides, the stern determination to show up wrongdoing too often evaporates. Instead of a truthful report a nurse is sent away with a good character, and the justly aggrieved patient, reflecting on what he has suffered at the hands of one who was not suitable for the duties assigned to her, is content to swell the chorus of complaints against nurses in general. How much more would this be the case if the complaint, instead of being made to the doctor, or to the authorities of the institution which supplied the nurse, had to be brought officially before a central board? It would often be extremely difficult to bring forward definite *proof* that a nurse had been inefficient and personally unsatisfactory, and who is going to risk an action for libel by making the attempt? What central body would dare to remove a nurse except for some very serious misconduct?

How, then, can it be said that '*the continuance of a nurse's*

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name on the roll would be a guarantee to the public of her professional efficiency and general fitness for employment'?

Let us remember too that all complaints against nurses are not justified by the facts. Patients are not always reasonable in their accusations, and not always accurate in their statements. Very thorough investigation would be necessary before any definite action could be taken, and a nurse's professional career might be seriously damaged pending a lengthy inquiry. Nurses are expected to give satisfaction to all sorts and conditions of men and women in widely different surroundings. Even nurses who can lay claim to more than the average share of adaptability may be unfortunate in their experiences sometimes, and without any failure of duty may be the victims of prejudice on the part of those whom they have not been able to please.

The advocates of state registration for nurses are warmly in favour of a uniform standard, and here again many of those who are in daily contact with the practical needs of the work are compelled to differ from them. That everyone who aspires to be a nurse should be able to carry out efficiently elementary nursing duties is obviously essential, but the *amount* of theoretical knowledge which a nurse needs in addition to this, to qualify her for different positions in work connected with nursing, is very varied indeed. To insist upon a uniform standard of training would be to hamper progress, by concentrating the attention of nurses of every social class on the least important side of their duties, and would tend to eliminate very many whom it is desirable to retain amongst the ranks of trained nurses. Neither the length of time spent in training, nor the number of examinations passed, can be accepted as an infallible guide to the degree of training a nurse has actually received, even as regards her technical qualifications alone.

Neither the public nor nurses themselves would be protected from disappointment nor from injustice by any system of State registration. To expect uniformity is fallacious, and to desire it is to be blind to the real necessities of the case.

It is inevitable that hospitals apparently similar should vary very much in the opportunities for experience which they offer, and in the quality of the training given, just as candidates for training bring very different capabilities to the work. Some women absorb knowledge quickly, and are very receptive of the teaching bestowed upon them. They will get more out of their opportunities for acquiring experience, and profit more by them, than women who develop slowly, and who need more time to become trained. But, such differences as are inherent in the workers and in the surroundings where training is bestowed, must be recognised as one of the practical facts with which we have to deal. The error lies in the failure to perceive that very varied degrees of practical and theoretical

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knowledge are *needed*, if nurses are to be supplied who are thoroughly efficient for the very varied duties which they are called upon to undertake.

To become an accomplished and skilled nurse requires qualities and capabilities which are not half as common as could be desired. But it is very important that nurses should not aim to become amateur doctors, and it would be increasingly difficult to prevent them from doing so if they are taught that the chief thing necessary to become a nurse is the successful passing of technical examinations. No one suggests that this is the *object* of State registration, but it would infallibly be the result. A nurse may well rejoice in the fresh interests which following up scientific subjects may be to her, but beyond the advantage which accrues from all culture, it must be clearly understood that *she will not be a better nurse in consequence.*

If the university graduate is drawn towards nursing, she will not succeed *because* of her educational advantages, but because she has an innate love of the work, allied to any other gifts she may possess. No one disputes that technical knowledge is essential to efficiency, but the nurse, however mechanically perfect, who has 'no vocation for nursing' will be as disappointing to her patients as Dead Sea fruit.

One of the most insidious injuries that registration would inflict upon future nurses would be to make the right women believe that, if they could not pass such examinations as may be required by a central board, they must get their living in some other way.

It is not sufficiently realised that the training schools are required to provide a number of the very best nurses to supply large organisations of national importance. Although many of the Poor Law infirmaries have established excellent training schools of their own, the Local Government Board and the Metropolitan Asylums Board still expect considerable assistance from the voluntary hospitals in the training of nurses to supply their needs.

The training schools are the original sources of supply for 'Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service,' 'Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service for India,' 'Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service,' 'Queen Victoria's Jubilee Nursing Institute,' not to speak of the many other directions in which nurses can render valuable service in public appointments. In addition to this the Colonial Nursing Association exists to take many trained nurses out of the country to do useful work in other parts of the Empire.

I know too that it is a source of constant regret to the training schools not to be able to afford more adequate assistance in these directions. After doing their utmost to help, they find their resources are too limited as yet to enable them to respond effectually to the innumerable appeals with which they are beset.

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Those concerned with the selection of first-rate nurses for these various appointments will all strongly confirm what I say as to the difficulty of securing a sufficient supply of the best workers out of the candidates from whom they have to choose.

The majority of even our best hospitals have been understaffed for many years, and the general necessity for hospitals to increase their own nursing staffs in order to meet modern requirements has made them absorb a large proportion of the increasing numbers their own training schools have produced.

This leaves a comparatively small margin *of the best* to supply all the outside demands, and it must also be borne in mind that in spite of the number of excellent nurses who become qualified every year, many are also lost to the profession. Some marry or return to home duties. Some die or cease to follow their profession for a variety of personal reasons.

How many third-rate nurses are retained in their posts to-day, because the difficulty of finding a first-rate nurse *willing to fill the position* is temporarily insuperable!

Is it not somewhat futile to talk of suppressing inferior nurses arbitrarily—so to speak—when so many posts throughout the country have to be filled with the *best of those available for them*, often a very different thing from the best that is desired?

There has long been a determined though ill-advised attempt on the part of a somewhat noisy section of the nursing world to create a distrust of the training schools. This cry that the training schools wish to keep everything in their own hands—with the implication that such a desire is little short of a crime—is readily taken up by those whose services have not been retained by the training schools, and who consequently have personal grievances against them. This represents a considerable proportion of those who are antagonistic to the training schools. It is not the rejected or the failures of any profession whose opinion of its organisation carries most weight, but it frequently happens that these have more time to disseminate their views than those whose authority is based on wider experience.

It is not fair to reproach the training schools because they have not been able to achieve impossibilities. The large majority of them *have* shown persevering determination to do their best for the interests of all concerned, and for the most part they have not been daunted by the difficulties inseparable from the position they occupy.

If a would-be probationer shows herself untrainable, lacking in kindliness, tact, and discretion, quarrelsome and selfish with her fellow-workers, and generally undesirable from a nursing point of view, she and her friends are always ready to maintain that she is the victim of 'misunderstanding' and 'personal dislike.'

If an unsuitable woman, after repeated warnings, manages by

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dint of spasmodic improvement to get through her training, and ultimately reveals her incapacity, the public are equally ready to blame the training school for allowing an unsuitable woman to become a qualified nurse.

If women of average ability work well whilst under supervision, and subsequently deteriorate, still the training school gets blamed 'for turning out such women.'

There are better ways of advancing the true interests of nurses and of their work than to attempt to engender a distrust of the institutions with which they are or have been associated, or than to try to persuade them that matrons, who have helped them through their difficulties and rejoiced in their successes, are no longer desirous of promoting their interests, or securing their permanent advancement.

As matters stand at present, the best nurses know that they have the support and influence of their training schools behind them, and are aware that so long as they take the trouble to keep in touch with their old hospital, a friendly interest will continue to be taken in their professional career. This is done to a greater extent already than is generally supposed, and many matrons have gratifying testimony from time to time that both nurses and the public appreciate the practical advantage of having a continuous record kept.

This plan of a supplementary record which Miss Nightingale has always tried to promote, although not of universal application, has often proved of service to those who have chosen to avail themselves of it.

The knowledge that their old comrades continue to take an interest in them is often the best inspiration nurses can have to keep up to the highest standard, and as this association is voluntary on their part, it does not interfere in the slightest degree with the freedom of those who may wish to sever their connection with old ties.

If private nurses prefer to live at home and work on their own account, it would still be beneficial to them and to the public to encourage them to report themselves at their old training schools with sufficient frequency to ensure that they were kept in remembrance.

For many years past the training schools have done their best to bring about a more orderly state of affairs by granting certificates to indicate that a certain amount of technical knowledge, theoretical and practical, had been acquired by the teaching and experience in the wards of the hospital, and that the holder of the certificate was a suitable person to be in charge of the sick *at the time of granting the certificate.*

It has been clear to the training school authorities from Miss

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Nightingale onwards, that no certificate could indicate the personal fitness of a nurse for the duties required of her. But the certificate can indicate in general terms what a nurse's technical qualifications are, while her personal fitness for any of the various positions she may desire to fill can be ascertained by those engaging the nurse, or interested in the making of important appointments, by further inquiry at the training school where the nurse originally gained her certificate.

Information as to the size and standing of the hospital granting the certificate, or the special objects for which the hospital exists, is very easily obtained. The interests of the best nurses and the interests of the public are closely allied, for it is desirable—not that every nurse should possess the *same* qualifications—but that the qualifications she does possess should be easily ascertained and estimated at their true worth.

The more inclined the public are to attach importance to the recommendations of those who can speak with personal knowledge of the nurse's work and conduct, the more nurses will realise that it is all-important to them not only to earn the good opinion of those who have been responsible for their training, but to endeavour to retain it. The best centres of discipline and of registration are surely the training schools. The fact that they are separate centres strengthens rather than weakens their position, for it encourages the development of a high standard of work for the credit of the training school, whilst avoiding the evils inseparable from a central registration.

There was a time when the sight of a certificate was accepted readily as a guarantee that the nurse was personally suitable for any post for which she chose to apply. But the result of many disappointing experiences has tended to make inquiries in regard to personal character much more universal, and it is obviously in this direction that safety lies. The habitual adoption of this wise precaution is the surest means to prevent disappointment, and to gradually evolve order out of chaos.

At one time partially trained nurses were able to obtain important posts without reference to anyone, with qualifications that nowadays would not pass muster anywhere.

It would be interesting to learn what grounds Lady Helen Munro Ferguson has for stating that 'the prizes of the profession are distributed haphazard among the fully trained and partially trained.' That 'private nurses of every kind and degree of training' find employment readily is a matter of common knowledge, but that the *prizes* of the profession are, *in these days*, bestowed upon those who are without the requisite *technical* qualifications is news to us all.

Many women with natural gifts for nursing, and some without, who are casually interested in it, or who merely desire a little variety

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in their lives, recognise the value of some technical training. But it is not those whose connection with the work is temporary who are best qualified as a rule to lay down the law as to what systems of training are desirable, or to enlighten us as to what nurses most need.

The amateur point of view gets spread abroad because so many have acquired a smattering of these matters at the present time. But we should hesitate to accept conclusions based on brief experience, and guard against losing our heads and rushing at ill-considered remedies for evils which only time and patience can minimise or remove.

Obviously the work done in small country hospitals cannot be classed in the *same* category as the experience to be gained and the training to be given in leading London and Provincial Training Schools. It may well be that some hospitals will turn out nurses more adapted to one branch of nursing than another. The capabilities and the wishes of the workers have to be taken into consideration, and it is not those sisters and nurses who enjoy the stir and pressure of work in the busy wards of a large hospital, who are the most likely to settle down happily in quiet country districts.

When the value of trained nursing was first discovered, there was more cause than at present to complain of gross ignorance on the part of so-called nurses. So few existed who had even the slightest pretext for calling themselves trained nurses, that those with little or no training, and with no character to lose, were employed by unworthy persons who set up institutions for the supply of hospital-trained nurses, and they made considerable sums of money by carrying on this fraudulent sort of business.

But it was not to be expected that the public would immediately appreciate the importance of safeguarding themselves from ignorant or unsuitable persons by sending direct to hospitals when they required a nurse. Moreover, in the beginning, this source of supply was too limited to meet all the demands, hence less satisfactory methods of finding private nurses have continued to prevail.

The desirability of having private nurses who could be supplied by the hospital authorities became evident, and thus a proper system for the supply of a better class of private nurse was established.

From that time onwards the public have not been without a guarantee that when they ask for the services of a trained nurse their demand will be satisfactorily met, as far as the resources of the hospitals will allow.

The further development of this system of maintaining private nursing staffs in direct connection with hospitals will enable the public to satisfy themselves, without delay or inconvenience, that they are being supplied with a genuine article when they apply for it.

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There ought to have been enough instances of incompetent women supplied from some of the nursing homes and inferior institutions, besides partially trained nurses working on their own account, to have put both doctors and the public on their guard against employing any of them, without making inquiries as to their qualifications. If they refuse to employ those who cannot produce evidence that they are what they profess to be, it would settle the question more effectually than by any other means that can be adopted, because it would no longer *pay* these women to try to impose upon the public.

If they are deliberately employed in default of better nurses being available, at any rate there is no deception in the matter, and that would be one step gained. It is a mistake to acquiesce in the evil because of the slight trouble making an inquiry involves.

It is said that nurses are wanted in too great a hurry in the country for previous inquiry to be possible. But if a doctor sends to a local institution for a nurse he should know what reputation it bears, and take an early opportunity of questioning a nurse as to her qualifications. A letter, a telegram, or a telephone inquiry would promptly verify any statements if confirmation appeared desirable.

If all unsatisfactory nurses found they could not get work without being able to produce evidence that their credentials entitled them to it, the worst of the impostors would very soon be crowded out, and those with limited but genuine qualifications be accepted on their merits.

The lesson which doctors and the public should learn by the unpleasant experiences they have had, is to insist upon getting *what they want* and to remember that they can only do this effectually *for themselves.* If they shelve their responsibilities by thrusting them on to any centralised Registration Board, they are but preparing their own eventual disappointment, and the time cannot be long delayed when they will discover with dismay that they are more helpless than ever to defend themselves against the *unsuitable.*

As experience grows, increasing importance is attached to the human side of a nurse's capabilities. A surgeon, in speaking of a hospital Sister, said to me recently, 'I have nothing at all to say against her as a surgical nurse. She is "smart" in the operating theatre and knows her work well, but I confess, if I were a patient, I should want a little more of "the smoothing of the pillow business"; it helps one along.'

When men and women are ill they certainly need a nurse who will not only carry out the doctor's orders, but who will 'help them along.'

The pseudo-scientific young person, who is more concerned with showing off her 'little knowledge' to the doctor, and more interested

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in the 'case' than in the 'patient,' has become a terror in the sick-room. None who have had experience of her, on the occasions when a real nurse was required, can wonder that those who have been thus victimised speak with extreme bitterness of the misery and annoyance she has caused. Registration will tend to multiply this type indefinitely, and when she goes about armed with her certificate, nothing but personal inquiries, which she ought to be able to satisfy, can reveal the truth. The doctor, who knows full well how much the success of his work and the welfare of his patients depend upon the nurse in whose hands he leaves them, will be the best guide if any question arises as to the quality of the training which her credentials indicate. The patients and their friends will have no difficulty in forming their own judgment as to her personal qualifications. It is not as difficult as it appears for the public to protect themselves against imposture, but it is impossible to spare them the slight trouble of making the inquiry necessary for an up-to-date assurance that a genuine article has been supplied.

If we endeavour to produce mechanical perfection we shall more or less approach it, but who will profit by such an outcome of our labours? Is it not truer wisdom to seek first the higher attributes of nursing and to steadfastly impress upon the rising generations of nurses that these *are* the *first* essentials for their *permanent* success.

Let us try to utilise more hospitals for the efficient training of nurses. The addition to the numbers on the nursing staff would gradually shorten the hours for all. The result would be to produce more private nursing staffs in connection with the hospitals, so that a better trained and better disciplined set of nurses would be forthcoming who would at the same time be certain of *well-paid* employment, for that is a *sine quâ non*.

This cannot be brought about in a day, but if the public would concentrate its attention on this as one of the practical remedies for the evils we all deplore, it would soon meet the case far more effectually than legislating to stereotype mediocrity.

If we were to yield to the cry that 'something must be done' before pausing to realise what the conditions are which have to be dealt with, it would be fatal to the further development of trained nursing. Nothing can alter the fact that nursing is a domestic occupation as well as a profession. To emphasise the importance of technical knowledge, when we are suffering on every hand from defects of character, is to court failure, and such proceeding cannot be defended on grounds of common sense. Safety is best assured by trying to eliminate unsatisfactory nurses, whether certificated or not, by the only effective means, *i.e.* by producing a larger supply of the best.

Nothing so effectually discourages sustained effort as realising that less than the best of which a nurse is capable is good enough to

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meet all that is required of her. If state registration were to become the order of the day, nurses would have far less incentive to individual development, and the matrons of hospitals have more excuse for shirking their responsibility of keeping the human side of the work *first* in the minds of nurses.

Although the knowledge that hundreds of good nurses exist is small compensation to those who are unfortunate in their experience, a few of the best of these women go a long way towards redeeming the reputation of their unworthy comrades. It is those who can infuse restrained sympathy into skilled ministrations who raise nursing from a mere profession to a fine art. Any patient who has had the benefit of the tender and perceptive services which some women pass all their lives in bestowing upon those who need them, can testify that they have received a gift beyond price. Many will be ready to defend the freedom of the best trained nurses, and to do all that is possible to save them from the fallacious 'protection' with which they are threatened. If the unsuitable could be annihilated by registration there would be something to say in its favour, but no one can claim that this would be achieved.

EVA C. E. LÜCKES,
Matron of the London Hospital.

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THE ARMY AND THE ESHER SCHEME

It is frequently alleged, and with some truth, that the War Office has been made a scapegoat for the Government in reference to the inefficiency disclosed by the Royal Commission on the South African War. If, however, it is freely granted that not only Lord Lansdowne, but the Government as a whole, failed to prepare effectually for the crisis that was before them, and that the War Office, in spite of all its shortcomings, successfully provided, despatched, maintained, and supplied the largest army that has ever been engaged in an oversea expedition, the fact yet remains that a Cabinet representing the very salt of the earth must under the prevailing conditions have laboured under disadvantages sufficient in themselves to have prevented a sound, methodical, and facile transition from the ways of peace to those of war. For the failings of our military system the Government actually in office in 1899 was indeed to blame; but to no greater or less extent than its predecessors of either party. No British Government has hitherto attempted to arrive at any definite ideas in reference to the strategical policy of the Empire, or to set in order the peace organisation of our warlike machinery so as to adapt it to the purposes of efficient mobilisation in support of our Imperial interests.

When actually engaged in hostilities with foreign Powers, Ministers have from time to time been ready enough to usurp the strategical direction of our forces by sea and land; but no idea of previous co-operation upon the part of the parliamentary, naval, and military leaders of the nation to ensure timely preparation against particular eventualities has ever entered seriously into Ministerial calculations.

It is little wonder that the uncertainty of British policy has long been proverbial upon the continent of Europe. In the absence of any definite views of our own upon subjects of foreign or colonial policy, we have frequently drifted into wars or irritated our most loyal Colonies in cases where the exercise of reasonable consistency, based upon knowledge and common sense, would usually have prevented every difficulty That considerable oscillation, in matters of detail, is inseparable from Government by party, is undeniable; but it is, at the same time, at least equally certain that if the broad principles of a definite strategical

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policy had been accepted by a Cabinet, in accordance with the opinions of experts given upon full information, it could not be a light matter for a succeeding Government to entirely reverse or abandon that policy. It is easy when in Opposition to denounce every action of the Government, without knowledge of facts and merely by force of political habit; but we have not yet sunk so low that a new Ministry is likely to put politics altogether before patriotism, and, though convinced by the evidence before it that its predecessors were right, nevertheless to cancel the decisions at which the latter arrived.

It was to providing some security in the direction above indicated that Lord Esher and his colleagues first addressed themselves. By the terms of its reference the Committee was properly concerned only with the reformation of the War Office system; but reforms confined solely to Army administration would have been comparatively useless without further steps being taken to weld together the political, the naval, and the military elements, so as to ensure the concerted action of the whole in the interests of Imperial defence. This fact was clearly explained by the Committee in the covering letter addressed to the Prime Minister when rendering Part I. of the Report, and has since been reiterated in a manner so convincing that its acceptance has been established as a matter of prime necessity.

The outcome of this contention is a reconstruction of the 'Defence Committee.' The paramountcy of the Prime Minister for the time being is fully recognised; but it is provided that there shall always be at his disposal not merely the best available advice in reference to the question of the moment, but the historical aspects of each case, and a full understanding of all the measures hitherto adopted for the purpose of meeting such an eventuality, and the reasons for them. In the 'Permanent nucleus' the Defence Committee has a solid Imperial basis, of a purely professional character—including selected officers of the British Navy and Army, the Indian and the Colonial forces. The actual decision of all questions of strategical policy necessarily rests with the Cabinet; but the duty of so elucidating such questions that they shall be accurately presented for consideration, together with all the side-issues involved, is the business of the Permanent nucleus of the Defence Committee.

Imperial defence is not a political, a naval, or a military matter; to be effectively conducted it must rest upon the intimate combination of all three. Correct and plentiful information, and well-conceived schemes based upon it, represent the only means whereby we can hope to be ready for emergencies. The weak points in the armour of our possible adversaries and in our own must be known always to a nicety, and our plans so laid that, when seizing such advantages as the situation may offer for assailing the vulnerable parts of the enemy, we at the same time cover, so far as possible, our own.

Neither the Defence Committee, as a body, nor its Permanent

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element encroaches in the very least upon the particular functions of the naval or of the military authorities in peace or war. In case of war the work of the Committee is confined to the general question of where the naval and military forces are to operate, and with what object; nor is it to be supposed that a plan of operations would be decided upon without the full concurrence of the officers selected to command the forces and of the Admiralty and War Office authorities.

The Prime Minister being at once the principal adviser of the Crown and the President of the Defence Committee, of which also the Cabinet Ministers upon whom he chiefly relies are members, it follows that, unless the Prime Minister chooses to disregard the evidence brought before him, the advice given to the Crown and the measures consequently adopted will represent the decision arrived at by the Defence Committee upon the information placed before it by its 'Permanent nucleus.'

Obviously, the responsibility that would lie upon a dictatorial Prime Minister who deliberately flew in the face of professional advice, with disastrous consequences, would be very great, and such as would not lightly be accepted even by the most obstinate. Thus we have a security against the evils to which a Prime Minister of less than consummate genius might expose us; whilst we may feel confident that when the office is held by a Napoleon of politics he will do what he knows to be right, however venturesome or otherwise mistaken it may appear to his less courageous or less far-seeing colleagues of the Committee or of the Cabinet.

Having thus provided a scheme under which the political, naval, and military factors of the problem of Imperial defence may be coordinated so far as practicable, the Committee proceeded to deal with the particular matter with which they were immediately concerned. Army reform is a subject that has in the past been treated seriously enough by sundry others before the present Committee—though fruitlessly, owing to the apathy of the public, and the consequent inactivity of successive Governments—and in the proceedings of the Hartington Commission Lord Esher and his colleagues found much assistance. The state of affairs disclosed in 1904 was much the same as that which have existed fifteen years before, and the spirit of the recommendations then made agrees in a great measure with that which permeates the more practically successful proposals of to-day. The comprehensive scheme of the Esher Committee includes, in fact, all that was best in that which preceded it. There is, however, this marked difference, that whereas the Hartington Commission indicated evils and suggested the lines upon which remedies might be framed, the Esher Committee have masterfully insisted upon the immediate necessity for adopting one and all of the reforms which they have actually elaborated, pointing out that the value of their proposals depends upon their unqualified

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acceptance—that without all its parts the new machinery cannot work.

The obstacles to efficiency prevalent in the army system appeared to the Committee to be as follows:

DEFECTS

(1) That the entire organisation rested upon a peace basis, and dislocation of the whole consequently followed an outbreak of hostilities.

(2) That the War Office was a house divided against itself, its civilian (especially the financial) and military elements pulling in opposite directions, in, no doubt, friendly but nevertheless regrettable conflict, to the detriment of the public service.

(3) That nominal responsibilities were immense, varied, and impossible; whereas practical responsibility was nil.

(4) That every officer, in and out of the War Office, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards, had so many irons in the fire that he could attend properly to none, and least of all to training and other preparations for actual war.

(5) That the Army was without an efficient 'thinking department,' —in fact, that there was no 'brain of the army,' such as exists in Continental systems.

(6) That efficiency had been rendered impossible by centralisation in all branches, from organisation and training to the smallest routine of administration and finance.

REMEDIES

(1) The measures required in order to substitute a system based upon the need to establish in peace an organisation suited to the conduct of war, in place of a lack of system, resulting in a complicated peace machinery utterly unsuited for use in time of war, are necessarily distributed amongst the remedies prescribed for the various shortcomings particularly dealt with, and the trend of them must be followed and considered accordingly.

(2) To prevent friction between the civilian and military elements of the War Office but one course—the obvious one—could possibly be effectual, and this, therefore, has been adopted. By the creation of an 'Army Council' the Committee have brought together upon a common platform the Secretary of State for War, the heads of the great Military Departments, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary (to deal with civil business other than finance), and a Finance Member. A Council of seven is thus formed, at the head of which is the Secretary of State, occupying a position of general responsibility to the Crown, as Chairman of the Council, and, unlike the members, having no particular branch of business under his own direction. The military members are in a majority, but against this preponderance is the great influence of the Secretary of State; and as the result, whilst there can

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never be any danger of military opinion being unable to make its voice heard, the constitutional authority yet holds the military in a firm grasp. For every decision arrived at by the Council each and every member is equally responsible; but it is the special duty of each to see that the application of such decisions to his own particular department is properly attended to. The only means by which a member of the Council can divest himself of responsibility is by resignation. Thus, assuming a divergence of opinion upon a vital question between the Secretary of State, supported or otherwise by his civilian colleagues, and the military majority, one side or the other must resign; and if the Secretary of State does not do so, then the others can have no option. The Prime Minister, no doubt advised by the Cabinet Council, thus becomes the referee. If he sides with the military members, their resignations will not be accepted, and the Secretary of State will have to withdraw; or if the contrary, then the dissentient members finally quit the Council. Meanwhile the Army as a whole is administered by the Council as a body, and within the walls of the War Office there cannot be an opponent of any measure who is not under the direct orders of the Council itself, and consequently powerless to obstruct. That even subordinate officials of the Financial Secretary's branch have hitherto been in the habit of minuting with their opinions correspondence with the greatest military authorities is abundantly proved by the evidence given before the War Commission, and by information gained from other sources. The evils of such a system are self-evident. In future there can be no sort of *imperium in imperio;* the views of the several branches of the War Office will all be represented on the Army Council, and the decision arrived at by that body will be comprehensive and final. In financial matters the Army will be self-governing, upon a widely decentralised system, from the moment that the total sum to be made available under the Army votes for the year has been sanctioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Army Council is thus subordinate to the extent that it cannot compel payment under the Army votes of the full amount demanded by any particular department of the War Office; but whatever the sums eventually credited to the departments represented by its various members, the actual expenditure of those sums will be administered by those departments in their several branches without further reference. Lastly, when the sum of the original estimates put forward by the Council exceeds that which can be granted, the Council as a body will decide upon the directions in which economies can be effected with the least detriment, and so reduce the amount to the required level.

(3) In order to obtain distinct responsibility the impossible burden of superintendence formerly borne by the Commander-in-Chief has been divided between the members of the Council and an Inspector-General of the Forces; whilst executive responsibility is entrusted to the 'Directors' of main branches and the heads of subordinate branches

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within the War Office, and to Generals Commanding-in-Chief in the five training districts and Major-Generals in charge of the eight administrative districts into which the United Kingdom has been divided. The Inspector-General in no sense corresponds with the former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and is not *ex-officio* the superior officer of the Generals Commanding-in-Chief, whose troops, &c., are inspected by him or by the inspectors who form his staff. The duties of the Inspector-General under the Army Council are to observe results and to report to that Council, and those of the Directors of branches to perform the work appertaining to their several branches under the general superintendence of the member of the Council in whose department they are included, and who represents their interests on the Council, which is the Army Parliament, and legislates, as a body, for the Army as a whole.

(4) Preparation for war of all kinds, and especially training, has suffered in consequence of those officers nominally responsible for it being so occupied in their offices in the discharge of duties connected with administrative routine that they have been unable to spare time for promoting the fighting efficiency of the troops. To meet this difficulty administration and training have been absolutely separated. Work formerly done in the offices or orderly rooms of combatant units will in future be attended to, so far as possible, at the headquarters of the eight administrative districts, and the hands of executive officers set free for combatant duty only.

(5) A 'brain of the army' has been created by the formation of a General Staff, the head of which is the Chief of the General Staff, the 'First Military Member' of the Army Council. This officer, and the department under him, will be charged solely with preparation for war in connection with military policy, intelligence, organisation and operations. His duties in regard to preparation generally are continuous, but with the actual provision of *personnel* he is not concerned; the Adjutant-General raises the forces, effects the mobilisation, and hands over the troops when ready to move. The business of the Chief of the General Staff is thus confined to the higher business of war—plans of operations, and the employment of the forces accordingly. His mind and the minds of his subordinates will not thus become cramped by attending to details which however actually important are nevertheless, from the higher standpoint, petty. Similarly, the Quartermaster-General provides supplies and transport, and the Master-General of Ordnance (as a manufacturer) the munitions of war. As the staff is organised at the War Office, so also will it be with an army in the field; the only departments unrepresented in the latter case being that of the 'Civil Member,' which obviously is not required, and of the Master-General of Ordnance, whose supplies reach the troops through the Quartermaster-General. The 'Director of Army Finance' with an army in the field represents the Finance Member of the Council

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in every respect; whilst the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, and the Quartermaster-General perform the prescribed duties of their several departments; except that 'movements' having now passed to the department of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General ceases to give orders in connection therewith, unless for the purpose of raising and mobilising local forces.

(6) Decentralisation has been generally applied, so that responsibility for local expenditure passes to Commanders of Districts, who are also empowered to deal with promotions up to the rank of major; only higher promotions being dealt with by the Selection Board, of which the Inspector-General of the Forces is president. Local expenditure is also limited; for example, barrack work involving a cost exceeding 2,000*l.* must be dealt with by the Civil Member of the Army Council.

Thanks to the Esher Committee we have now a system for the Army framed upon lines equally applicable to peace and war, the duties of everyone are clearly defined, and there will in future be no danger of overlapping, nor will various interests be in conflict. Difficulties in matters of minor detail there will at first be many, but these in a short time will be removed, as they come to light in the course of the labours of the Sub-Committee appointed to deal with them.

Moreover, we have at last obtained an authoritative statement of the purpose for which the Regular Army is maintained. Mr. Arnold-Forster, speaking at Liverpool on the 22nd of January of the present year, declared the decision of the Prime Minister that the Regular Army is intended for work oversea, the protection of the United Kingdom being a naval question. But for oversea work, in case of a great war, we need a much larger force than we can dream of possessing upon a regular establishment, and in the absence abroad of our best troops public confidence has to be provided for. Power to despatch a large army abroad is essential if we desire peace. There is no Power in Europe that we could bring to its knees by the influence of sea power alone. Had we an army worthy of the name, in the modern sense, the probabilities of our being attacked or injured would be immensely reduced. Liberties are not lightly taken with those whose power to retaliate vigorously is properly understood, and at present, in spite of a huge expenditure, we notoriously do not possess such power. Can we glorify the Militia, under voluntary methods of enlistment, so as to furnish the required army? I believe that we can get the men if we fix terms of service that are not incompatible with regular employment in civil life, and that we can have efficient soldiers by thoroughly training the recruits in the first instance, and thenceforward relying chiefly upon company work, upon the principles now employed in the Volunteer Service.

At all events, now that we have a system which in its broad principles appears to be as perfect as the wit of man is likely to conceive, it seems more than ever incumbent upon us to create an army worthy

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of the system; and the sooner the better, if we desire peace and to retain our Imperial position, with which is involved our commercial prosperity. What we need is a larger and better army, coupled with a sensible reduction of the Army estimates.

The words 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform,' properly interpreted, furnish for us an entirely desirable motto. Peace can be secured only by efficient preparation for war; Retrenchment must be based upon business-like methods, not upon sacrifices of efficiency; and Reform must be represented by measures calculated to give us peace under conditions of wise retrenchment. For the attainment of these ends no better means could be adopted than to reassemble the Esher Committee for that very purpose.

A. W. A. Pollock, *Lieut.-Colonel,*
Editor 'United Service Magazine.'

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SOUTH AFRICA AND HER LABOUR PROBLEM

In the opinion of those who know her best, South Africa is a 'gilt-edged asset' of the Empire. Already second on the list of the great consumers of British produce and manufactures, she is destined one day to rank first. But if she is to become the home on a large scale of the British settler, if the narrow and unfortunate ideals, brought into subjection by the issue of the war, are not to flame up again like a veld fire and destroy the new growth, the administration must be based on sound economic and Imperial principles.

Lord Milner's policy aims at encouraging the immigration of British-speaking white settlers, opening up and developing the country, and increasing facilities for trade and transport, so as to improve and cheapen the conditions of life. So far-seeing a policy must at any time entail a large expenditure, but in addition to this he was faced by the immediate necessity of healing the ravages of war. The Boers had to be reinstated on their farms; the town population, strained and impatient after years of weary waiting, had to be brought back to their homes; and a new Government, with all its complex machinery, had to be organised almost in a moment.

The High Commissioner, confronted by so many difficulties, was certain to become the mark of every flying missile. Moreover, South Africa is full of racial and political cross-currents, which by their very nature create a high tension, focus themselves on the person vested with Imperial jurisdiction, and add greatly to the arduous nature of his task, should he pursue a strong policy of initiative. The Boers, with their stolid national character, slow and unadaptable, tough and enduring, are certain at first to be opposed to that progressive expansion which suits the British. To them time is of little value. Although ultimately they, as well as other inhabitants of South Africa, will benefit by the prosperity of the country, they naturally fear being swamped, and are slow to appreciate their greater position as citizens of the Empire. However, the whites are not the only nor even the most numerous element in the population of

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South Africa. The Native question might be easier if a consistent Native policy had been adopted throughout the various States. But this is not the case. In Cape Colony there is a large Native vote, courted and relied upon by the Bond. Elsewhere the Native is refused the franchise absolutely, while, again, as in Basutoland, we find a Native State existing in practical freedom.

It is nonsense to speak of South Africa as a white man's country at present in the same sense that Australia is. She has millions of aborigines, while the whites number only as many hundred thousands, and the natives partly enfranchised and partly semi-independent, are multiplying apace, in strong contrast to the declining tendency of the few hundred thousand aborigines of Australia. Owing to her precarious geographical position, which exposes her to an overwhelming invasion by her Chinese neighbours, Australia is no doubt rightly determined, in self-preservation of her white identity, to fortify herself against such a calamity. The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth lately with great satisfaction gave expression to the hope that Australia would soon be in a position to 'count on her fingers the coloured aliens in the country.' The late Professor C. H. Pearson has also spoken of this necessity for self-preservation. He feared lest, through the process of infiltration, the northern portion of Australia should become a second Natal, 'with thirteen out of fourteen belonging to an inferior race,' and lest the remainder of the continent should 'speedily approximate to Cape Colony, where whites are indeed a masterful minority, but still only one in five.'

Whatever the justice of his views, this statesmanlike writer certainly understood that the race conditions of South Africa are by no means analogous to those prevailing in Australia. Australians and New Zealanders are doing incalculable harm by talking as though the conditions were absolutely alike. The people in this country are glad to accept their views, believing them to be impartial advisers speaking from a ripe experience, whereas in reality no shadow of identity exists between the two cases.

It is sometimes urged that Lord Milner undertook too large a programme. He was surely justified by the extraordinary resources of the country. Under the restrictive Krugerite *régime* the Transvaal was already producing gold at the rate of 20 millions sterling a year. Mining authorities of repute agreed in foretelling an annual output of anything between 30 and 45 millions. There was and is universal confidence in the future. The optimistic South African expected that the termination of the war and the altered conditions would immediately produce a cycle of sustained prosperity. Municipalities, industries, and individuals were stimulated to enterprise, and ready to commit themselves to new engagements in all directions. Considerable commercial activity prevailed, and Mr. Henry Birchenough, in his report on his Commercial Mission to South Africa, says: 'All

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my inquiries lead me to believe the present is no temporary boom, but the beginning of a period of great and sustained expansion. There may be, indeed there will be, set-backs, but, so far as I can judge, they will probably only be incidents in a great chapter of commercial and industrial development.' In his opinion, the progress was to show itself in all the South African Colonies, but he looked for its most striking expression to the Transvaal, with its vast gold industry, favoured by great climatic advantages and other conditions essential to mining. And yet, though everything seemed in readiness, though brains and capital alike were on the alert to play their part in the great development which is to ensure social and Imperial peace and prosperity throughout South Africa, the expected millennium did not arrive. Instead, the country is suffering from stagnation and depression, and is exposed to the dangers of a prolonged financial strain. The industrial and commercial development of South Africa is held back; the immense energy of South Africa is obstructed and throttled. An insufficient labour supply is at the root of all the difficulty. This shortage not only affects the mines and their owners, but overshadows the whole South African situation, and, the problem being of such engrossing significance, the Government is eminently concerned in its solution.

It is all very well to urge patience, caution, and reflection. These are wise prescriptions doubtless, but they will not meet a bill presented for immediate payment. A critical emergency has to be faced, and some special remedy has to be found. After the three years' war, the liabilities of South Africa are much greater than they were. In the Transvaal the gold production before the war was at the rate of 20 millions per annum; the imports approximately 13 millions; the total debt, including provision for railway expropriation, under 14 millions; the annual expenditure 3½ millions, which, after providing for armaments and defence, still left a surplus. To-day, the gold production is at the rate of 14 millions only, the imports are 20 millions, the annual expenditure more than 6½ milions, to which another 1¼ million will be added as soon as the interest on outstanding loans falls due; the debt has risen to 61½ millions, including the Johannesburg municipal debt and the war loan, while to this total should be added another 3½ millions for municipal and Water Board loans, making a total of 65 millions in all. Instead of a surplus the Budget will show a deficit, which is the most conclusive answer to any who may doubt the acuteness of the depression.

The Estimates for the year ending June 1904 provided for a surplus of 311,104*l*. But the last eight months have wrought such a change that Lord Milner now sees the surplus converted into a deficit of 200,000*l*., while on the actual figures for the five months ending November last the deficit would exceed 380,000*l*. The

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principal cause for this alarming change is the falling-off in the net receipts of the Central South African railways, which for 1903–4 amount to only 1,400,000*l.*, as against 2,403,021*l.* for the previous year, falling short of the estimate by three-quarters of a million. This railway system has been in the past the chief revenue-earning factor in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Its receipts were earmarked to be set off against the service of the loan guaranteed by the British Government, viz. 1,441,042*l.*, and the expenses of the South African Constabulary, viz. 1,370,000*l.* Although the expenses of the Constabulary have been largely cut down under stress of circumstances, there is still left a shortage on balance of over a million, 88 per cent. of which is charged to the Transvaal. These figures have a special significance for the British taxpayer. Lord Milner has intimated that he will not call upon the Imperial Government for any contribution under the loan guarantee in the event of a deficit during the current year, but he adds: 'If I am compelled to rely for a much longer period on one-third of our available resources I cannot say what may happen afterwards.'

Natal's debt before the war was 8,019,143*l.*, to-day it is 14,019,143*l.*; her yearly expenditure was 1,914,724*l.* and has now risen to 4,065,756*l.*, exclusive of the Budget estimate for 1903–4 of additional 2,316,689*l.* towards posts, telegraphs, harbour, railway, and other public works, for which no provision seems as yet to have been made.

The debt of Cape Colony in 1889 was 28,383,922*l.*, now it is 36,962,428*l.*, and with 5,000,000*l.* authorised expenditure on railways, Cape Town docks, &c., her debt will have risen to 41,962,428*l.* Her annual expenditure in 1899 was 6,868,118*l.*, and, according to Sir Gordon Sprigg's last estimate for 1903–4, was 11,585,232*l.*, which, on the latest figures supplied by the new Treasurer, Mr. Walton, will be cut down to 10,739,380*l.* to meet the estimated falling-off in Customs of 872,000*l.*; this, however, will still leave a deficit for the year estimated at 429,500*l.*

It has been necessary to glance at the position of Cape Colony and Natal as well as of the Transvaal, where the commitments and the financial basis have undergone a complete change since the war, because the mining industry is the heart of the whole body of South Africa. When it droops, every other part droops too; and when it prospers they share in the prosperity. Whatever may happen in the future, South Africa is now, and must be for years to come, a mining country. The mines are the basis upon which the industrial and agricultural development must be built up. Lord Milner has been accused of surrendering to the mining magnates, simply because he regards the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country as of the first importance, and the necessary condition for the existence of a large and thriving white population, as though

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this was not a perfectly obvious platitude to anyone in the least degree acquainted with the country.

The history of California exhibits a striking parallel to the case of South Africa. There a great agricultural and industrial State has been built up on the foundation of the mining industry. During the first thirty years after the American occupation in 1846 gold and silver mining was the only great industry. At the end of that period agriculture came into prominence through the raising of wheat, at first on vast grants of land, which, however, were subsequently divided into small lots. Horticulture also became a feature, and is now the leading industry. Southern California is known to be much more arid than the northern counties, but Mr. C. F. Lummis tells us that thousands of wells have been sunk, sufficient to irrigate 300,000 acres, and in California they have to-day some of the largest storage dams and irrigating canals in the world. The statistics for 1900 show that the agricultural products were valued at 138,301,162 dollars, which is over 52 millions in excess of the greatest annual gold output, and it must be remembered that in 1875 the farming products were practically nil. The gold production, on the other hand, has since 1875 been on the decrease, and has averaged only 15½ million dollars a year, while manufacturing industries have come into existence on an enormous scale, showing a total annual return for 1890 of 213,403,996 dollars. Every department has derived great benefit from the railway system, which increased from only 500 miles in 1875 to 5,532 in 1900. It is remarkable that California was long troubled by a scarcity of labour, and had to resort to Chinese labour, though under conditions very much less favourable to the Chinese than those which will obtain in South Africa.

Labour, then, is the paramount need. In Central and South Africa the native population is estimated at 13 millions, that of the latter at about 7 millions. The white population being relatively insignificant, the native has come to be regarded as the muscular unit for all classes of work. He is employed in every household, on farms, in factories, water-works, docks, railroads, mines, and every branch of industry and trade, perhaps the only exception being the merchant shipping service, in which coloured labour has hitherto been dispensed with. Native labour is in fact the raw material upon which the whole system of life in South Africa depends. As in the manufacturing world the cheap supply of raw material regulates the whole economic existence of the community, and thereby affects the conditions of life for those who may be only remotely connected with any particular manufacturing interest, so in South Africa the supply of unskilled labour affects every class in the community, and not the mining industry alone. Any rise in the scale of wages on the mines implies a corresponding rise off

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the mines, for the highest wage paid becomes the regulating index of all varieties of unskilled labour, and any rise on the mines reacts at once on agriculture or wherever else native labour is employed. The cost of living is enhanced all round, and for this reason a rise in the unskilled native labour wage does not necessarily bring unskilled white labour into competition with it. These two classes of labour run parallel with each other. The white labourer's living wage is determined by the cost of living, and that depends largely on the standard wage paid to the native.

The question is often resentfully asked on this side, 'Why, if you have a shortage of labour, do you not raise the pay and so solve the difficulty? Either you will get white labour to take the place of black, or you will attract more black labour.' But the white labour is not forthcoming, for the reason already given (and that this is no mere theory will be shown by figures of actual experiments); and, strangely enough to the eyes of those accustomed to judge by European standards, a rise in wages does not necessarily produce an increased black labour supply at all, and certainly not one commensurate with the rise. Its tendency is, in fact, in the exactly opposite direction.

It seems as if our economic principles must be reversed in dealing with the native. Unlike the European, he has no sort of notion of the value of labour for its own sake; he has no ambition and few needs. What he really likes is to sit in the sun and watch his wives work. He will only work for so many months as are necessary to earn for himself sufficient money to remain idle for the rest of the year, and therefore the greater the increase of pay, the shorter the period of work, and the more does the supply of labour contract—and this in the face of a continually growing demand. The decrease of wages on the mines was not a mere exhibition of blind greed on the part of the owners, as has been imputed to them. There is, in fact, a consensus of opinion throughout South Africa that the current wage of the native is above the level of his status, in view of the fact that he is absolved from all the responsibility of citizenship. He is placed, for instance, at a considerable advantage over the labourer of England, who in some counties receives little more than eleven shillings a week, plus house and garden rent. An equitable though lower average of wages would unquestionably constitute an economic root from which normal conditions, which are so essential to the healthy expansion of South Africa, could be developed. The rate may have been fixed too low, for there is of course a point below which the principle does not hold good, and the change was certainly made at an inauspicious moment, when the war had filled the pockets of the natives; but it was based on reasoned principles, and if it had succeeded would have considerably reduced the high cost of living throughout South Africa, of which so many complaints are heard. The attempt failed, however; the rate was raised first to the pre-war

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figure of 47*s.* per month, and ultimately to 54*s.*, while better provision was made for the native's comfort and dietary at an additional cost per head of 6*s.* 10*d.*, making a total increase during the war of 13*s.* 10*d.* per month.

Scarcity of labour is no new thing, though it has never before reached such an acute phase as at present. A large section of the colonists urge a policy of coercive legislation, under which the native should be compelled to contribute his share of work in return for the many benefits he receives. Taxation is one of the measures suggested, but the extremists, of whom General Cronje is an example, recommend far more drastic measures. 'Simply pass a law to compel him to work,' was the opinion he tendered to the Labour Commission. General Botha suggested driving him out of his Basutoland and Swaziland reserves, and generally breaking up the district locations. General Delarey joined them in the advice to strictly enforce the 'Squatters Law,' by which any excess over five native families on Government or open pieces of land (and these are favourite native haunts) were to be expelled, and thus forced to work through being deprived of their homes.

Such suggestions, however, though from the colonial standpoint there is much to be said in their favour, are quite opposed to the spirit and character of the British nation. The native himself, too, is strongly impressed by the belief that the Vierkleur, which was to him the emblem of subjection, has now been replaced by the banner of freedom; it is far from certain that he would accept with calmness measures so calculated to infringe his liberty of action. In 1894 Malaboch, a native chief, and his followers, rather than submit to a form of taxation recently imposed, rebelled, and it required the united efforts of the Transvaal, after months of fighting, to stamp out the insurrection. His case is a warning against any precipitate action in the matter of taxation. At the present time above all, peace, and not native troubles, is most essential.

The mining authorities are practical people. They gauged the true import of the situation, and did not lose their time in supporting suggestions of this kind. But they were anxious to obtain the necessary supply of natives from African territory, and they adopted every means in their power to do so by legitimate methods. Besides the experiment made in first lowering and then raising the pay, which has already been described, they formed the Native Labour Association, as a labour-recruiting and distributing agency, to tap every possible source of supply. It has been suggested that the mining authorities, secretly burning to introduce Chinese labour, put these measures forward as a mere cloak for their nefarious designs, and did not really make a serious effort. But since 1901 they have spent no less a sum than 445,000*l.* on this reorganisation, a sure proof of their earnestness. The men of the Rand, whatever

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their proclivities, are at least keen business men, and do not spend half a million on an argument. It is equally a libel on the intelligence of the mining engineers of Johannesburg, the pick of their profession, gathered from all the mining centres of the world, to assert that no real attempt has been made to introduce labour-saving appliances. As a matter of fact, machine drills are employed to-day wherever possible in place of hand drills. It is estimated that a saving equal to the labour of 37,000 natives has been effected. Besides this, mechanical haulage is already gradually reducing handling to a minimum.

And yet the situation is not relieved. The Witwatersrand industry is far short of its pre-war condition, for then the production was at the rate of 20 millions per annum, with 6240 stamps at work and 110,000 natives. Now the gold production is only at the rate of 14 millions. The number of stamps has been increased to 7145, but in December 1902 forty-three companies were at work with 2845 stamps; during 1903 nine companies were added to the producing list, increasing the total stamps working to 4360 only. Since August the labour inflow, which had been slowly on the increase, has been practically stationary at about 68,500.

To work under satisfactory conditions these 7145 stamps require 142,000 natives. Other mines approaching the producing stage require 30,000 more. There is thus a total shortage of over 100,000, to say nothing of lower-grade mines, of a large number of prospecting propositions and various mining undertakings all clamouring for labour.

It is calculated that, under favourable economic conditions, 11,000 additional stamps could be at work within the next five years, giving employment to a total of 368,000 natives on the mines, and at least 40,000 white skilled miners.

Besides the actual shortage of labour, there is another very disquieting feature in the situation. Of the (nearly) 70,000 natives at present at work upon the Rand, only 20 per cent. come from British South Africa; the remainder are drawn from Portuguese territory. Consequently Portugal holds the key of the situation, and is able to turn the tap on or off at her pleasure.

The Portuguese Government are quite aware of the lever this monopoly of labour gives them over the Transvaal, a useful instrument for purposes of establishing commercial relations with the Transvaal favourable to themselves. The native is, in the eyes of the Portuguese, a State commercial asset, and any right conceded by them for permitting their East African territories to be used as a recruiting ground for native labour requires valuable consideration in return.

This entails a sacrifice in which British trade participates. Under a treaty concluded by Lord Milner with Portugal, known as

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the *modus vivendi*, employers of native labour are permitted to recruit in Portuguese East African territories on the payment of a fee of 13*s*. per head levied by the Portuguese Government, and paid by the employer for every native recruited, who is only permitted to cross the frontier at the custom-house station. Upon renewal at the expiration of this contract, a further fee is due to the Portuguese Government in respect of the native's services. The most important consideration forming part of the treaty, however, is the maintenance of the *modus vivendi*.

Under that arrangement, originally concluded by the Kruger Government, all Portuguese East African products and manufactures are allowed into the Transvaal free of duty, and enjoy all the benefits extended to any other South African State. A further clause provides that, no matter what the rates over the Natal and Cape Colony railway systems may be, the rates over the Delagoa line shall always be appreciably lower, the object of course being to encourage the passage of Transvaal traffic through Portuguese territory. Moreover, the Customs Union entered into at Bloemfontein last March gives special railway freightage rebates on many Colonial products and manufactures, and to these benefits Portuguese East Africa is equally entitled under the treaty.

One or two examples will help to illustrate the case:

British imported soap is subject to a 10 per cent. import duty, and has to pay the full through railway rates from Cape or Natal ports to its destination in the Transvaal. Soap, on the other hand, manufactured in Delagoa Bay comes into the Transvaal free of duty, and enjoys the railway freightage rebate. In other words, the British imported article is placed at a considerable disadvantage as compared with the foreign manufactured article.

Or again, wheat is subject to 20*s*. per ton, and flour to 40*s*. per ton import duty, plus the full through railway rate, if imported *viâ* Natal or Cape Colony, whereas wheat imported from abroad into Delagoa Bay, and ground there by existing flour mills, is classed as Colonial manufacture, enters the Transvaal free of duty, and gains the further advantage of lower railway freight.

In view of these facts, which place the mining industry, and with it the whole financial structure of the South African States, to some extent at the mercy of a foreign Power, it is a matter of wise precaution that the mines should be safeguarded by some measures of insurance against any sudden stoppage in the supply of labour.

The mining authorities, therefore, acted with foresight when they most carefully considered the possibility of employing white unskilled labour to supplement or replace native labour. They have no objection whatever to the employment of suitable white men; on the contrary they would very much prefer it, if the men can be obtained, and if the economic conditions admit of it. As is well

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known, experiments have been made in this direction, and they have been carefully watched and weighed. It is not too much to say that on this point the united opinion of all the consulting engineers and mine-managers on the Rand stands arrayed against that of Mr. Creswell, the late manager of the Village Main Reef Mine.

Everyone admits and admires Mr. Creswell's high purpose, but none of the experts agrees with his conclusions. He maintains that the white man will work alongside of the native, and that he can in certain work profitably replace the native, and that on this basis all the requirements of the mines could be met by the local supply of natives with a complement of white labour, without having to go abroad for relief.

Without entering into all the technicalities, it is necessary to touch on the main features of the case, as it is these deductions of Mr. Creswell which have been taken up with so much warmth and vigour in this country.

The underground work on the mines is chiefly confined to breaking rock, and this is done either by hand-drill labour or by rock-drilling machinery. Where hand drills are necessary, Mr. Creswell does not suggest altering the system of employing the raw native, but he believes that a more general use of machine drills can be made, employing white unskilled labour to run them in place of natives. By this means he found that, using white labour, he was able to do with 1,000 natives for his mine of 100 stamps. It was on this experience that the minority of the Labour Commission based their report that, with the liberal addition of unskilled white labour, the mines could work with a supply of nine or ten natives per stamp, the existing number of stamps being about 7,500.

That Mr. Creswell was able to work his mine at a profit even on these terms is denied by those who have examined his work. But in any case, even supposing that his experiment was financially successful, it is impossible to make any general deduction applicable to the whole Rand. The Village Main Reef is a comparatively high-grade mine with sections of wide reefs. The majority of the mines are low-grade mines; all these require to be worked on a very narrow margin, as every pennyweight less in yield or any increase of working expenses may turn the scale from a payable to an unpayable venture. But it is only if these low-grade mines are enabled to become gold-producers that the Transvaal can hope to support a really large white population. Their profits are less than those of the rich mines, but their working has the same effect in stimulating trade and creating a demand for labour. It is impossible that they can be worked with white unskilled labour on anything like the present scale of wages.

Taking the question of machine rock drills alone, it is perfectly well known that these can only be profitably employed when the

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reefs are wide. In the central portion of the Rand the reefs are generally wide, and there the proportion of machine drills to hand drills is sixty to forty. On the eastern portion of the Rand different conditions prevail, and there the proportion is thirty to seventy; with sorting, about eighteen to twenty natives per stamp are required. But on the western portion of the Rand the reef is for the most part so narrow that it has to be closely stripped, no machine drills at all can be employed, and the drilling has all to be done by hand. The difficulties are illustrated by the case of a well-known mine, which, wishing to re-start work and being short of labour, resorted to an extensive use of machine drills. Before the war it had been earning a profit of 8000*l.* a month; under the new system its profits soon dwindled to *nil.* Sir George Farrar tersely sums up the probable effects of an insufficient number of natives per stamp as follows:

(1) Working out the easiest parts of the mine;

(2) Excessive use of rock drills where they should not be used, and consequent reduction of grade.

(3) The abandonment of sorting, which requires four or five additional boys per stamp.

(4) Neglect of proper development, and danger of getting behind in ore reserves, thereby lowering the credit of the industry in the eyes of the world.

Even supposing that white unskilled labour could be profitably employed (and probably not even the most determined opponent of Chinese labour will contend that the mines ought to work at a loss), where can that labour be found? We have actual experience to guide us, both that of Mr. Creswell and others; for it must not be supposed that he was the only person to try the experiment. The general manager of the mines which are controlled by Sir George Farrar made the experiment on five of these mines during a period of more than thirteen months. During that time 1,473 men were employed; they remained on the average 1⅓ months only, and the total loss to the companies amounted to 20,000*l.* The Rand Mines group also gave employment to 1000 ex-soldiers. They endeavoured to keep up an average of 418 unskilled white men per month for seventeen months, but to keep up this average no fewer than 4702 men passed through their hands. They are in fact still trying to employ 200 unskilled white men, but the results are not satisfactory. Mr. Creswell himself admits having had 1000 men pass through his hands in six months in order to maintain a monthly average of 150 men; his men, therefore, only remained a month on the average in their employment. Labour of this unreliable character cannot be satisfactory. The fact is, the Englishman, after a short residence in the country, will not work on a level with the Kaffir; they will not 'do nigger's work,' and, shunting their task on to his shoulders, soon assert themselves as master and supervisor. Even if it were

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possible to recruit from the lowest classes of labour in this country or in the principal Continental centres of population, it would not be desirable in the best interests of the country. Such people would be far more likely to fall to the level of the native races than to maintain the position which white men should always possess when living in close proximity with native races far superior in numbers. The degradation of both black and white would be the inevitable result.

No class of men appreciate this better than the skilled white miners at present on the Rand, a class already numerous, but destined to expand enormously with the progress of mining development. They are happy and contented, enjoy high wages, and are in every way a most superior class and of great value to the country. They have clearly expressed their views in numerous miners' meetings. It is a ridiculous travesty of facts to declare that these men have been coerced or bribed. Their conviction is due, not to any such sinister influences, but to the simple logic of facts and to the knowledge they possess of the local situation.

It is manifestly to the interest of the Transvaal that this class of man should be preserved to the country, and should not be displaced by one drawn from a low stratum of society, who may be ready to work for an inferior wage.

But to make it possible to pay the rate of white wages now current, a levelling factor is necessary and is found in the coloured labour wage.

In this manner the coloured wage not only becomes an equation for the high skilled wage, but it establishes the basis that can alone ensure under existing conditions the payability of the poor-grade mines.

Coloured labour, we find, is therefore essential as an adjusting factor for the white skilled wage, besides being indispensable, in which conclusion even the Minority Report and Mr. Creswell concur, for all raw muscular work.

On the question of exclusive employment of white labour for the mines and the impression that their wealth is so great as to stand almost any strain and charge, it will perhaps serve a useful purpose to say that although a few rich mines undoubtedly exist on the Rand, which might be penalised for their greater and exceptional wealth, their number is insignificant, the truth being that the Witwatersrand, although unique in its steady gold-bearing character, is far from what might be termed a rich goldfield.

A large proportion of the mines are, in fact, too low-grade to be profitably worked under existing conditions. One hundred and seventy-seven gold companies exist in the main portion of the Witwatersrand with a capitalised value of one hundred and forty-two millions, of which only forty-seven companies, representing a value

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of seventy-three millions, are paying dividends, and, on the basis of their profits prior to the war, are earning to-day at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, without allowing anything whatever for redemption of capital.

Besides these some three hundred and fifty gold and other companies exist in the Transvaal, having a capitalised value of seventy-two millions, of which only fifty, having a value of thirty-four millions, are as yet dividend-paying.

Taken as a whole approximately, five hundred and thirty companies in all exist in the Transvaal, representing a value of about 215 millions, of which about half are earning a moderate rate of interest.

Were the industry at its starting-point to-day, it might have been possible to contract its scope, so that a limited number might benefit; but as things are, the public, and the British public in particular, is heavily engaged in the Transvaal mines, and it would be at its expense, and to the permanent injury of the future of the whole of South Africa, were the industry to be crippled by a narrow and mistaken view of the gold mines and the purpose they are called upon to serve.

From all the foregoing arguments the introduction of foreign coloured labour seems to follow as a natural and logical conclusion. The Chinaman fulfils the required conditions better than any other race. Mr. George F. Seward, late United States Minister to China, in his book on 'Chinese Immigration,' convincingly exemplifies what the Chinaman has done for California.

By his labour the Central and South Pacific Railway has been built; millions of acres of swamp land, which was not white man's work, have been reclaimed; the great woollen, jute, cordage, boot, and other industries have come into existence, and could not have flourished but for his indispensable services. Agriculture has been stimulated and the purchasing power of white wages largely increased, also coal and other mineral wealth have been developed. In fact, the Chinaman was the backbone of the early settlement of the country.

According to the evidence before the 'Congressional Chinese Immigration Commission,' white labour in those days was of a most unreliable nature. Dissatisfied with their wages and declining to do cheap labour, immigrants left after a few months with the idea of bettering themselves.

This as nearly as possible corresponds with the testimony of the Transvaal mines in respect of their experiments with unskilled whites.

In South Africa it would be impossible to follow the example of California in her unrestricted importation of Chinamen, in view of the existing disproportion between the white and native races,

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which makes it wholly impossible to admit him without the imposition of certain restrictions. Under a careful system of indenture there will be no danger of the Chinese flooding the country and becoming permanent settlers, to the detriment of the whites. At the conclusion of his contract the Chinaman will have nothing to gain by remaining in the country, as he will be precluded from acquiring land or from seeking employment except upon the Rand, and in unskilled labour in the mines.

Having regard to the careful regulations of the Labour Ordinance, it is impossible to attach any weight to the 'slavery' objection. A man who has the power of free contract, and the liberty to purchase the breaking of that contract at a moderate price, whenever he likes, can hardly be said to be a slave, even if he is a Chinaman. If the Chinaman is to be collected in compounds reserved for his sole occupation, he will in that respect be in the same position as the native of South Africa, except that he will in addition be supplied, as has been suggested, with land to cultivate for his own personal use. The compound system prevailing at the Kimberley mines, where the native lives in absolute confinement, contrary to the method on the Rand, has never been regarded as slavery. In fact, it is a striking proof of the value of that system, from the native point of view, that the Kimberley administration has never had any difficulty in maintaining an adequate supply of labour, and that too from the Basutos, the freest of all the native races. In the Kimberley mines his physical well-being can be carefully supervised, which is impossible under the free system on the Rand, where the native's impulses are unrestrained, to his own detriment. While we talk of Chinese slavery, objectors might well be asked why they have refrained from comment on the native system which holds good throughout British South Africa, by which a native works to the sole end of buying his wives for work, bound to him for life, or on the system by which the Portuguese exact heavy toll for every native supplied.

The introduction of coloured labour for unskilled work to supplement the present shortage will not only preserve the existing number of white skilled mechanics on the Rand, but it will largely add to that number, and will bring in its train all the other classes of artisans and small retail dealers and tradesmen who supply the wants of a large white community. It will render possible the exploitation of the lower-grade mines. The expansion of the mining industry means the increase of the white population. In the past there has always been one white inhabitant of Johannesburg for every native employed. When 100,000 natives were employed, the census showed a white population of the same number.

The situation is too far advanced to turn back or withdraw from.

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The development of the mines is a question, not merely of financial, but of national importance. However conditions in South Africa may alter during the next few years, the present scarcity of labour demands a special remedy now. The solvency of the country depends principally on the mines, and the solution of the present economic difficulty is a matter of immediate, though perhaps temporary, necessity, and a question of deep political moment.

CHARLES SYDNEY GOLDMANN.

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LAST MONTH

I

THE Easter holidays came at the very nick of time to relieve an embarrassed Government and an embarrassed House of Commons. Before Parliament adjourned for the recess the political situation had become almost ridiculous. In spite of the fact that the country was approaching one of the fiercest struggles of our time, the legislative machine had almost ceased to work, and ministers and members alike were engaged in the not very useful occupation of 'marking time.' The number of questions that were waiting to be disposed of was considerable, and the questions themselves were anything but unimportant. By common consent the chief, that of free trade, had been left for the decision of the country at the general election. But the Education Act troubled others besides the nonconformists and passive resisters, and it was generally understood that even bishops were engaged in the attempt to find the way out from an intolerable *impasse*. The licensing problem still hung unsolved, to the great disturbance not merely of the licence-holders and the temperance party, but, if report spoke truly, of the Prime Minister himself. Chinese labour remained a bone of contention of first-class importance; the Army reorganisation scheme was for the moment hung up; whilst towering above all other questions was that of the Budget. Yet by common consent both parties seemed to agree that the day of action was to be postponed until the energies of legislators had been recruited by the Easter holidays. And nowadays the notion of a holiday is hardly that of rest. It is to fly to some spot remote from London and to seek distraction in the midst of new surroundings. Even in so short a recess as that of Easter, members of Parliament, and other people not less hardly worked, try to put as many miles as possible between themselves and the scene of their ordinary labours. Paris, the Riviera, Rome, even Naples, were all full, during the early days of last month, of wandering Englishmen who seemed anxious to get out of the sound of the political controversies of the time, and most of whom found to their dismay that, travel they never so far, they could hardly do so. I have been among the travellers myself in these holidays, and it is impossible to shut

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one's eyes to the fact that wherever we may go we carry with us the shadows of the struggles that are engaging our thoughts at home. In Paris the *entente cordiale*, the new treaty between England and France, and the prospects of the Russo-Japanese war seemed to be talked of wherever Frenchmen and Englishmen came together. It was the same in Rome; and in Naples, in addition to these topics, we had fiscal reform brought up once more for renewed discussion—all because Mr. Chamberlain, in returning from Egypt, had spent a few days within sight of Vesuvius. Speaking of Mr. Chamberlain, one fact, which no fair opponent of his can well ignore, is forced upon the attention of the traveller. That is that, whatever may be his position or ultimate fate at home, he is at present nothing less than the idol of the English communities living abroad. They are as full of confidence in and admiration for him to-day as they were twelve months ago, before he had launched his scheme for the taxation of food, and whilst the laurels he had won during his visit to South Africa were still untarnished. To hint that he has made some grave mistakes and miscalculations in his prodigious campaign is looked upon by the average resident of British birth in a foreign city as proof of incurable natural wickedness. To suggest that, whoever else may be impressed by his arguments, the mass of the British electorate do not seem to be, is evidence of a hopelessly perverted judgment. He has put his hand to the plough, and the furrow must and will be driven straight through to the end. Such is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Englishmen whom I have met during an excursion that has carried me as far as the Bay of Naples. Even those of us who do not agree with the conclusion, and who look upon the surrender of the Protectionist party in the Isle of Wight to Major Seely as evidence in support of our view, cannot ignore the prevailing sentiment of the British public abroad. It is some consolation to remember that years ago, when Mr. Gladstone was all-powerful at home, the same class regarded him as a misguided and unscrupulous adventurer whose special mission it was to dishonour and destroy the British Empire. Perhaps I ought to remark that the idolatry of which Mr. Chamberlain is at present the object among our exiled fellow-countrymen is strictly compatible with a profession of intense devotion to free trade. 'I am a free trader from the bottom of my heart,' said one friend to me, 'and that is why I support Mr. Chamberlain. He merely wishes to take a step backwards in order to take two forwards.' From which it will be gathered that abroad as well as at home political opinions are a little mixed.

It was certainly not before it was necessary that the House of Commons separated for the Easter recess. The prolonged and bitter wrangling which had marked almost every sitting from the very beginning of the Session, and above all the differences in the ranks

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of the old Ministerial party, had exercised an unpleasant influence upon the tempers of most men, and had led to more than one incident of a deplorable kind. Of these incidents, that which attracted most attention was the withdrawal from the House of Commons of Mr. Balfour and of most members of the Ministerial party when Mr. Winston Churchill rose to deliver one of his fiery attacks upon the Government of which he was once a supporter. In itself the incident was hardly important. It was explained afterwards that Mr. Balfour left the House when Mr. Churchill rose because he had an engagement elsewhere, and the average member has from time immemorial asserted his right to stay or to go within the House as he pleases. But the exodus from the Ministerial benches on this occasion had the appearance of being preconcerted, and it was hotly denounced as an act of intentional and deliberate discourtesy by the Opposition and some organs of the press. On the whole, it may be assumed that the incident *was* intended as a demonstration of the anger with which members who remain faithful to the Ministry resent the recent utterances of Mr. Churchill and of the band of pronounced Free Traders of whom he is one of the chiefs. If so, it was, to say the least, a not very wise proceeding. Its only result was to draw exceptional attention to the speech of the member for Oldham, and to invest his arguments with a special importance which his neighbours on the Ministerial benches can have had no wish to attach to them. But when one looks back to the bitter controversies of the period of the war and to the unrestrained passions and unchecked slanders which raged during the khaki election of 1900, it seems strange that a comparatively trivial departure from the established etiquette of Parliamentary custom should have received such serious notice. One cannot even pretend that it marks any visible deterioration in the manners of the House of Commons, for those of us who remember when the rising of Mr. G. H. Whalley to make one of his ultra-Protestant speeches almost invariably led to a scene of uproar in which the whole assembly assailed the unfortunate speaker with cries of, 'Sing! sing!' and thus effectually prevented a word he said from being heard, can hardly regard the Churchill episode as specially serious. All the same it would perhaps be well if, even in the heated atmosphere of to-day, the controversialists were to keep their tempers rather better than they have done of late, and were to refrain from recriminations, whether in words or acts, that are scarcely worthy of a great deliberative assembly.

The talk of the dissolution has not been less loud during the past month than it was at an earlier period of the Session. The prophets, it is true, have been discomfited, this particular prophet amongst the number. In spite of all its misfortunes, without precedent in the history of any modern administration, the Govern-

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ment has remained in office long after the date fixed by the shrewdest of *quid-nuncs* for its fall; and just before the House rose for the recess, Mr. Balfour made a valiant attempt to prove that there was really no need for anybody to frighten himself with the idea that a dissolution was at hand. In doing so he had to turn his back resolutely upon his own past utterances on the subject of bye-elections, and to treat even such an unparalleled series of defeats as that which Ministers have suffered during the past three months as events of no political significance. Whether he really convinced his audience that the Government was still 'going strong' and that the House had months or even years of life before it, one cannot say. But to the rest of the world it seems no less clear now than it was at the beginning of the Session that the life of the present Parliament is in almost daily jeopardy, that it may be cut short at any moment, and that in any case we have come so near to the inevitable end that we may fairly begin to discuss its character and consequences. Indeed all other subjects took a secondary place in political circles during the early part of the month compared with this of the General Election and its results.

If there are any persons in the country who believe that when the election takes place it will give the present Government a new parliamentary majority, I confess I have not met with them. With singular unanimity politicians of every shade, including those most devoted to Mr. Balfour's administration, seem to have made up their minds that we shall see, when the appeal to the electors takes place, a swing of the pendulum that will at least make it impossible for the present Ministry to remain in office. But if the public mind seems to be made up upon this point, it is in a state of grievous uncertainty on all the other questions involved in a dissolution of the present Parliament. In some quarters, for example, there is much speculation as to whether, when the decisive moment comes, Mr. Balfour will exercise his right of obtaining from the King power to dissolve, or by 'riding for a fall,' throw upon his opponents the duty of appealing to the country. If he were to take the latter course, he would unquestionably put the Opposition in a serious dilemma. The hot-heads on the Radical benches may not realise this fact. Their one desire is to see the Ministry beaten, and beaten at the earliest possible moment, and some of their number seem to imagine that when once a Government of Liberals has been formed all will be well with the party that has suffered exclusion from office for so long a period. Cooler men on the Opposition benches, with greater foresight, take a very different view. They recognise the embarrassments to which a new Prime Minister would be exposed in having to form his Administration before going to the country. The mere fact that no Ministry is ever made without the disappointment of many people who aspire to office of itself suggests

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one of the causes of these embarrassments. Another is the fact that by resigning Mr. Balfour would be enabled to evade the clear issue which his opponents are so anxious to bring before the country. The electors would no longer be called upon to pass judgment upon the blunders of the present Government, but upon the policy of its successor. There is another grave obstacle in the way of the Liberal party if it has to produce its programme before a General Election. I shall not discuss it at this point, but two words suffice to name it—Home Rule. These are but a few of the reasons which lead the Opposition to offer a stubborn resistance to the idea that their leaders should accept office before the appeal to the country has taken place.

But, supposing that appeal should end as almost everybody expects it to do, and that his Majesty should call upon some member of the Opposition to form an Administration, what is likely to be the course of events? Men were discussing this question actively before the recess began; they were discussing it still more eagerly and fully wherever two or three politicians were gathered together during the holidays; and now that lobby and clubs are again once more full, the discussion is maintained. To a large degree the endless debate turns upon the question of what Lord Rosebery will do. Lord Rosebery has been singularly successful in keeping his own counsels, and I do not believe that anybody has the smallest authority to speak for him. His reticence, and his absolute refusal to allow himself to be drawn by the eager seekers after knowledge, seem at last to have convinced even his traducers that he is not the man of restless ambition and unceasing 'intrigue' they have been so fond of depicting. To those who know anything of the truth about him, it is unnecessary to say that there never was a more preposterous and mendacious caricature than that which represented him in this light. Whatever his offences in the eyes of his opponents may be, of 'intrigues' of any kind he has at least been absolutely innocent. So completely has he satisfied even his censors on this point, that they now seem to have jumped to the other extreme. Since he has notoriously done nothing to form a party of personal adherents and has even counselled those who were eager to make such a party to co-operate with what may be called the official section of Liberalism, it is assumed by many that he does not aspire to the leadership of his old party, and that he prefers to maintain a position of independence, free from the responsibilities of office. If this be the case, all that can be said is that Lord Rosebery has kept his own counsel just as well with regard to this as to the opposite assertion so freely made with regard to him. Those members of the Opposition who are, or who think themselves to be, entitled to look for office when their party returns to power, are for the moment inclined to believe that the next Liberal premier will be Lord Spencer, and their great

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anxiety seems to be to ascertain whether, in the event of a Government being formed by him, Lord Rosebery will accept the Foreign Secretaryship in his Administration. They admit, as who will not, that any Cabinet which counted the ex-Premier among its members would be immensely stronger than one that did not do so. There are of course fanatics on the Opposition side who clamour for what they call 'a really Radical Government,' and who profess to believe that Lord Rosebery would be a source of weakness rather than of strength to such an administration. But the wiser members of the party acknowledge his great personal qualities, his strength in the country, and the influence he wields over that large section which is more anxious to see a strong Liberal Government installed in place of the present than to witness the triumph of ultra-Radicalism. Some of them would fain see his restoration to the Premiership; others are still so much under the influence of the bitter internecine feuds which in recent years have wrought such mischief to the Liberal cause, that they would prefer Lord Spencer. But whatever they may feel on this point, they are all agreed as to one thing. That is, that it would be of the greatest advantage to the next Liberal administration if the Foreign Office were to be undertaken by the man whose success in that great department has been so conspicuous. But the oracle is dumb, and no one pretends to be able to read the riddle of the Sphinx. To some of us it would certainly seem incongruous that Lord Rosebery, who has been both Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, should accept an office the holding of which would require him to submit his despatches to a statesman who, despite his high personal qualities, has neither achieved nor sought distinction in the arena of foreign affairs.

This question of the position of the ex-Premier is that which chiefly engages the attention of men when they are discussing the future Ministry. No one, indeed, doubts that a Government could be formed even if Lord Rosebery stood wholly aside. There is not the smallest ground for the suspicion, entertained by some, that he would seek to weaken a Liberal administration by inducing his personal friends and the eminent men who are generally associated with his views to stand aloof from it. A Ministry which in point of ability would certainly bear comparison with that now in office could be formed even if Lord Rosebery maintained his position of independence. But how long in the existing state of parties, and the breaking-down of old lines of demarcation which we see going on, such a Ministry would be likely to last is another question. In the present confusion in the Conservative ranks, and with the dubious political future, it is impossible to attempt to forecast events. Yet it seems reasonably clear that a Ministry that was not supported by the large body of electors which has more confidence in the ex-Premier than in the official leaders of the party would be in a

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precarious position compared with that which a Government that did command this support would occupy.

Another grave problem that the Cabinet-makers who are now employing themselves so busily would have to face is that of the Irish Party. Are Lord Spencer and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman prepared to take office in dependence upon the votes of Mr. Redmond and his followers? For every reason it is to be hoped that this question may never become one of practical importance, but that in the next House of Commons there may be a clear British majority for one party or the other. But no one can say positively that the Liberals will win a sufficient number of seats to make them independent of the Irish; and if they should fail to do so, then, though they may defeat the Government, their own prospects will be anything but bright. It will be seen that, though we may, as most of us believe, be standing on the eve of a great political change, the future is by no means so certain as it usually is when a transfer of power from one party to the other is at hand. I have contented myself with indicating the main features of a situation that is strangely obscure; without rousing the ire of my political friends by attempting to forecast the course of events.

Curiously enough, the close of the month seemed to furnish the friends of the Government with reason for hoping that the dreaded appeal to the people might still be deferred, possibly for a year to come. Ministers have not come hopelessly to grief over their Budget, in spite of the predictions of Liberals on the subject, and in their Licensing Bill they have been brave enough to pay their debt to the publicans, and clever enough, for the moment at all events, to avoid giving offence to the moderate friends of temperance in their own party. This double success has filled the souls of the rank and file among their followers with elation, and their newspapers resound with exultant cries that after all there may be no necessity for going to the country before the autumn of next year. To the ordinary man this optimism seems to rest upon a very slender foundation. One fact, indeed, emerges from the political chaos that gives joy, not only to the Opposition, but to a considerable section of the Ministerialists. This is that the respite, such as it is, which the Ministry seems to have secured, has only been won by the abandonment, for the time being at least, of the policy of fiscal reform. Mr. Chamberlain, according to those who profess to be able to speak for him, has returned home in a lamb-like mood. There is no more talk of 'raging and tearing' agitations, and he has apparently acquiesced in a Budget which has not only skilfully evaded any direct intervention in the fiscal controversy, but which, so far as it goes, distinctly inclines towards the orthodox economic policy of the country. We are assured, of course, that the lull in the storm is only momentary, and that a time will come when

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Mr. Chamberlain, with restored energies, will devote himself anew to the hopeless task of trying to induce the British working man to consent to the taxation of his food. But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof, and free-traders are well content with the present position of this vexed question. As for the Budget itself, it would be idle to describe it as popular with anybody, but it is not worse than it was expected to be. Its most alarming feature is the light that it throws upon the rapidity of our advance towards the goal of serious financial embarrassment. The Licensing Bill is not, at the moment at which I write, in the hands of the public. Already, however, it has filled the genuine temperance party with alarm, and there is little doubt that it will be stubbornly opposed by all who object to anything in the nature of an endowment in perpetuity of the trade in intoxicating liquors. It cannot therefore be said that Ministers, despite their momentary triumph, have really surmounted the difficulties which threatened them when the House re-assembled after the recess. They have done better than was anticipated so far, but their time of trial still awaits them. Upon one question they have scored distinctly since the recess. There is no longer any doubt as to the fate of Mr. Brodrick's Army Corps scheme. That ill-fated proposal was finally disposed of in a curt but explicit answer to a question by Mr. Arnold-Forster. The friends of Army reform have breathed more freely since then, and there seems to be good reason to believe that the recommendations of the Esher Committee will in due time be adopted practically *en bloc*.

The conclusion of the Anglo-French Agreement, practically covering all the diplomatic questions existing between the two countries, has set the seal upon the good understanding with our neighbours which we owe in the first place to the initiative of King Edward. Everybody is so well satisfied at the happy result of the negotiations between Lord Lansdowne and M. Cambon that there is no disposition to regard the details of the agreement with too critical an eye. They promise to close for ever that long series of bickerings between ourselves and our neighbours which reached its culminating point at the time of Fashoda. At all events, if a new policy of pin-pricks is to be inaugurated, new foundations will have to be found for it, the present agreement having swept the old ones away. That we have not secured this fortunate change in our diplomatic relations with France without having to pay for it, is not to be denied. But the disposition in this country at least is not to scan the terms of the agreement too closely; but to rejoice over the substantial fact that we have not only secured satisfaction for the fishermen of Newfoundland, and got elbow room for the development of our policy in Egypt, but have given France practically everything that she desired to obtain from us by the agency of diplomacy. It would be too

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optimistic to assume that we have closed the door of strife for ever and a day between ourselves and our neighbours; but we have certainly done all that is possible to make peace secure, and Lord Lansdowne deserves to be congratulated by both political parties upon his achievement. If he failed as a Minister of War, he has been happily successful as a Minister of Peace.

There have been some curious indications during the month of an approaching improvement in our relations with Russia. The lamentable and needless bitterness of tone which marked some of our newspapers at the beginning of the war in the Far East has undergone a change for the better, and even the Anglophobe journals of Russia have begun to admit that, in present circumstances, a quarrel with Great Britain is hardly to be desired. For the moment the one question which threatens to disturb the harmony of the relations of the two countries is that of our expedition to Thibet, begun in a mysterious secrecy and carried on under conditions that can hardly have been foreseen. The 'regrettable incident' which led to the slaughter of some hundreds of Thibetans by the escort of an avowedly peaceful mission was in every respect deplorable, though no blame is to be attached to the English officers who found themselves suddenly called upon to resist an unexpected and treacherous attack. But incidents of this kind prove the necessity for doing everything possible to clear up the doubts which underlie the intentions not only of Russia but of ourselves in that part of the World. If Lord Lansdowne could repeat at St. Petersburg the success that he has secured at Paris he would establish a fresh claim upon the confidence of his fellow-countrymen.

Both Russians and Japanese have set other nations an excellent example of the way in which great military operations may be carried on without the knowledge of the outside world. The war between the two countries has been waged now for nearly three months, yet at the moment at which I write little light has been thrown upon the details of the strategy of either Power. The startling initial successes of Japan, though they have not been repeated in so signal a manner as that in which they began, have been followed up by a naval engagement off Port Arthur in which a blow of almost tragical severity was dealt at the unfortunate Russian fleet. The destruction of the *Petropavlovsk*, on the 12th of April, has been the most dramatic incident of the struggle so far as it has gone. Universal regret was caused by the fact that the Russian naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Makaroff, a man to whom his fellow-countrymen confidently looked for the restoration of their position at sea, perished with his ship. That this great disaster and the minor losses which it entailed were the result of brilliant strategy on the part of the Japanese is made clear by the published accounts of the incident, and the supremacy of Japan on the sea seems now to have

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been absolutely established. But so far as land operations are concerned a cloud of darkness still covers the movements of the two armies. The moment of action on land is obviously at hand; but on both sides the commanders maintain a secrecy almost if not quite unexampled in modern warfare. The newspaper correspondents have grown restive under the restrictions imposed upon them, and their inability to find anything important to report to the public for whom they cater. Wise men will rejoice if for once a great campaign should be carried on without the accompaniment of a crowded gallery, whilst Western generals will be filled with envy by the success with which both Russians and Japanese in their military operations have freed themselves from the incubus of the irrepressible special correspondent.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

I HAVE a hazy recollection of a play I witnessed, or dreamt I witnessed, many years ago, of which the leading idea was to the following effect. A childless millionaire was supposed by all his cousins, friends, and acquaintances to be on the point of death. He was credited by his medical advisers with senile debility, general decay of vital power, loss of appetite, inability to digest his food, fatty degeneration of the heart, and all the symptoms which are held to be forerunners of impending dissolution. The doctors were agreed that his end was approaching, and all the kinsfolk, who counted upon his death, under the hope that they might succeed to his fortune, had assembled together at his residence in order to be in time to assist at his decease. On their arrival, however, at the dying man's abode his visitors found, to their surprise and dismay, that his malady had taken a favourable turn; that he was not only alive, but presenting every appearance of renewed health; and that, whatever his ailments may have been, he was likely to outlive many of the affectionate relatives who had come to see him buried and to divide his property. The situation is so obvious a one for dramatic purposes that I suspect it has furnished the basis for many scores of plays. But if by some remote chance the idea should prove to be original, I make a present of it to playwrights by profession. The only reason why I allude to this drama without a name—or, at any rate, without a name which I am able to recall to my memory—is that a comedy of errors based on almost identical lines has recently been enacted on the stage of politics.

In the present instance the sick man whose demise was so confidently anticipated was, I need hardly say, the Unionist Ministry. The resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, of the Duke of Devonshire, of Mr. Ritchie, and even of Lord Balfour of Burleigh had been interpreted as signs of impending dissolution. The reconstruction of the Government by the elevation to Cabinet rank of a number of comparatively young and inexperienced politicians was declared to be one of those desperate remedies only resorted to when the plight of

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the patient was felt to be hopeless. The loss of some half-dozen Conservative seats at by-elections was quoted as proof positive that Ministerial decomposition had begun to set in. The enforced absence from Parliament of the Prime Minister owing to illness, and the departure of Mr. Chamberlain for Egypt in search of rest, were ascribed to the fact that they had realised the failure of their policy, and the consequent defeat of the party they had led. The early downfall of the Ministry was regarded as a foregone conclusion. The only questions supposed to deserve serious consideration were upon what issue their death-warrant should be made out, and whether upon its issue the Ministry would dissolve Parliament or tender their resignation.

If space would allow, it would be interesting to repeat some of the recent prophecies made by the organs of the Opposition as to the certainty of the Government being turned out of office after the Easter recess was over. It is, however, enough to state that the Liberals only a month ago were busy making arrangements for an early appeal to the constituencies; that they were already quarrelling amongst themselves, as well as with the Unionist malcontents, as to the distribution of offices in the impending Liberal Administration which was to succeed to power after the Unionist party had been swept away at the polls. The return of a Liberal majority, so overwhelming as to render the support or non-support of the Irish Home Rulers a matter of indifference, was predicted as a certainty. The rival claims of Lord Rosebery, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Spencer as the fittest successor of Mr. Balfour in the Premiership were openly discussed; Mr. Asquith and Mr. John Morley were also mentioned. Indeed, the only Liberal statesman who was not even alluded to as a potential Prime Minister was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who by common consent was to be rewarded for his long and arduous services by an elevation to the peerage. We were told that there were three questions before Parliament which, even if the Ministry could by any chance outlive the discredit they had brought upon themselves by their own incompetence, were certain to lead to their discomfiture. Those three questions were the Budget, the Licensing Bill, and the Education Act. The Ides of March, however, have come and gone, and, as a matter of fact, the two first and most difficult of these questions have been satisfactorily surmounted, and there seems good prospect of the third and last being settled by a reasonable compromise. A change has obviously come over the public mind, and the question of the day is no longer when, or upon what issue, the Government will be defeated, but whether it will not remain in office for at least another year. I am too old an observer of political vicissitudes in England not to be aware that the tenure of any Government, especially of one

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weakened by differences of opinion amongst its own supporters and faced by an embittered Opposition, hungry for office, is always liable to be jeopardised on questions of minor importance. I have no intention therefore of asserting that the Unionist Ministry will continue to hold office till the end of the session. But I do say without hesitation that the prospects of its so holding office are infinitely better than they seemed only a few weeks ago. The reasons for this opinion of mine are not difficult of explanation. It is significant that the turn of the tide in the Ministerial fortunes occurred at the date of Mr. Balfour's return to Parliament after his illness; and the fact that this was so cannot be regarded as an accidental concidence.

To speak the plain truth, an impression had gained ground amongst the general public that the Prime Minister was lax in the discharge of his duties, that he did not realise the responsibilities of his position, that he was a dilettante statesman without any firm convictions or any strength of character. It is open to question how far this impression was due to the torrent of invective with which Mr. Balfour was assailed daily both in Parliament and in the Press by politicians of the baser sort, or how far it was due to the contemptuous indifference with which he ignored all attacks on his ability and his judgment as the leader of the Unionist party. Within the House of Commons the gibes of disappointed place-hunters, the lampoons of irresponsible caricaturists, had little or no effect. Even those who disapproved most strongly of his politics knew that under his show of unconcern there lay a reserve of force, a strength of character, which had raised him to the leadership, and which were at his call whenever he chose to exert his authority. It may seem strange that a generation—not too young to recall how Mr. Balfour, as Secretary of State for Ireland, carried himself in the days of stress and storm, and how by his imperturbable self-control, his extraordinary patience, and his steadfast resolution to dissociate his policy from all personal considerations, he won a respect which had never been earned by any of his predecessors—should ever have entertained a doubt of his capacity to rule. It is true things seemed in a bad way for the fortunes of the Unionist party during the interregnum which prevailed throughout the early days of the Session. The Ministers left in charge were placed in a very false position, and the errors which some of them undoubtedly committed were made the most of by opponents who were ready to catch at any opportunity for loading Mr. Balfour's colleagues with ridicule and obloquy. But with the Premier's return to active politics the whole situation changed as if by magic. The chief charge against the new Ministers lay in their youth, and this charge is not deemed a heinous one by the great mass of Englishmen. But with Mr. Balfour at their head his

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younger colleagues began to display a power of initiative for which the world had not previously given them credit; and the public are beginning to realise that old age is not in itself a necessary ingredient in the composition of a British statesman.

It is marvellous to consider what has been recently accomplished by this so-called moribund Ministry, which only a few weeks ago, we were assured from every side, was on the eve of extinction. The first success of the Administration, after Mr. Balfour's return, was the publication of the Anglo-French agreement. It would be ungracious to inquire in what exact degree the credit of this most remarkable achievement should be proportioned between the different distinguished personages who contributed to its conclusion. This much, however, is certain—that, in whatever quarter the idea originated, the project of an amicable settlement of the various matters in dispute between England and France could never have been carried into execution without the action and intelligent co-operation of the Prime Minister and his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or without the cordial approval of their colleagues. It is on them the main responsibility for the Treaty must rest, in as far as English interests are concerned; it is to them the main credit for its conclusion must accrue. The Treaty possesses two fundamental advantages which would in themselves overweigh all possible defects in its details, if such defects there are. In the first place, the Treaty reduces almost to a vanishing-point the probability of our alliance with Japan compelling us to take an active part in the war now waging in the Far East. In the second place, the Treaty settles all the important issues between ourselves and our next-door neighbours which, if left unsettled, might have been used to stir up ill-blood on the part of either of the two countries, if for any reason their relations should have assumed a hostile character. To put the net results of the Treaty in as few words as possible, we have consented to give France a free hand in dealing with Morocco and in her Soudanese possessions, while France has pledged herself to give us a free hand in dealing with Egypt, and has also agreed to arrangements, with regard to Newfoundland and the New Hebrides, which have proved satisfactory to our colonists in British North America and in Australia. The frank and well-nigh unanimous approval with which the Anglo-French agreement has been accepted on both sides of the Channel is in itself a guarantee for the conditions of the Treaty being observed as loyally as they have been granted frankly. There are, of course, a variety of secondary issues which are not covered by the agreement as it stands; but so long as both countries retain the sentiment of mutual good will expressed in the Treaty, these minor issues can safely be left to the settlement of a future day. In this connection it is only

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fair to acknowledge that the Anglo-French agreement more than justifies the policy which Lord Cromer has persistently pursued during the long period throughout which he has had in his charge the interests of England in Egypt. I have been told by an Anglo-Egyptian friend of mine that during the critical period when the British Government insisted upon the compulsory evacuation of the Soudan he had occasion to complain to Lord Cromer, then Major Baring, of the many difficulties thrown in the way of the reorganisation of Egypt under the British occupation by the latent hostility of the French officials employed in the departments of the State subjected to international administration. In reply to my informant's complaints our Consul-General did not dispute their substantial justice, but remarked that we were in possession of Egypt, and that we had only to remain quiet, to avoid raising all questions which might convert latent into overt hostility, to leave anomalies to settle themselves, and that then some fine morning the world would wake up to the knowledge that our occupation of Egypt had become permanent instead of provisional, and the world would thereupon accept our Protectorate as being in the natural order of events. As I only know the statement by hearsay, I cannot vouch for its verbal accuracy. But I do not hesitate to say that the policy Lord Cromer has pursued in Egypt was accurately foreshadowed by the remarks attributed to his lordship. If so, it is he, more than anyone, who has prepared the way for the Anglo-French agreement, recognising as it does the paramount authority of England in Egypt.

In dealing with this agreement it is only fair also to acknowledge the singular ability with which Lord Lansdowne has conducted the diplomatic negotiations which have led up to this most fortunate result. As Minister of War his lordship had failed to increase his political reputation—or, at any rate, was thought to have been a failure—and his transfer to the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs was bitterly assailed by the Opposition as showing a disregard on the part of the Premier for public interests as compared with personal influences. These attacks tended to increase popular distrust in the efficiency of the Government. The discovery, however, that Lord Lansdowne, as Foreign Minister, is emphatically the right man in the right place has had a marked influence on popular opinion, and has led the public to doubt whether, after all, the new men who had been appointed to the vacant posts in the Ministry caused by the schism in the Unionist party might not justify the opinion the Premier had formed of their eligibility for the important positions they were called upon to occupy.

Apart from the Anglo-French agreement the Government has been able within the last few weeks to report good progress in the

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work of administration. It is too early yet to say how far the drastic reform of the army suggested by the Esher Commission, and adopted by the Ministry as their military programme, will fulfil the expectations formed by its supporters. It is obvious, however, that the scheme of army reconstruction is a bold one and a well-thought-out attempt to place our army on a sound footing, not only as a second line of defence for the Mother Country, but as the basis of an Imperial Army not unequal to the exigencies of our Imperial position. To carry out the scheme successfully will require a strong man, not susceptible to class influences and indifferent to professional, as compared with public, interests. Judging by our present experiences such a man has been found in Mr. Arnold-Forster, and the public now has good ground for believing that the new system, whether it succeeds or not in the end, will have a fair trial, and be administered by men who are determined to make it a success, if success be possible. More than this cannot be fairly said. This much, however, may be affirmed—that the possibility of the reorganisation of the army being transferred from the hands of the present Minister for War to other hands (say, for choice, those of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman) would not nowadays commend itself to the British public.

Till the other day the Liberals were confident the introduction of the Budget would prove fatal to the continuance in office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if not to that of the Ministry itself. Circumstances seemed to favour this supposition. There was a large deficit to be faced, caused to no small extent by the action of the Government in allowing Mr. Ritchie to repeal the shilling duty imposed on foreign-grown corn. The trade of the country was declining; there was a general suspension of business activity, and the prospects of any early revival were by no means promising. In these circumstances it was thought that the situation would require a Chancellor of exceptional financial ability to devise means of raising the funds necessary to meet the expenses of the coming year, and we were assured there was no reason to anticipate that the present Chancellor would prove equal to the task. Indeed, on the occasion of his first important appearance in the House as the successor of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach he had not created a favourable impression on his friends, while his shortcomings had been exaggerated by his opponents *in odium tertii*, the third party being his father and the champion of Tariff Reform. The introduction, however, of the Budget, far from damaging the Government or Mr. Austen Chamberlain, has enhanced their reputations. The Budget, as finally produced, has displayed an unswerving determination on the part of its authors to uphold the credit of England, to resort to no artificial expedients for meeting

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a grave deficit, to throw the liability for abnormal expenditure upon the shoulders of the generation by whom that liability had been incurred, and to distribute the charge equally between the payers of direct and indirect taxation. The Budget, in fact, was an honest balance-sheet of our national assets and liabilities, and when explained—as it has been—upon business principles by a man personally acquainted with business, has commended itself to the good sense of the British public. In consequence we have no more talk nowadays of the Government being defeated upon the Budget, or of Mr. Austen Chamberlain being declared an unfit exponent of finance.

The Licensing Bill has so far made good progress. The measure introduced by Sir Akers Douglas will clearly satisfy neither the partisans of Local Option nor the licensed victuallers, but to the public at large it appears a reasonable compromise between two conflicting interests. The vast majority of Englishmen hold firm to the opinion that men engaged in a legal trade, who have conducted their business at their own cost and risk in accordance with the regulations imposed upon them by their licences, ought not to be deprived, without compensation, of the means by which they have hitherto earned an honest livelihood, owing to the disapproval with which the sale of beer and spirits is viewed by a small section of the community. On the other hand, the British public, though they wish to keep good faith with the licensed victuallers, as with any other class of tradesmen earning their bread honestly by their own industry, would be glad to see the consumption of ardent spirits diminished, and the number of taverns decreased, so as to afford no unnecessary incentive to the gratification of our national thirst. These somewhat inconsistent requirements are satisfied, in as far as they are capable of satisfaction, by the measure now submitted to the consideration of Parliament. It is generally admitted that the Local Optionists on one side, and the publicans on the other, would be well advised in their own interests to accept a solution which, if it does not give either party all they demand, gives each of them more than they are ever likely to obtain under a less fair-minded and intelligent administration than that which now governs the country.

For the moment, therefore, the immediate difficulties which seemed a short time ago to threaten the maintenance of the Unionist Government in office have disappeared. Supposing the Ministry are not defeated on any important question before Whitsuntide, the probabilities are they will be able to retain their seats till the year is over. If the Unionist party continue to act with the same vigour and sound common-sense which they have displayed since Mr. Balfour's return, there is no reason why they should not recover the public

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confidence they have till recently enjoyed. In consequence all speculations as to who is to be the next Liberal Premier, or as to the policy his colleagues may adopt in the event of their carrying the day on a hypothetical appeal to the constituencies, may for the remainder of the year be safely dismissed from consideration as hardly coming within the range of practical politics.

EDWARD DICEY.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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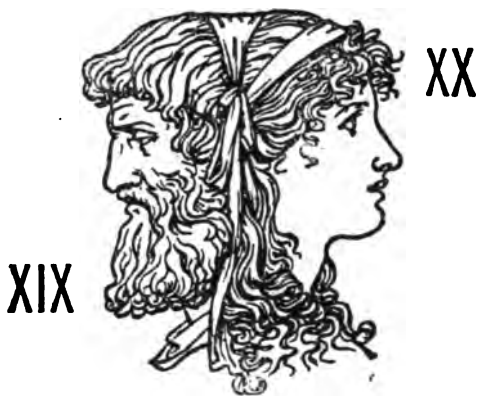
THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCXXVIII—June 1904

THE POPE AND CHURCH MUSIC

A ROMAN CATHOLIC PROTEST

We believe that Pope Pius X., in the course of a recent conversation with a well-known prelate to whom he had given audience, declared that no amount of opposition to his recent edict concerning ecclesiastical music would cause him to abandon or even modify its tenor.

His Holiness was probably very well aware that, however much Roman Catholics, both clerical and lay, might disapprove of his determination to limit the musical répertoire of the Church to the Gregorian form of composition, there would not and could not be any open opposition to his decree.

From the moment his intention became known, protests were not wanting; but the waste-paper basket at the Vatican is capacious. It has expanded with the centuries.

It is by no means our purpose to examine from the point of view of a musical expert the surprising edict lately formulated by the Head of the Roman Church. Want of space, and, we frankly admit, lack of technical knowledge, alike forbid us to do so. We are aware

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that, to certain minds, any attempt to discuss or criticise a decree emanating from the Head of Roman Catholic Christendom will at once appear to be presumptuous and 'anti-Catholic.' It is not, however, to such minds that we venture to appeal in these pages. We have elsewhere drawn attention to that return to the spirit of early mediævalism—or, as we might say with more truth, to the darker ages immediately preceding the mediæval—which has been so remarkable a feature of the internal policy of the Vatican during the last quarter of a century.

Under Pope Leo XIII., Roman Catholicism was once more subjected to the narrow and retrograde influences of the Thomist philosophy, from which it had gradually been emancipating itself under that irresistible pressure of modern thought which, albeit slowly and silently, makes itself felt even within the walls of the Vatican.

Leo XIII., however, though he certainly did nothing to encourage the arts, and bequeathed to posterity as a specimen of his artistic taste the monstrous internal decorations of St. John Lateran, never attempted to interfere with their legitimate use as an aid to devotion. It has been reserved to his successor, Pius X., to transfer a retrograde policy from the domain of theological philosophy into that of the highest and the most spiritual of all the arts.

We are not here concerned with the technical merits of the Gregorian chant, but rather with its potentialities as an inspiring element. We venture to assert that those potentialities, though we are far from denying their existence, are limited. The Gregorian chant is, if we may so express it, typical of the sacristy; it appeals to little or nothing outside and beyond the confines of the clerical temperament. It never has been, and it never can be, a form of music which evokes answering chords in the hearts of the vast majority of the laity.

We believe, and we have reason to think that very many of our readers will agree with us, that Pope Pius X. and his advisers have blundered both artistically and psychologically in banishing from the ritual of the Church every school of sacred music save one which belongs to an age long since passed away. We venture to suspect, moreover, that his Holiness has made a third blunder; and, though it is not to be supposed that they would admit as much, we believe that the clergy of such churches as the Oratory, Farm Street, the Carmelite Priory, and others (to mention only London churches) will tacitly agree with us. We are very certain that the parochial clergy of Rome, where we write these words, do so.

We will first of all consider the artistic blunder.

Those who know Italy, and especially those who know Rome, will readily admit that the music to be heard in the churches is little short of deplorable. It matters not whether a Mass be sung before the Pope and College of Cardinals in St. Peter's or the Sistine Chapel,

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or whether it be sung in the humblest parish church of Rome; its execution in either case, from the musical point of view, leaves an almost equal amount to be desired. The glorious Masses of Beethoven, of Bach, of Schubert, to name only those among the first rank of composers who have placed their genius at the service of the Church, are unknown in Rome, except perhaps to concert-goers. It is probably as well that they are so, for nothing but a travesty of them could be rendered in the churches.

By a few strokes of the pen, and largely, if report be true, by the influence of a priestly composer, whose music, when not a plagiarism from other and greater geniuses, is intolerably insipid and monotonous; by the individual taste of a Pontiff who can assuredly have had no opportunity of hearing the music his edict condemns, and whose antecedents, we may suspect, would scarcely allow him to appreciate if he did hear it, the most lofty inspirations of the greatest masters of music are denied to the faithful. They cannot again be heard in surroundings to emphasise the sanctity and solemnity of which they were specially composed. We confess to a feeling of amazement at the superficial—we had almost said ignorant—treatment to which the most divine of the arts has been subjected by the authorities of that Church which has hitherto recognised to the full the importance of stimulating religious fervour through an appeal to the senses. We cannot but regret an edict which practically divorces religion from its highest earthly coadjutor.

It will be argued that the primary intention of the papal edict is to dissociate from the ritual of the Mass a certain class of music with which the most sacred office of the Church had come to be connected. In Italy, as is well known, it is no uncommon thing to hear the brindisi from *La Traviata* rattled out by the organ during the Elevation of the Host. In one of the most fashionable churches in London, where crowds of all denominations 'go to hear the music,' the present writer has many times heard High Mass sung to music adapted from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne*. The *Sanctus*, sung to a chorus written in that clever composer's most brilliant style, had, to judge by the faces of the members of the congregation, a decided success, not merely artistic, but also devotional. Probably few, if any, of the congregation knew that they were listening to the music of a charming little opera founded on a novel of Alphonse Daudet. *L'Arlésienne*, we believe, has seldom been heard in London. *La Traviata* is not familiar as an opera to the peasants of an Italian village. Nevertheless, Verdi's drinking song played by the village organist during the Elevation, and Bizet's chorus sung by a highly trained London choir at the same solemn moment had, it may be imagined, precisely similar effects as aids to devotion. We are here, however, trespassing upon that psychological aspect of the papal edict which we shall presently consider.

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The total want of artistic discrimination shown by Pope Pius X. and his advisers is assuredly most remarkable. We can understand, though we are by no means sure that we agree with it, the Pope's desire entirely to eliminate so-called profane music from being employed as an adjunct to the offices of the Church. But, surely some discrimination might have been exercised, some wider outlook than that of the sacristy might with advantage have been taken!

We fully realise that Pius X. would wish to establish uniformity in the musical adjuncts to the ritual of the Church, and more especially in the Church's most sacred office, the Mass. Those who have heard the impressive chanting which is a feature of the orthodox Greek Communion are not likely to forget it; and it may well be that Pius X. has some such ideal in his mind. It must be remembered, however, that the greatest masters of the musical art have not written for that branch of the Catholic Church; and moreover, that the Latin Communion, for which they have written, is universal, and not merely racial. The Vatican appears to have forgotten, or to have ignored this point. The dignity and austerity of the Gregorian school, which the recent papal edict would make compulsory so far as the *missa cantata* is concerned, cannot be denied. But that very dignity depends upon the manner in which the music is rendered. Even in St. Peter's, on the occasion of the recent Gregorian celebrations, the execution of the music, if we are to believe certain musical experts of various nationalities who made a point of being present, left very much to be desired. The effect was thin, monotonous, colourless. It may be imagined what effect this music would produce as rendered in, we will say, a village church in England or in any other country.

It will be objected, and rightly objected, that the sacred music composed by Beethoven, Bach, and other great masters would not receive any better interpretation; and we are the first to admit that the works of these giants should only be attempted by highly trained choirs, which are necessarily few and far between, and which certainly have no existence in Roman or Italian churches. There is, however, a halting-place between the lifeless monotony of Gregorian music and the soaring inspiration of a Mass composed by Beethoven, Bach, or Schubert. Mozart, Haydn, and, in more recent times, Schumann, Gounod, and a score of others have contributed their portion to the répertoire with which music has enriched the Roman Church. But the Vatican knows them not. It is not too much to say that the wealth of music placed at the disposal of the Church by non-Italian composers is an absolutely unknown quantity to Rome, and has always been so.

The ecclesiastical authorities within the Vatican have, therefore, no means of judging or of realising the influence exercised by such compositions. In the meantime the popular demand for music

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which shall appeal through the senses to devotional enthusiasm has insisted upon being gratified. Hence *La Traviata* in an Italian village church, and *L'Arlésienne* in a London sanctuary where a shilling is charged for a front seat.

It would appear that in matters artistic and psychological, as in matters political and diplomatic, the Vatican has lately been unable to maintain its historic reputation.

The recent edict absolutely ignores the fact that the art of music, and especially that branch of it devoted to sacred things, has consistently adapted itself to the mental and spiritual needs and requirements of successive generations. As Leo XIII. forced upon Roman Catholic Christendom of the twentieth century the theological philosophy of the thirteenth century, so Pius X. and his advisers have determined to limit the faithful, in that divine art which has ever been the handmaiden to religious devotion, to the narrow and gloomy expression which satisfied the needs of the sixth century. We contend that such a limitation is not only an offence against art but also a psychological error.

In Rome and throughout Italy the dismay caused by the Pope's action has been very considerable. In England we believe that the edict has given rise to general dissatisfaction, although, for obvious motives, the English Roman Catholic body refrains from publicly expressing its discontent.

The reasons for this dissatisfaction are evident. The laity of all denominations are in the majority; and the English Roman Catholic laity do not very greatly differ in their natural instincts from their Protestant brethren. They see no reason why a vast field of sacred and semi-sacred music should be closed to them. The artistic sense among them is perhaps not very strong, for we are not now thinking of the congregations, largely composed of Protestants, which fill the great churches in London and other cities on Sundays at a High Mass. We allude to the country churches, where choirs of men and women have until lately been in the habit of singing the Mass, to their own enjoyment and the edification of the congregation. The *Hosanna* at the conclusion of the *Benedictus*, delivered in various keys, rings in our ears as we write. There was a heartiness, however, a spontaneity, which more than atoned for any lack of art either in the compositions sung or in the manner of their singing.

But Pope Pius X. will have changed all this; and we greatly fear that the Gregorian chanting of a dozen ill-trained men and boys will scarcely be so pleasing either to themselves or to the congregation. It is not easy to feel religious when you are feeling bored; and we doubt if this fact has been duly considered by the Vatican.

The love of melody is strong in all nationalities and in all classes; and, in the lower classes especially, mere harmony will scarcely

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supply its place. We venture to say that a simple melody, however indifferently rendered, will appeal to the sense of the majority of laymen with greater directness than any harmony will do; and we have yet to learn that the senses are not very important factors in any form of religious worship. That the senses may be appealed to in different ways is indubitable; but we submit that, so far as an appeal through music is concerned, the Gregorian music, owing to its monotony and lack of melody, is fitted to appeal to the clerical rather than the lay elements of a congregation. For this reason we believe Pope Pius X. to have made a psychological mistake. The special attribute of music, whether sacred or profane, must surely be to respond to the psychological condition of the listener, and, in the case of sacred music, to raise that condition to yet higher spiritual levels. We do not believe in the efficacy of the Gregorian chant as a means to accomplish this end, so far, at any rate, as the average lay man or woman is concerned; and we think that many of our readers, Catholic or otherwise, will agree with us.

As we have already pointed out, association is a powerful incentive to the action of music, sacred or profane, on the senses. When the village organist plays *la donna è mobile* as the priest elevates the Host, the peasant mind does not immediately resort to the opera-house; nor do we believe that the thoughts of a fashionable London congregation turn to a Provençal love-story while listening to a *Sanctus* set to music from *L'Arlésienne*. On the contrary, we believe that thoughts—the thoughts of the ordinary human being who has not passed through the seminaries—would be far more likely to go astray during the dreary and colourless chanting of the music which finds such favour in the ears of the present Pope. We are not, we repeat, denying to Gregorian music its obvious and legitimate merits. We merely assert that it is a form of music which appeals only to certain temperaments; that the vast majority of mankind, of whatever religious denomination, is untouched by it; and that, in very many who possess a genuine love and knowledge of music, it produces a feeling of weariness and impatience.

We submit that Pope Pius X., in his determination to banish from Roman Catholic worship all but a form of music which may be described as archaic, has forgotten that, though the Vatican may still cling to the traditions, and breathe the mental atmosphere of the early middle ages, the great mass of Roman Catholic laity of all nationalities prefers the atmosphere of the twentieth century.

We would submit, moreover, that nothing but ignorance of the great masters of sacred music, of their aims and scope, of the psychological power they wield (an ignorance that is lamentable, but not surprising to those who are acquainted with the musical methods of ecclesiastical Rome), can account for, or excuse from an artistic point of view, this deplorable edict.

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Roman Catholic Christendom is, in a word, to suffer for the inability of Italian ecclesiastics to realise that there are other sacred compositions than those of Italian choir-masters, who have been mainly responsible for the low standard of church music in Italy, and especially in Rome. The limited space at our disposal obliges us now to pass to the consideration of the last of the three errors which, in our opinion, stamps the papal edict as ill-advised.

In Italy, as in other Roman Catholic countries, the attendance at the 'Low' Masses is far larger than at the High Mass. It is a common fallacy of English Protestants that in Italy and France the men do not go to church, the fact being that, at the hours of the morning when the men do go to church in these countries, the English Protestant is usually in bed, or ruining his digestion by eating an English breakfast. Musical 'services' are not much in favour with the Italian of the male sex. His natural gift for music precludes him from appreciating the confusion of sounds, only to be described as 'caterwauling,' with which his ears are regaled, even in the great basilicas. The length, moreover, of the functions bores him. The papal edict, therefore, will not have so far-reaching an effect in Italy as in Protestant countries.

Nobody who has attended a High Mass at a large London church, such as the Oratory, can fail to have noticed the very large proportion of non-Roman Catholics among the congregation. It is scarcely too much to say that the greater part of these visitors are there for the gratification of the eyes, the ears, and, possibly, the nose—for the gratification, in short, of their senses.

When the stately ritual of the Church is shorn of the varied and excellent music to be heard at, we will say, the Brompton Oratory, where will be the attraction to the Protestant? The Anglican churches will supply better music, or at least music which falls more sympathetically on the ear; and some among them furnish a very respectable parody of the picturesque details of a High Mass. There will always remain, no doubt, the attraction of toying with the Scarlet Woman. But we are confident that when once it is generally realised that the beautiful and varied music formerly to be heard is a thing of the past, there will be fewer converts to Rome, and more converts to ritualism. We regard the papal edict as the grand opportunity for the Ritualistic party in the Anglican Church.

It were folly to say that men and women are not led to religion through the senses.

We wonder what the percentage of converts to Roman Catholicism or Anglican Ritualism may be that owes its conversion to the eyes and ears. We suspect that the Oratorian Fathers, for instance, know it to be very considerable; and we do not hesitate to affirm that the majority of wandering sheep are pulled into the fold by the ears.

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Does the Holy Father realise the British love for long 'services' accompanied by good and varied music? His recent action would seem to imply that he does not.

And yet we have reason to believe that the question has been strongly represented to him from more than one quarter. The Vatican, however, is, after all, nothing but a sacristy, with the peculiar mental outlook of the sacristy.

It is difficult to understand why Pope Pius X. should not have confined himself to the reformation of church music in Rome, and in Italian cities generally, where reform is most certainly needed. From the purely musical point of view, to insist upon country choirs, either in Italy or elsewhere, rendering Gregorian music is almost as inartistic a proceeding as to insist upon those choirs performing Beethoven's Mass in D.

We believe that when the recent action of Pius X. comes to be generally realised, the educated portion of the community, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, will openly resent the insult offered to music by those responsible for this unfortunate and illogical decree.

RICHARD BAGOT.

Rome, May 21, 1904.

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THE MIS-REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT

UPON the correct representation of the people in Parliament depends the maintenance of all our much-boasted liberties. By incorrect representation a minority of the people may obtain a majority of the power. If a minority rules the whole, it is an oligarchy. It can appoint the executive Government, can make laws which the nation as a whole would not desire, and unmake laws which the whole nation has passed. The possible abuses of minority power need no telling. But, apart from wilful abuse, the nation unequally represented cannot express or even ascertain its own will. The greatest good of the greatest number, how can it be ascertained? The greatest of our liberties—the right to govern ourselves and to make our own laws and protect our own freedom—becomes a phrase only. By processes of centuries we obtained that right and wrested our freedom successively alike from autocratic power and from oligarchic sway. Our King has become one of his people—the best of subjects of the Constitution. He never affects to be more than one—greatest among us, the servant of all. Our barons only form a regulating branch of our one Parliament, with the useful function of making us think twice when we are going to act in a hurry. Are we to throw all this progress away by paralysing our own power to govern by our defective machinery? The will of the nation—the Commons of the kingdom—can only be expressed and the power to govern can only be effectuated by careful machinery—machinery which will insure that the majority in numbers of the representatives of the people in the House of Commons are duly elected and represent the majority of the people. That is the machinery we have established for the purpose. This right and power to govern ourselves is the safeguard of every other liberty we possess. If the machinery works tortuously, the result may be the reverse of the nation's will. If a majority of the representatives of the people represent only a minority of the people, and conversely a majority of the people only have a minority of the representatives, it is obvious that the decisions of Parliament may be exactly the reverse of the will of the

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majority of the people, and, if not the actual reverse, can scarcely in any case be what the majority would desire.

But this is exactly the case we are in now. Here are the facts. We are a population of 42,000,000—men, women, and children. Of these, the registered electors are 7,066,702. These electors send 670 members to Parliament to represent the nation. By them the voice of the nation is expressed; by them its will is executed. Their decision is given by a majority of their voices or votes, each counting one only. If their votes were all counted by value of electorates, or if the electorates were equal, the voice of the majority of the nation would be shown. But their voices are not equal in value. If they were equal, each member would represent 10,547 electors, which is the average of the whole. But, instead of that, one member is sent by 41,759 (Romford) electors, and another by 1,489 electors (Kilkenny). This is at present the extreme disparity. It is twenty-eight to one. One-half of the 670 members represent 4,652,878 electors, the other half 2,413,825 electors. One-half of the electors—say, three and a half out of the seven millions—send 464 members to Parliament; the other half send 206. A majority of 370 members in the House of Commons represent 2,758,780, against 4,307,922 which the remaining 300 members represent.

There are 99 members who represent over 15,000 electors each, and 55 members who represent less than 5,000 each. The 55 lowest represent 119,111 electors, or an average of 2,165 each. The 55 highest represent 1,095,491 electors, or an average of 19,918 each. My own constituency of Wandsworth has 27,403 electors. But there are two higher than mine—viz. Romford, above mentioned, and Walthamstow, which has 32,945 electors—and several others nearly as large as mine. Indeed, five of us in the House of Commons represent more electors than 45 other members. We five represent 154,789, against 152,332 which the 45 others represent—the average representation of the five members being 30,900, and the average of the 45 only 3,380. Five voices and votes in Parliament against 45! How can this be called representation?

In face of these facts how can it be said that the decisions expressed by the votes of the House of Commons represent the voice of the nation? It may, of course, do so by chance; but is it by chance that we are to be governed?

One would think that such a case has only to be stated to produce conviction and a remedy without further argument. And, indeed, no one denies the injustice and anomaly—the utter inadequacy of such a machinery thus out of order to effect its own object and declared purpose, viz. the expression and execution of the nation's will. The evil is admitted. The remedy is known. The way to apply it is known. What hinders it? Let us see.

In 1893 I brought the matter in an abstract motion before the

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House of Commons, having obtained a good place in the ballot. The present Opposition were then in power. Sir W. Harcourt was Leader of the House, and in replying admitted my facts and conclusions, similar to those above stated, though the figures were not so forcible then as now, and stated that 'very soon'—and I recollect he added, 'sooner rather than later'—these anomalies must be remedied; and in particular he referred to the deficient representation of the large constituencies of London and the excessive representation of Ireland. His Government went out of office in 1895 without having done anything. They could not afford to lose the Irish vote. Lord Salisbury came into power. I again in 1897, 1898, and 1899 brought the question before the House and the Government. It was always admitted, attention promised ('without undue delay,' said Mr. Balfour), but nothing done. Mr. Balfour, just before the war, promised to make it a Cabinet question. The war then pre-occupied all attention. It was a reasonable excuse. The country as well as the House was evidently with the Government. The machinery of representation was accidentally working right. The majority inside the House was the same as outside. The Government went to the country in 1900, and their mandate was renewed by a majority big enough to overwhelm any accidental mis-working of the electoral machinery. The majority was again the same way. A Minister in power while strong enough to hold on does not want to prematurely disturb the machinery which placed him there. He knows that a Redistribution of Seats Bill is usually followed by an early dissolution, though this, as the *Times* has pointed out, is not as necessarily so as is assumed. There is nothing to prevent the Bill enacting that it should take effect at the expiration of the Parliament by effluxion of time, or sooner if it happens, or at any given date. However, these were the hindrances, to say nothing of the enormous and increasing number and pressure of subjects constantly occupying Ministers and House as well. Our worthy Premier's illness was another. But at length, as soon as was considerate after his happy recovery, we succeeded in getting him to promise to receive a deputation of fifteen members, nominated by about a hundred others or more. He received us accordingly on the 5th of May inst. The result was stated in the papers of the next day in the following form, which is verbatim as authorised by him:—

> Mr. Balfour expressed his strong sense of the hardship and public injury caused by the present anomalies in our electoral system, and said the whole question had engaged the serious attention of the Government, and he promised to communicate to his colleagues the substance of the representations made to him by the Committee. He did not think, however, that any declaration as to a policy would be expedient at the present moment, but it was a question which he would bear in mind.

So that here again we have the case admitted, after a very

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attentive and patient hearing which he gave to us—and a promise of Cabinet attention. It would perhaps have been unreasonable for us to expect him or any Minister in his position to tell us what may or may not be in the King's Speech next Session. We cannot doubt his *bona fides*, and—though I have no right to speak confidently or with any authority—it is my belief that a Redistribution Bill will be part of the programme next Session.

We have still, however, to consider upon what plan a redistribution of seats should proceed.

It will be remembered that at the great Constitutional Union Fête so munificently given by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim on Saturday, the 10th of August, 1901, both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the necessity of redressing the anomalies in our electoral system. It happened that the *Times* on the Monday following published a letter of mine on the subject, followed by leading articles both on the 12th and the 13th of August, strongly urging the necessity for redistribution.

In that letter, after stating the figures and facts on that year's returns, which showed that the disparity—which in 1884 was only 8 to 1, in 1893 was 10¼ to 1, in 1897 12 to 1, and in 1898 15 to 1—was then 18 to 1 (it is now 28 to 1), I had outlined a plan of redistribution which I will shortly describe and apply to the figures of the present electorates.

Of course, exact representation would equalise every constituency, and make them 10,547 electors each. It is hopeless, for many reasons, to expect to get exactly equal constituencies; and even if made so in one year, they would be altered by changes in the next. Some small latitude of disparity must be allowed, but not 28 to 1, or one so wide as to involve such anomalies as above described. My suggestion therefore is, first, to determine the fair proportion of representatives for each of the four parts of the United Kingdom—England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—and, having done that in gross, to allow each of the four parts to have their seats redistributed according to their own circumstances. In doing this in each part I suggest that it would be fair to allow a moderate range, say 15,000 as a maximum and 5,000 as a minimum—all constituencies between those numbers being allowed to remain without alteration, unless by internal arrangement or the necessities of adjoining constituencies they could be brought nearer to the general average of 10,547. The general average seems to rise at about the rate of 120 per annum, and it may in some future year rise to such a point as to necessitate a little alteration in the 15,000 maximum and 5,000 minimum which I suggest as being an equal range above and below the general average. If that maximum and minimum are adopted, it would obviously at once reduce the disparity from 28 to 1 down to 3 to 1, which may be considered not a dangerous

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one. The effect upon the present electorates would be that about 500 seats now between 15,000 and 5,000 might be left undisturbed, except where required to be altered for local adjustments. There would then remain about 170 seats to be adjusted. On this year's returns there are 99 above 15,000 each and 55 are less than 5,000. These are together 154. A few constituencies between 5,000 and 15,000 would need to be redistributed to meet adjustments required by those 154, and to meet the preliminary apportionment between the four parts of the United Kingdom as presently explained. In 1901 there were only 76 constituencies with over 15,000 electors each, and only 48 with less than 5,000 each, which will show how rapidly the disparities have been growing in the three years.

However, to revert to Blenheim. Having outlined a plan, which was seen by the Blenheim party at breakfast, in the *Times*, on Monday morning, Lord James of Hereford, who was one of the party, informed me afterwards that he had, in travelling to town with Mr. Balfour from Blenheim, discussed my letter throughout, and had been kindly authorised by him to inform me that in principle he approved of my plan. Lord James is well known as an expert in these matters, and as the distinguished author of the Elections Act of 1884, which has been such a boon in all the constituencies, has done much to purify our election practice. He was good enough to offer to meet me and revise the more detailed plan, which he then urged me to work out on the then latest figures. That I did, and, after perusal and approval by him, I sent it to the Press in January 1902. That is the plan I have above described, and which works out as follows.

In the working out of the plan I take, first, the necessary preliminary of allotting to each of the four parts of the United Kingdom in gross their due proportion of the 670 representatives on a general average of either electors or population, whichever may be determined to be the fairer.

According to electorates, the English have at present only one member to 11,442 electors; the Welsh have one member to 10,745; the Scotch, 10,067; and the Irish, 6,783 only. On a general average of the whole, England has forty members too few, and should have 505 instead of 465, its present quota; Scotland has three too many, and should have 69 instead of 72; and Ireland has thirty-seven too many, and should have 66 instead of 103. Wales is right at 30.

If population be taken as the basis of calculation, it would stand as follows: The entire population of the United Kingdom being 41,458,721, if divided by 670, would give a general average of 61,878 people to one member. Applying this average to the English population of 30,808,539, England would be entitled to 497 members; Wales, with 1,719,304, would be entitled to 29 members; Scotland, with 4,472,103, would be entitled to 72 members; Ireland, with 4,458,775, would be entitled to 72 members.

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If this basis were adopted, Wales might be let alone with its 30 members, Scotland would be right with its 72 members; and only Ireland and England would have to give and take. Ireland would surrender 31 members, which would provide for as many of the deficits in England. As the basis of population would be the more favourable one to Ireland, as taking only 31 seats from her instead of 37, and giving so many less to England, we might concede that, and so save any contention as to which is the proper basis—electors or population.

The general average between the four parts of the United Kingdom being thus established, each of the four parts would be set to work to average the constituencies within their own boundaries. Thus England has eighty-two excesses over 15,000 each, and twenty-seven deficits under 5,000. Twenty-two of these would be adjusted by the simple division of largest constituencies into two or three each, and taking one member from each of the double-member constituencies at present below the average, and giving them to as many of the highest constituencies over 15,000, which would be simply divided up. Most of the constituencies under 5,000 could be enlarged. None need be disfranchised in England, because there is ample surplus material to make them up or redistribute them, probably inside their own counties. The remainder of the excesses, with the help of the 31 or 37 seats, as the case may be, obtained from Ireland, would enable all the 82 to be reduced under 15,000. Wales has only three excesses and three deficits, which could probably be arranged by a redistribution of two of its counties and the boroughs within them. Scotland has thirteen excesses and eight deficits, which could easily be arranged within Scotch boundaries. In Ireland, after the surrender of the 31 or 37 seats to bring up their general average of 6,783 to that of the whole kingdom, they would have no deficits or excesses to deal with to bring them all within the 15,000 and 5,000. At present there is only one seat in Ireland above 15,000.

I trust I have shown that the task is not a herculean one as regards the work involved. No doubt it involves important points, but not more important than on former occasions of redistribution of seats. The question is not a party question, but a national one. It is doubtless inevitable that party men, and especially party leaders, will be set a-thinking of how any scheme of redistribution may work for benefit or otherwise to their respective parties, and wirepullers may set themselves to examine how they can best serve the party to which they belong. But these considerations ought to be beneath the cognisance of real statesmanship, except to cause the statesman to be on guard against being swayed by such considerations in the preparation of a measure in which the only principle should be as near an approximation to fair and faithful representation of all

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parties in the State as human affairs permit of. Nor is this an Irish question any more than a British one. No doubt the matter involves for Ireland larger alterations than in the other parts of the United Kingdom. We shall, of course, have to meet the old contention that the Act of Union fixed the number of seats for Ireland at its present number, and that, being in the nature of a treaty, the Act of Union cannot be altered. To this it may be answered: (1) That the Act of Union was no more than an Act of Parliament, and has already been altered, at the instance of the Irish themselves, in the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the appropriation of its property for civil purposes; (2) that the representation then settled applied to the circumstances of that time, but those circumstances are so vastly altered now that the arrangement has become unfair and unjust to Great Britain; (3) the fact that Mr. Gladstone and the Irish promoted the Home Rule Bill, which would have greatly altered the Act of Union, admits the jurisdiction of Parliament over it; (4) the proportion of votes to which the Irish are entitled, either by population or by incidence of taxation and other burdens of the State, is far exceeded by their present representation. After all, representation is only a means to an end—a machinery to effect an object; and it is an essential of such things that it should be fair. Moreover, the present excessive representation of Ireland—used, as it is in our present Parliament, for the hindering and preventing of beneficial legislation for the other three parts of the United Kingdom—involves a wrong to them which is greater than any so-called wrongs of Ireland.

It is not out of place to refer to the personal hardship and injustice inflicted on an English M.P. and to those he represents in constituencies of 30,000 or 40,000 electors and 200,000 population, especially in the Metropolis. His correspondence is enormous. His time and attention in speaking with as many people as naturally and reasonably desire it, not only at his house and at meetings, but at the House of Commons, where sometimes (I speak of my own case) many hours are thus consumed, are so occupied as to absolutely prevent his listening to or taking part in debates as he should. Many debates in which I have desired to take part I have been excluded from by this cause. Doubtless it may be suggested that the other members are gainers by not having an extra speech inflicted upon them. But then ten other members, representing altogether no more electors or people than I do, have the right, and are not prevented from exercising it, of delivering ten speeches—most of them against the views which I should probably entertain. They have twelve calls on the Speaker's eye to my one, and twelve chances in the ballot for motions and Bills—to say nothing of the ballots and orders for gallery seats for their constituents. (The fair claims of my own constituents in this little matter I am never able reasonably to

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satisfy.) Again, there is the very important matter of the enormous expense imposed by these excessive constituencies upon the member. To say nothing of the increased expenses at elections, the registration expenses in an electorate of 30,000 are enormous. A member is always expected to bear the lion's share, and in poor constituencies the whole, of this expense. In my constituency it is 1,000*l.* a year, and continually increasing with the increase of the electorate and population. There is also to be considered the large number of local bodies and objects in these larger constituencies which have a reasonable claim on his time—and pocket also—involving in themselves a serious total. Many other consequential hardships might be mentioned. The work of a member in such constituencies is, in fact, incessant. He is never free from morning to night. His family and social life is almost destroyed, and he can never be sure of being able to fulfil his duties.

There is a misgiving in the minds of some of us that the known amiability of our Chief Secretary for Ireland—who naturally and quite properly wishes, as indeed we all do, to abstain from everything which might irritate the Irish, if it can possibly be avoided—may cause a difficulty in the way of this great reform. Twenty years of Parliamentary life has proved to me that nothing is gained by abstaining from doing an act of necessary justice to the rest of the kingdom from a fear that it may arouse the susceptibilities of our Irish friends. Let us be considerate and fair and just to them in all things, but not at the expense of injustice to others. The whole blunder of English legislative jurisprudence as regards Ireland has been that when we have done and said and legislated as we have considered fair and just, we have never stood by our guns. Each concession has only been made a ground for further clamour and fresh exactions. We have oppressed our friends and penalised our taxpayers to make boons and gifts to Ireland. We have turned landlords out to turn their tenants in. We have destroyed the principle of freedom of contract, and our last little donation of twelve millions of British money, wrung from our already overburdened taxpayers for what was thought a final settlement, has been received as an instalment only and an additional ground for more threats and renewed demands for Home Rule. The present excessive representation is used as a lever for intimidation of both the great parties in the State, more particularly of the Liberal party, whose leader has been terrorised into promising again to raise the standard of Home Rule as the price of the Irish votes for his party.

The increase of the material prosperity of Ireland is undoubted. Its progress is assured. There is no longer any ground for treatment differential from the rest of the kingdom. If only they can be delivered from restless expectations held out to them by their

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professional politicians on the one hand, aided by flabbiness and weakness on our part, things will go well. This can only be done by firmness on the part of the Executive. A line must be drawn. English wrongs—and Irish loyalists too—must be considered, or the sense of irritation which is growing may exert itself into action. Neither the 99 members nor the 206 constituencies before referred to are likely, without limit of time, to endure the injustice under which they will feel they are allowed by their own leaders to suffer.

I have no doubt defects here and there may be found in some of the figures above stated. If there are any I do not think they can affect the principle or the conclusion at which I have arrived. I apologise in advance, however, for any such defects, and beg my readers kindly to excuse them on the ground of the great pressure, as regards time, under which I have had to write this paper.

HENRY KIMBER.

May, 1904.

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THE COBDEN CENTENARY AND MODERN LIBERALISM

THE 3rd of June of this year is the centenary of Cobden's birth. The occasion will be celebrated with all due ceremonial by the club which bears his name. The moment invites a review of his many-sided policy and an examination of the extent to which his ideas survive in the aims and action of the Liberal party of to-day.

Cobden possessed in a high degree those staunch qualities which are the strength and the pride of British statesmanship—an absolute sincerity, an unquestioned integrity, zeal and efficiency in his work—and he added to these the rarer qualities of self-subordination and of warm sympathy with the classes in whose cause he laboured. But he lacked that touch of genius, that lofty imaginative power which, inspiring a poetic oratory, gave lustre to Chatham and Fox, to Canning and Gladstone, and lacking it he cannot rank as one of the brilliant among our statesmen. Nor, since he never held office in the State, could his actual achievements in the sphere of government be many. To us, therefore, his importance lies less in his personality than in what he personified. In Cobden we have the progressive middle class of his day; in his speeches we have their politics. His individuality was a type; his views were a creed; and it is this, rather than the attraction of his own character or the performances of his own career, which gives to a review of his political principles its interest and value.

Cobden and his colleagues were animated, like most men, by mixed motives. Manufacturers by calling and humanitarians by temperament, the whole structure of their policy was based on a double foundation of philanthropy and business. In this lay their strength, for nothing appeals more strongly to the English mind than a cause which enlists in its support the instincts both of self-interest and of charity. The fact is no ground for complaint. The two motives do not stand on the same plane, but there need be no hypocrisy in combining them. Egoism and altruism, each in its proper measure, are both of them virtues, and a nation or a party is not to be despised because its philanthropy is sometimes profitable, and the measures it adopts

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expand trade and increase wealth as well as relieve directly the sufferings of the poor and fulfil the commands of the moral law.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, politicians who set out from such a standpoint naturally saw in the abolition of the Corn Laws the first step to their ends. On the one hand their sympathies were deeply stirred by the extreme poverty of the labouring classes, due in no small measure to the heavy taxes on the articles they consumed; on the other hand they clearly perceived that cheap food would mean more efficient and therefore cheaper labour, and cheaper labour would mean a thriving trade. They desired the importation of foreign corn partly in order that the people might be better fed, and partly in order to promote the export of their own manufactures in exchange. So they became free traders; they soon learned from the economists the whole theory of their subject; they added a wealth of argument and illustration drawn from their business knowledge and from their close acquaintance with the needs and the sentiments of the working classes; and they started the great agitation which remains to this day a model in the art of political propaganda.

To many, indeed, Cobdenism and the free trade movement appear to be convertible terms. Find an error, a mistaken forecast, in one of Cobden's speeches, and you detect a fallacy in the theory of free imports; declare yourself a free trader and you may be classed as a complete Cobdenite. Such a notion is, of course, far from the truth. Just as the policy of free exchange rests on a basis far wider than the authority or the prophecies of a single man, so the broad mind of that man held many ideas besides the one with which his name is most conspicuously associated.

The same twin motives which made Cobden a free trader made him also a constant advocate of international peace. War is unchristian; it is also costly. It leads to suffering, and it leads to taxation. Therefore all right-minded men, and especially right-minded taxpayers, should use every effort to help to preserve the peace of the world. Cobden was a lifelong opponent of the policy of constant intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, a policy which sprang from the supposed need of maintaining a mysterious figment—ancient, but at that time still full of life—known as the Balance of Power, which had as its frequent consequence wars, expeditions, and heavy taxation to maintain great armaments, which drew its support from the bellicose feelings always latent in the British nation, and which then found its chief exponent and agent in the Whig leader, Lord Palmerston. Cobden never wearied of preaching the contrary doctrine of non-intervention as a saner and nobler principle of national duty. He showed by trenchant criticism that the Balance of Power was nothing more than the unreal creation of a political scholasticism. He always opposed increases, and often advocated decreases, in the scale of the armaments on land and on sea. He was the consistent friend of

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the United States in days when such friends were not numerous in England, and he urged the importance of a friendly understanding with Russia and the inexpediency to our own country, the injustice to the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, of the policy, then dominant, of supporting the Turk. He was one of the first of public men to plead the cause of international arbitration. He attended peace conferences, and constantly endeavoured, both at home and abroad, to substitute a public opinion inspired by cosmopolitan sentiment for one ever ready to applaud words and acts of bickering hostility. He denounced the Whigs so long as Palmerston was supreme; he refused invitations to join their ministries; he pursued their chief with unflagging attacks. Not less uncompromising and active than his devotion to free trade was Cobden's advocacy of the principles of peace.

In his utterances we find also the pure milk of the word of the Little England creed. To him Colonies and dependencies were nothing else than possible causes of quarrel and actual sources of expense. Whatever advantage might be derived from their trade would not be lessened were they to be declared independent. He favoured the self-government of the white Colonies, not only as a thing good in itself, but as a step towards ultimate separation, and he took little interest in the problems of British administration in India because he held that the very existence of that administration was wrong in principle and any attempt to maintain it doomed to disaster. 'I look forward,' he said, to certain changes 'which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest.' 'In my opinion,' he wrote only a few days before his death, 'it is for the interest of both Canada and this country that we should as speedily as possible sever the political thread by which we are as communities united.' The possession of Gibraltar, since it is geographically a part of Spain, he regarded as a unique and unjustifiable 'outrage upon the integrity of an ancient, powerful, and renowned nation.' 'For my part,' he wrote again, in connection with French action in Morocco, 'if France took the whole of Africa I do not see what harm she would do us or anybody else save herself.' He declared on one occasion that 'it will be a happy day when England has not an acre of territory in continental Asia'; and he wrote at another time, 'To confess the truth, I have no heart for discussing any of the details of Indian management, for I look on our rule there with an eye of despair. . . . Every year will witness an increased drain of men and money to meet the loss entailed on us. . . . It is from an abiding conviction in my mind that we have entered upon an impossible and hopeless career in India that I can never bring my mind to take an interest in the details of its government.' Identical with his were the ideas that inspired Sir William Molesworth when he advocated in the House of Commons the abandonment of all the

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British possessions in West Africa; and his was the policy that led a Select Committee of the House to declare, in 1865, that the object to be kept in view and gradually secured was the withdrawal of British rule from almost the whole of that region. It is true that a passage may be found in one of Cobden's speeches where, attacking the policy of maintaining garrisons in the Colonies, he said incidentally, 'Do you intend to hold your Colonies by the sword, by armies and ships of war? That is not a permanent hold upon them. I want to retain them by their affections.' But there can be no doubt that such a desire was, at the most, very lukewarm, and that he would have viewed with relief rather than dismay the gradual dissolution of the British Empire.

To these views on trade, peace, and the future of our dominions, Cobden added a staunch individualism. In keeping with the doctrines of Adam Smith and Bentham, from whom much of his inspiration was drawn, he regarded with antipathy almost every form of State action. 'Look not to Parliament, look only to yourselves,' he told the working classes pleading for a legislative reduction from twelve to ten of their hours of labour in factories. He consistently voted against the Ten Hours Bill. If the workmen were dissatisfied with their conditions the remedy lay in their own hands. Not in trade unionism, indeed, for with that he had little sympathy. But let the discontented save the sum of 20*l.* and with it buy a passage to America; there they would find a workman's paradise. A State, he held, which was incapable of performing intelligently its primary duty of raising and spending its revenue, which pursued a foreign policy directly contrary both to the profit and to the honour of the country, whose legislation was in the interest of a single class, and whose administration was a by-word for inefficiency, such a State lacked the intelligence to devise, and the skill to execute, a workable code of social reform. Its heavy hand would throw out of gear the delicate parts of the economic machine.

To the general rule of *laissez-faire* he was compelled, however, by the patent facts around him to allow two exceptions. Child labour in factories might be prohibited until the age of thirteen years; and the State should establish a national system of education, compulsory, secular, and free. In addition to these, he actively advocated the creation of a peasant-proprietorship, but the means was to be rather a cessation than an extension of legal interference. Entails, settlements, primogeniture, and the heavy cost of land transfer led, in his opinion, to the existence and continuance of large estates, and large estates led to large farms. Abolish these hindrances, establish free trade in land as in goods, and the necessities of landowners will bring a subdivision of estates, facilitating the purchase of holdings by enterprising labourers and prosperous tenants. For the rest, the State would help most by doing least. Cheapen food, repeal taxes, especially

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the taxes which make newspapers dear, allow your commerce to develop freely, encourage temperance—but this by voluntary action—permit no sapping of the supreme virtue of self-reliance; by these means you will help the working classes to find the road to their temporal salvation. Such was Cobden's policy in the sphere of social reform.

He was eager to establish the equality of the middle classes with the aristocracy in the work of government. That the competent manufacturer should be excluded from power and from opportunities of usefulness by the claims of the incompetent peer, that the land-owning class should be allowed to fill the benches of the House of Commons with its eldest sons and the public offices with the younger, the whole system of aristocratic and territorial rule he viewed with a healthy intolerance. He favoured, though with less strength of feeling, a still wider self-government, and followed Bright in the movement for the household franchise as Bright had followed him in the movement for free trade. But if he wished the masses to be enfranchised, it was rather that they might be able to prevent the State from doing them harm than from any lively hope that it would do them material good.

These, then, were Cobden's political principles. They were his life. From early manhood to the day of his death he spent himself willingly in their service. Tides of popularity came and went, bearing him forward, sweeping him back; he never ceased striving to win the shore, and he never changed his direction. With him there is no need, as with Burke or Pitt, with Peel or Gladstone, for any apologist to explain or excuse inconsistencies of action. His principles formed a definite, unaltering, homogeneous body of doctrine. Now that a hundred years have passed since his birth, and nearly forty since he died, how much of it remains as part of Liberal policy?

Some of Cobden's ideas are now so generally accepted that they no longer figure in the world of controversy. Some are still challenged and still command the allegiance of Liberalism. Two have been definitely rejected.

Any movement which attacks some abuse or error dies of its own success. With the destruction of the object against which it is directed its *raison d'être* disappears, its weapons have no further use, its supporters may be disbanded. We no longer denounce the taxes on newspapers, because those taxes have ceased to exist. We no longer point out the folly of an attitude of constant hostility towards the United States, because in our day there is no such hostility. We do not dwell on the value in principle of colonial self-government, because the principle is admitted. We waste no words on the policy of maintaining the 'Balance of Power in Europe,' for Cobden's work was

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done so thoroughly that the policy is dead and the phrase is rarely heard. The system of continual intervention in the domestic affairs of foreign States is equally a thing of the past. In his first pamphlet Cobden quoted with ridicule the following passage from a London newspaper of 1834:

> Abroad the Whigs have failed in all their negotiations, and not one question have they settled. The Dutch question is undecided; the French are still at Ancona; Don Carlos is fighting in Spain; Don Miguel and his adherents are preparing for a new conflict in Portugal; Turkey and Egypt are at daggers drawn; Switzerland is quarrelling with her neighbouring States about Italian refugees; Frankfort is occupied by Prussian troops in violation of the Treaty of Vienna; Algiers is being made a large French colony in violation of the promises made to the contrary by France in 1829 and 1830; ten thousand Polish nobles are still proscribed and wandering in Europe; French gaols are full of political offenders, who, when liberated or acquitted, will begin again to conspire. In one word, nothing is terminated.

We cannot conceive that even the most jaundiced of our 'yellow journals' would pen such a passage, *mutatis mutandis*, to-day. No one now attempts to make England play in Europe the part of an omnipresent Providence, and it argues no disloyalty to Cobden's ideas on intervention that attacks have ceased to be made on a policy which has long been discarded.

On all these subjects, no doubt, the old spirit would revive if the need arose, the old weapons of argument would be brought down from the rack and sharpened and polished for use. Two years ago another of the chief items of Cobden's policy would have been classed among these matters of settled controversy. Protection was apparently as dead as the doctrine of the Balance of Power and a corn tax as unlikely to be revived as the tax upon newspapers. When Mr. Chamberlain's energy breathed fresh life into the old theories it at once became evident that the Liberals of to-day were free traders as staunch as were the Liberals of two generations ago. In the House of Commons only one member of the party, in the country only a handful, declared themselves converts to protection; and numbers of Liberals, who had been severed from the party by the Home Rule controversy, came back to the ranks when the old issue was renewed.

A strange feature in a strange campaign is the attempt which has been made to enlist the name of Cobden in support of the very policy which he spent the best years of his life in attacking. The attempt may be seen to be based on slender foundation. Cobden was sanguine enough to expect that free trade, established in England, would soon become universal. 'I believe,' he said in January 1846, 'that if you abolish the corn law honestly, and adopt free trade in its simplicity, there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years to follow your example.' And we are asked to suppose that Cobden's attachment to free trade was the outcome of this belief, and that, foreign countries remaining protectionist, his expectation not

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having been realised, Cobden himself would have changed his view. There is no student of his speeches who can accept such a plea. Two brief quotations will be enough to disprove it. Shortly before the repeal of the Corn Laws, at a meeting at Aberdeen in January 1844, Cobden spoke as follows:

> To take the first objection . . . that we must not carry out the principles of free trade till other nations do the same. It would be ruinous to carry our liberality further than our neighbours, so speak the reciprocity party, of whom I understand there are some in this city. But the baselessness of this doctrine was sufficiently shown by Sir Robert Peel himself in the revisal of the tariff. It was his boast that he had made his reductions without reference to any nation whatever, and that it was but justice to disregard the tariff dues of all nations in regulating our own. But I will not appeal to the foes of free trade in support of its doctrine. I will appeal to the reason of my audience. The greater the restriction in other countries the more necessity is there for free trade in this,

a proposition which the speaker then proceeded to illustrate and prove. And five years later, in a speech at Manchester on the 10th of January, 1849, he said:

> I remember at the last stage of the Anti-Corn Law agitation our opponents were driven to this position: 'Free trade is a very good thing, but you cannot have it until other countries adopt it too'; and I used to say, 'If free trade be a good thing for us, we will have it: let others take it, if it be a good thing for them; if not, let them do without it.'

Clearly, therefore, it was Cobden's opinion that while free trade abroad was a desirable, and a probable, consequence of free trade in England, it was not to be regarded as an indispensable condition. He held, as his successors hold, that universal free trade is the ideal, but that one-sided free trade is infinitely better than none at all, that if foreign States raise one barrier to hamper the flow of international exchange the fact is no reason why we should raise a second to double the injury to our own commerce and to the commerce of the world. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to embark on the wide sea of fiscal controversy. Our concern is only with the fact that Liberalism, on the one hand, remains faithful in the belief that the free trade policy is wise, and that we may dismiss very lightly the endeavour to show that Cobden on his side, if he were now alive, would be found to be faithless.

The declarations on many occasions, in Parliament and on the platform, of the leaders of the Liberal party show it to be still Cobdenite also in its desire to keep in check bellicose tendencies and to promote international goodwill, in its devotion to the cause of arbitration and in its opposition to exaggerated armaments. If it favours the maintenance of a navy powerful enough to ensure our security, so also did Cobden. 'I would if necessary,' he wrote to Lord John Russell, and repeated in similar terms more than once in his speeches, 'spend one hundred millions sterling to maintain our irresistible superiority

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over France at sea.' If, on the other hand, Cobden resisted the constant increase of our costly army, so also does Liberalism; and the proof of the efficiency of civilian soldiers under modern conditions, given by both sides in the recent South African war, seems likely to add fresh force to its opposition. Against international arbitration belated witticisms are still sometimes directed, but there are now few who do not pay to the principle at least the homage of lip service. It was otherwise sixty or seventy years ago. We see Cobden scoffed at as an idealist for his advocacy of this cause, derided for his Quakerism, angrily denounced for his lack of patriotic spirit. All the forces of prejudice, of cynicism, of insular vainglory were marshalled to resist his proposals, and directed their whole armoury of ridicule and abuse against the man who ventured to suggest that there were many disputes between nations which might be settled by judicial process instead of by the uncertain ways of diplomacy or by the violence of war. He held his cause none the less. He made many converts. He won the support of Gladstone. The Alabama Treaty, which cost Gladstone much of his popularity and contributed to the downfall of his first ministry, opened a new era in international relations. In recent years, every two months on the average has seen the settlement of one international dispute, of greater or less importance, by peaceful arbitration. The creation of the Hague Tribunal by the action of all the Powers—lukewarm action, perhaps, but nevertheless effective—has set the seal on this, which may perhaps be regarded as the greatest of all the humanitarian movements of the modern age. And whoever is in touch with the views of present-day Liberalism is aware that there is no object to which it is more earnestly attached than to secure the maximum application, which the conditions of the world allow, of a principle which Cobden, more than any other one man, brought within the sphere of practical politics.

Towards the goal of full self-government many stages have been passed during the last half-century. The equality of the middle classes with the aristocracy in the work of administration, though often, indeed, ignored in practice, has at least been accepted in theory. The franchise has been widened. The ballot has been established. A hierarchy of local authorities has been set up on the democratic plan. But the House of Lords remains unchanged; labour is directly represented by only thirteen members in a Parliament of 670; plural voting survives; one third of the adult male population are still without votes. In its efforts to secure the remedy of these shortcomings in the democratic system, Liberalism continues along the lines which Cobden helped to trace.

The two branches of policy in which the Liberal party of to-day is clearly out of sympathy with Cobden's ideas relate to the maintenance of the Empire and to State action for the purposes of social reform.

There are probably not three among the British members of the

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House of Commons, possibly not one, who would express the views on Imperial policy which he expressed in the letters and speeches that have been quoted. No Liberal statesman nowadays would fail to treat as an accusation to be warmly repudiated an assertion that it was the ideal of a Little England which inspired his action in Indian and Colonial affairs. There is, indeed, an unwillingness, often stated, to make further additions to our vast responsibilities; but the unwillingness is not limited to one section, and has been voiced in uncompromising language, within the last few weeks, by the present leader of the Conservative party. There is active criticism of the faults of colonial administration and a zealous championship of the rights of the native races under our rule; but the critics are eager to make clear that their action springs from a desire to perfect, and not to undermine, the system of Imperial government. There is a proper objection to colonial expenditure, especially for military purposes, pushed to such a point as to lay heavy burdens on the home taxpayer; for while the State has duties to the British subjects of other races, its duties to its own people are primary, and it would obviously be a very short-sighted Imperialism which would impoverish Great Britain and Ireland in order to scatter favours in Asia and Africa. And if such comments are more frequent than florid effusions on the greatness and the glory of the Empire, it is because they are thought more useful, and because there is little need of emphasising a sentiment on which all are agreed.

Lord John Russell and the Whigs never shared Cobden's anti-colonial theories. Gladstone was affected by them but little. In recent years the tendency has been more and more in the contrary direction. Among the younger men especially in the Liberal party there are now few indeed who would not claim to be animated by a determination to preserve the Empire's unity and a zeal in promoting its internal prosperity as real as any that mark their opponents.

For men have come to see that, having assumed the government of so many of the backward races of the world, England is faced by a task precisely similar in kind to the task of promoting the progress of the less fortunate classes at home. We may be interested in Nigeria or Egypt for the same humanitarian reason that we are interested in Whitechapel or the congested districts of Ireland. Seeking to use the legislative powers of the British State to raise the standard of life among our own population, we cannot refuse to employ its administrative powers to establish order, to stop cruelties, and to spread knowledge among the coloured peoples who have been brought under its sway.

Conquest is conquest and dominion is dominion, but there is all the difference in the world between a Lord Cromer and a Genghis Khan. Our empire in the tropical zone differs fundamentally from the empires of the past. The glory of the victories by which it has been won, and the wealth derived from its possession, are not its essential

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features. They only obscure the real nature of the work in hand. To us the true glory of the Empire appears in the lasting peace it has established over a fourth part of the world, its chief profit in the greater well-being of its subjects. And it is because we realise, what Cobden and his followers never fully realised, that British administration among the backward races, whatever may have been the motives that led to its establishment and with all its present faults and drawbacks, is now in purpose and in effect philanthropic; it is because we see that, controlled more and more by democratic opinion at home, this aspect of our dominion tends increasingly to develop and to become more plainly the dominant aspect; it is because our rule contains within itself an active principle of progress and is gradually working itself free from defects—it is for these reasons that the great majority of Liberals of to-day approach the problems of Imperial government with an interest and a sympathy that were often lacking in their predecessors.

The maintenance of the connection with the other great division of the Empire, the white Colonies, is no longer a matter of controversy. The grant of self-government has removed many of the abuses which Cobden denounced. There is every reason to hope that these flourishing States will not permanently refuse to contribute their just share to the cost of the common defence. The advantages of union in prestige, in defensive power, and in the promotion of trade are so great, the disadvantages are so small, that there is hardly a man in England who would now contemplate with satisfaction such changes as would 'gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us.'

The changing conditions of action and the changing currents of thought have brought an equally complete rejection of the Cobdenite doctrine of State inactivity at home. A new system of local self-government has come into being; the character of the civil service has been revolutionised; the State has at its command a highly efficient machinery which allows it to undertake—and, as experience shows, with success—a multitude of duties which were beyond its reach sixty or eighty years ago. And there has been a growing impatience at the continuance, decade after decade and generation after generation, of degraded conditions of life among vast masses of the people.

Great as our social progress has been, the scenes of misery of which we read in Disraeli's *Sybil* or Dickens's *Hard Times* have their parallel in many a dark picture truly painted in books of to-day. Still the unresting machine of our national industry, fed with a continuous stream of human life, tosses men together in crowded manufacturing towns, binds them for long hours to daily monotonous tasks, turns its raw material into myriads of pale, undersized men and women, always tired, drawn to the dangerous pleasures of the

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drinking saloons by sheer craving for brightness and change. Across the brilliance of our modern civilisation the sordid lives of the poor still lie as a shadow. Just as the glory of Greece is darkened in history by the slavery that underlay it, and the glory of Rome by the exhaustion of her provinces on which it was founded, so, we may be sure, history will turn from her tale of our greatness, from our wealthy cities and our fleets covering the seas, from the achievements of our science and art, literature and philosophy, from the unrivalled empire we have established and the peace and good government that characterise it, to point to the hardships, the narrowness, and the gloom we have allowed to continue among those classes on whose labour, be it remembered, the whole imposing structure is based. To find a remedy for such evils is the essential motive of modern Liberalism.

Seeking this end, reformers are no longer willing to leave to the slow and doubtful working of *laissez-faire* individualism the solution of social problems. Granted that economic forces—the so-called natural forces—can alone achieve the greater part of the task, there is still large scope for the deliberate action of Government. Because the rain finds its way to the sea by innumerable subterranean rills, by springs and rivers which man could not make, it does not therefore follow that irrigation, canals, and harbours are useless. Granted also that State action has its limits, and wrongly directed may do infinite harm, there is no reason for assuming the principle that its helpfulness is greatest when its activities are least.

'During the nineteenth century,' said the late Duke of Argyll in his *Reign of Law*, 'two great discoveries have been made in the science of government: the one is the immense advantage of abolishing restrictions upon trade; the other is the absolute necessity of imposing restrictions upon labour.' Cobdenite in matters of commerce, Liberalism is no longer Cobdenite in matters of social organisation. The last Liberal administration carried or proposed, during its short tenure of power, a remarkable series of measures of State intervention, extensive and minute, which offered a complete negation to the individualist doctrines of the Manchester school. The present programme of the party follows the same lines. Temperance legislation, housing legislation, measures for limiting the hours of labour in shops and in mines, the further regulation of conditions of work in factories, home workshops, mines, ships, and on the railways, an extension of the Compensation for Accidents Act, relief for the deserving aged, and assistance to find work for the industrious among the unemployed, a more complete system of national education, the municipalisation of tramways and other services, the general improvement of urban environment—a mere statement of their proposals of social reform is enough to show how far the world of politics has moved since Cobden warned the working

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men of Lancashire not to expect that the State would ever be able, by direct action, to help them escape from the evil conditions by which modern industrialism had bound them about.

'The science of government,' as Macaulay says, 'is an experimental science, and, like all other experimental sciences, it is generally working itself clearer and clearer and depositing impurity after impurity.' Liberalism, which is the policy of change, cannot itself be unchanging. But when full allowance has been made for the altered views which a longer experience has brought, and when we have eliminated the subjects of those controversies which time has finally settled, there remains in our contemporary Liberalism a great body of doctrine of which Cobden was the originator or the zealous advocate. And the essence of his creed is still the essence of ours, as it was the essence of the creed of one who was not only the greatest poet but was also among the greatest of the political philosophers of the Middle Age. 'This therefore,' Dante wrote in his *De Monarchia*, 'is the mark at which he who is to care for the world must most chiefly aim, that in this little plot of earth, belonging to mortal man, life may pass in freedom and with peace.'

HERBERT SAMUEL.

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THE YELLOW PERIL

IMMEDIATELY after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, numerous articles, in which the terrible danger of the yellow peril to the powers of Europe was forcibly demonstrated, appeared in the Continental press, especially in that of Russia and of Germany. In these articles it was said that, unless Japan was defeated by Russia, an immense Chinese army would arise under Japanese leadership, which would first wrest her Asiatic possessions from Europe, and then wage war against the white races, Christianity, and European civilisation, as in the days of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.

If the yellow races should become united into one solid mass, or if China should follow in the footsteps of Japan, the danger of a conflict with that immense power would, indeed, be very great for the European powers, and especially for those European powers which have valuable and extensive possessions in Asia. Great Britain has in India and Burma not only the most valuable stake in Asia, but these countries are, besides, neighbours of China, towards which they have a frontier extending over several thousand miles. Consequently it is clear that, if there is really a yellow peril, the danger of aggression is most immediate for Great Britain, for it appears most likely that that yellow army of ten or twenty millions of men, of which Continental writers have spoken, would first move on India in order to fulfil its anticipated object of reclaiming 'Asia for the Asiatics' by expelling the English, before threatening and invading Europe.

The conclusion that China may follow Japan's example and reform herself, and create an immense army and navy of Japanese excellence, against which the armed forces of united Europe might prove powerless, is a natural one, and an easy one to come to, for at first sight the Chinese and Japanese have much in common. They have the same yellow skin, the same black hair, and the same almond-shaped eye. Until forty years ago Chinese and Japanese culture was identical, both nations possessed the same literature and the same arts, they used the same writing, and they were equally hostile to foreigners. In industrial and artistic products, such as porcelain, lacquer ware, bronzes, and silks, it is often impossible to tell Chinese from Japanese goods. Therefore the deduction that China would

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imitate Japan, that a victorious Japan would soon convert the latent danger of the yellow peril into an actual danger by reforming China and then contending with the white races for the dominion of the world, seems very plausible. Hence it is extremely desirable to investigate whether the yellow peril exists indeed, or whether it is merely imaginary.

Many writers, of whom some are more or less acquainted with the Far East, have given their personal views on the future of the yellow race, and, needless to say, their hypotheses vary. After all, the question whether there is a yellow peril or whether there is not, is not one that can be satisfactorily solved by the personal views of any one European, whether he has been in Asia or not. That question can be answered only if we carefully inquire into the mind of China and Japan, and so obtain an inside view of these nations and their aspirations, in order that we may weigh the factors which may create a peril to the white race.

Owing to the assistance of some of the foremost Japanese and Chinese statesmen who have supplied me with most valuable information, I have been enabled to investigate this question very fully, and to obtain the views of some of the best minds of Europe and Asia. I am particularly indebted to Baron Suyematsu, the former Minister of Communications and of the Interior of Japan, for the extremely valuable information with which he has supplied me.

Though China and Japan are neighbours, and have apparently much in common, the fundamental differences in the history, traditions, character, mind, aims, and organisation of these two nations are so great as to appear irreconcilable. These irreconcilable differences may be summed up in the single phrase that Japan is, and has always been, an open-minded and progressive nation that looked to the future, whilst China has, during historical times, always lived in the past.

The entire political and social organisation of China, her ethics, her science, her education, her policy, and her system of government are based on certain canons which were drawn up long before the time of Moses. The Chinese principles and system of government have, from the time of Confucius, been handed on from dynasty to dynasty. As far as possible all actions of the Chinese Government are regulated by precedents reaching back thousands of years, and a board of the highest officials have to watch that all edicts and proclamations conform in style, spirit, and substance with the ancient dynastic regulations and Confucian precepts.

The minute rules contained in the *Book of Rites*, which was written 3,000 years ago, are still authoritative in all circumstances of national and of private life, and have to be diligently observed and adhered to.

Confucius, 'the incomparable teacher, sage, and saint of all times,' as he is called in China, lived 551–479 B.C., or 200 years before

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Alexander the Great. His image is to be found everywhere, the Emperor and all the people do him homage, and his influence over the mind of China is absolute. His teachings are in the main based on the pronouncements of rulers who flourished between 2356 and 2205 B.C. This period was, in the eyes of Confucius, the Golden Age of China, and the principles and precepts of the Emperors Yaou and Shun, who then flourished, were, and are still, valid.

In all Chinese pronouncements, and even in the most progressive ones, it is pointed out in the most scholarly manner that they conform in every respect with the principles contained in the *Book of Changes*, the *Doctrine of the Middle*, the *Chow Ceremonial*, and other books which were written 3,000 years ago, and with the Confucian writings which are 2,300 years old. A few examples will show how completely China's mind is fettered by the precepts of antiquity. The great Yangtse viceroy Chang Chi Tung, who is perhaps the most progressive high official in China, a few years ago presented a book, in two volumes, entitled *China's Only Hope*, to the Emperor in which he urged numerous reforms. At least half of this book consists of the enumeration of precedents in favour of reform which are taken from remote antiquity. Thus we read:

> The principle of Western Natural Science is stated in the *Doctrine of the Middle*; the principle of what is known as scientific agriculture lies in the *Chow Ceremonial*, which discusses the method of transforming soil, silk and cotton selection, the utilisation of waste matter, etc. . . In the *San Tai* (1900 B.C.) there were schools of languages in China.

Even in that most celebrated and most radically progressive reform edict, which was issued a few years ago by the present Emperor Kwang Hsu, we find that China is firmly and apparently indissolubly bound to her antique traditions, from which she must not deviate under any circumstances, for we read:

> The world possesses canons that have come down from antiquity and are unalterable, but there is no method of governing that may not be modified. The *Book of Changes* long ago showed how such modifications might be adopted, and one can see clearly from the *Confucian Analects* wherein lies loss and advantage. The Three Bonds and the Five Moral Virtues, which stand out bright as the sun and stars enlightening the world, cannot be changed, but modifications in government may be introduced, just as the lute player must shift his fingers from one string of his instrument to another.

The constant quotation of Confucian and pre-Confucian precepts, and the absolute domination of these precepts even in the most practical and most urgent questions of the day, is for Europeans very difficult to understand, and an adequate explanation of this, to us, very singular phenomenon is difficult to give. We must rest satisfied with the knowledge that these ancient canons are still absolutely guiding and binding on the whole people.

The only historical precedent for the mental attitude of China is

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furnished by the similar attitude of ancient Egypt. There also culture had marvellously developed in an age that appears prehistoric to us, but progress had been arrested thousands of years ago, and later centuries were content to stand still and contemplate the past, maintain that civilisation which their remote ancestors had created by constant progress, and bar or forbid all innovations.

We Europeans find the retrospective attitude of the Chinese mind, with its veneration of the extreme past, an inexplicable anachronism in this world of constant change and progress. On the other hand, the Chinese find the claim of Europeans to the possession of a superior civilisation no less astounding and unjustified. The Chinese, whose political and private conduct is regulated by standard works which are thousands of years old, and who claim a history extending over ten thousands of years, look upon the European in much the same way in which a grandee of Spain, with an historic name, looks down upon a Chicago pork packer. Evidence of the conviction that Chinese civilisation is incomparably superior to European culture may be met with in the most progressive Chinese. That most progressive viceroy, Chang Chi Tung, for instance, says in *China's Only Hope*:

> Examine the history of China for 2,000 years back and then compare it with the Western history of fifty years! Does the government of these foreign countries present such a record of generosity, benevolence, loyalty, and honesty as ours?

In their contempt for European civilisation the most highly cultured Chinese, and the less cultured, have but one opinion. We read in one of the Boxer proclamations:

> Though they ride in sedan chairs unbefitting their rank, China still regards them as barbarians of whom Heaven disapproves, and it is for their destruction that spirits and genie are now sent to earth.

When the present Czar travelled in the Far East in 1890-91, he contemplated visiting Peking. But the Chinese Government first tried to induce him to change his plans, then arranged that he should only be received by Li Hung Chang, because a worthy reception of him in Peking would have meant the acknowledgment of Russia's equality. Discovering the intended slight the visit was abandoned.

The feeling of immeasurable superiority permeates the whole Chinese nation to an extraordinary degree. The members of all other extra-European nations adopt European ways and European dress, but a Chinaman, whatever his position may be, would as little think of adopting European manners and European dress in Europe as an Englishman would think of wearing a loin cloth in the Transvaal. European learning, European principles, European manners, and European views are so diametrically opposed to those of the Chinese that the Chinese look on Europeans with exactly the same feeling of wonder mingled with contempt with which many Europeans regard the Chinese.

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Confucius taught: 'When there is constancy then only can there be permanence, when there is permanence then only can there be rest, when there is rest then only can there be quiet, when there is quiet then only can there be meditation, when there is meditation then only can there be success.'

This saying of Confucius sums up and explains the peculiar mental attitude of China, which we call inertia and hostility to progress, and which is as natural and as ingrained in China as activity, progress, and the love of change are in the countries populated by the white races. Therefore the countries of the West are, in the Chinese mind, a world of yesterday, a strange, fantastic, and barbaric new world, without a past, dignity, or real learning.

The Chinese possess no alphabet, but a different sign for every word. The less educated must know several thousands of these word pictures in order to understand the simple written language, whilst the highly cultured must know tens of thousands of these complicated signs. Consequently the Chinese child has to go through a very prolonged and very laborious training in order to learn reading and writing. The Chinese learn reading not from primers, but exclusively from the classics. Thus it comes that when they have finished their education they know the classics by heart, but know little or nothing else. Indeed, the very immensity of the task of learning to read and to write makes it difficult, and almost impossible, for the Chinese to learn anything besides, and this explains why this otherwise so talented and so highly educated race is so strangely ignorant of outside affairs and of European languages.

Owing to this peculiar education it comes that the teachings of Confucius contained in the classics are deeply and indelibly engraved in the memory of the people; it loses its open mind, and it would almost seem that China would be able to introduce sweeping reforms after Japan's example if only the nation would break with its traditions and with Confucianism, its only real religion, and exchange its language. Such a contingency seems, however, extremely unlikely.

Japan, on the other hand, clearly recognised that Chinese writing is a very serious bar to national progress. Therefore, she has already greatly simplified her writing, and is contemplating the abolishment of Chinese characters altogether, and the introduction of Roman characters in their stead.

Ancestor-worship is the only State worship, and is the general worship prevailing in China. The veneration of ancestors provides an additional bar to progress and reform, for the actions of the State and of the individual have, on religious grounds, to be shaped, not in accordance with present requirements, but with ancient precedents. The few facts and quotations given will make it abundantly clear why China has advanced so little during the last two or three thousand years in literature, science, and statecraft.

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China's rigid conservatism has proved stronger than all conquerors who have overthrown China. China has remained true to herself through all the changes of history, and is a huge survival of, for Europeans, but not for the Chinese, prehistoric times. This enormous record of continued national and individual conservatism makes it appear extremely unlikely that China, who for thousands of years has been standing still, will suddenly reform herself or allow herself to be reformed and become a progressive and conquering nation.

Whilst China has always been a conservative and essentially a peaceful and passive nation, Japan has ever been progressive and warlike. Seventeen centuries ago Japan made her first descent on Korea, and adopted the superior civilisation which she found in that country. In their constant desire for self-improvement, the Japanese have always tried to learn from the ablest and the most powerful nation which they knew, and that nation was, until recently, China. Following China's example, Japan lived a life of absolute isolation from 1638 onward, until Commodore Perry steamed into the harbour of Uraga. The bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864, unimportant though it was, immediately awakened Japan to the realities of life. The country, which had hitherto been divided against itself through the ascendency and usurpation of the nobles, keenly felt the humiliation of that bombardment, and at once was alive to the necessity of presenting a united front to the world. Before four years had gone by the Mikado was re-established as the real ruler over the whole of Japan. Immediately European culture, which had proved its superiority in battle, was introduced, and already in 1872 the first railway was opened by the Mikado.

A single and quite unimportant encounter with Europeans sufficed to wake Japan out of her slumber, and to weld the independent principalities together into a single and homogeneous nation, and animated that nation with the single purpose of adopting immediately the highest culture that could be found in the strange outside world which had obtruded itself so rudely upon Japan's notice. But all her great misfortunes have not caused a similar awakening of China. China has lost to Russia the Amur and Ussuri provinces, and Manchuria with Mukden, where the graves of the reigning imperial family are; France took from her Tonking, Annam, and Cochin China; England occupied Burma, Hong Kong, and Wai Hei Wei; Germany deprived her of Shantung, with the grave of Confucius; Japan took Formosa, and Siam made herself independent. Yet China stoically follows 'the Way' in accordance with the teachings of her ancient sages. She remains passionless, and, to European eyes, indifferent to her defeats, relying, as she has always done during the last few thousand years, on her capacity for patient and passive resistance, with which she has in the end absorbed and assimilated all foreign invaders. Is it likely that a nation which again and again has been defeated,

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humiliated, and plundered by Europe, and which, nevertheless, has steadfastly refused to reform her army and navy, will suddenly do so either spontaneously or at the bidding of the Japanese? Will the words of the Japanese, who are as much looked down upon by the Chinese as are Europeans, prove more persuasive to China than her countless defeats and humiliations and her losses of vast stretches of territory?

China does not possess what we call national spirit. In fact, there is neither a Chinese nation nor a Chinese State, for the Chinese do not even understand the meaning of the word 'State.' China is politically a huge agglomeration which is held together by the teachings of Confucius. Its basis is the family. In theory the Emperor exercises supreme paternal authority over the whole country, and there are imperial institutions and authorities in existence; but in reality China consists of a number of almost completely independent States which are held together only by Confucianism and by a common literature. As Sir Rutherford Alcock, the former British Minister in China, said, 'each province constitutes a separate State in its administration.'

Owing to the complete absence of national feeling, China does not possess a national force for national defence, but provincial armies and regional fleets, and each province is apt to become perturbed if forces belonging to another province draw near, even if it be for co-operation against foreign aggression, for the inhabitants of different provinces are as foreigners to one another. When, in 1891, anti-foreign riots, threatening the peace of the Empire, took place on the Yangtse, the Chinese Government allowed foreign warships to go up the river rather than offend the jealous provinces by sending a fleet of their own. The Chinese squadron cruised in Japanese waters whilst foreign gunboats patrolled the river. During the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894-95, only the Northern squadron went into action against Japan. Whilst that squadron was fighting Japan, the Southern squadron remained in its quarters, taking no notice of the 'local disturbance' created by the Japanese, and before the conclusion of peace the Chinese authorities asked blandly that a vessel belonging to the Southern squadron, which had been captured by the Japanese, should be returned, because the South had not taken part in the war.

But even that lesson did not suffice to show the Chinese the necessity for national as distinguished from provincial defence. When Lord Charles Beresford visited China in 1898, Prince Ching told him that he did not think it would be possible to alter the old-established custom and practice of having provincial armies. Lord Charles Beresford's remark that it would have been impossible for the Japanese to obtain their brilliant and easy victories if the two provincial fleets of China had been united as a national fleet under one commander appears not to have had much practical effect.

In consequence of this absence of national feeling among the

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Chinese, the loose authority of the Emperor, and the practical independence of the provinces, the imperial edicts addressed to the viceroys are often framed more in the form of suggestions and proposals than in the form of commands, even if obedience to these edicts is a matter of life and death for the nation. The following was an imperial edict sent to the viceroy of the Szechuan Province on the 25th June, 1900:

At present war has broken out between China and foreign countries. At Tient-tsin, in Chihli, our generals have gained victories with the patriotic Boxers helping the Government troops, and an edict has already been issued to praise and congratulate these. Such patriotic people are to be found in all parts of the Empire, and if the viceroys and governors of all the provinces are able to unite and organise forces, we can put an end to foreign insults, and shall accomplish great results. Report immediately what steps are being taken. The provinces bordering on the river or the sea should particularly act quickly. Bring this 600 li a day edict to public notice.

Respect this.

The effect of this edict, which was issued at a moment of great national emergency, and which calls for the co-operation of viceroys and governors, 'if possible,' is described by Consul Fraser in his despatch to Lord Salisbury as follows:

Up to the present the local mandarins have refused to obey the edict . . . ordering war on foreigners, and have taken the cautious course of treating these commands as spurious.

The Chinese officials have ever been pastmasters in evasion and procrastination.

Whilst China was attacked by the allied powers in 1900, the Yangtse viceroys observed a benevolent neutrality towards the aggressors, exactly as they did in the Chinese-Japanese war, considering the march of the allies on Pekin a merely local affair not affecting their provinces. Their attitude is explained by Consul Clennell in the following words:

While I think they will ultimately side with the winner in the present troubles . . . the officials in these provinces have so far by no means renounced their allegiance to the Government to which they owe their appointment. They acknowledge freely enough that 'the northern affair has been mismanaged' . . . but, if they saw a chance of success, my impression is that they would gladly employ all the forces at their disposal to defend the Manchu dynasty, perhaps even to reinstate it, if it should be overthrown.

They would like peace to be preserved on the Yang-tze, but are hedging against either event. Prudence and a regard for their revenue restrain them from violent courses.

In other parts of China also the local administrators appear to have placed provincial convenience above imperial and national interests, for Consul Carlos reports from Tientsin:

While professing to comply with imperial decrees, the present Governor of Shantung will, as long as possible, avoid obeying any order to send troops from

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his province northwards to meet the allied forces; but how long this attitude may continue possible, probably depends upon the turn of events in this neighbourhood.

The few representative instances quoted clearly illustrate the spirit which pervades the central and the local governments of China; they show the complete absence of the sense of nationality among both rulers and ruled, and they demonstrate the entire lack of cohesion between the various parts of China which possess so much 'self-government' that the consciousness of national unity and solidarity appears to be completely lost.

Though China is described as a 'State' in the textbooks of Europe, China is not a 'State' according to the meaning of the word accepted in Europe, but is only a geographical term. It may even be doubted whether China may be described as a nation, for the differences existing between the different provinces and their inhabitants are as great as are the differences existing between the various nations of Europe. For instance, the Chinese on the Yangtse speak a language different from that of the inhabitants of Kwang-Tung and Kwang-Si, consider them as foreigners, and hate them for having massacred their relatives in the Taiping rebellion. In this connection it might be observed that a Chinese army considers any other province than its own as the enemy's country, and lives there on loot. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Chinese have so far found it impossible to amalgamate their local troops into a national army.

Altogether it seems that China's provincial armies are really only a local police force for maintaining order, for in no other way can the complete absence of national and even of adequate local provision for military defence be explained.

Japan was always a military, though not by any means an aggressive country; China was always peaceful. Whilst literati were the aristocracy of China, the samurai, the warriors, were the aristocracy of Japan, and the ancient warlike spirit of Japan rapidly and easily accommodated itself to new conditions of warfare, and learned to excel even in the most modern and the most scientific weapons, the battleship and the torpedo boat.

China, on the other hand, has had excellent European instructors, and she has been supplied with the best arms and the best ships. Nevertheless, she has never known how to make proper use of the implements of war because the martial spirit is non-existent in China. For this reason, also, no European nation has so far succeeded in raising Chinese troops, and the experiments which Great Britain, Germany, and Russia have made in this direction have proved an unqualified failure. Military honour is a factor which does not exist in China, and no Chinaman will find it a disgrace to run away from the enemy if he has a chance. Therefore bodily compulsion is frequently required to prevent Chinese troops from fleeing before or during a battle.

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Chinese strategy and tactics belong to a prehistoric period, and the training of Chinese troops is done in accordance with the precedents handed on from remote antiquity. Therefore, we are told by Lord Charles Beresford:

> It seems incredible, but some of the soldiers are still practised in shooting with bows and arrows at a target. When at Peking I saw them practising in an open space near the Observatory. Hitting the target is a detail of minor importance; the real merit consists in the position or attitude of the bowman when discharging his shaft.

Admiral Fremantle said:

> A visit to the military parade-grounds of Osaka and Tientsin showed quite clearly that while the legions of Japan were inferior to no troops in the world, China, although she could adopt, could not adapt the civilisation of Europe, and her foreign drilled troops fell to pieces when their officers were away. Not only had the Chinese no natural leaders, but they had no resp for military authorities, and they had absolutely no discipline.

If we look into the antique regulations in accordance with which Chinese officers are trained and examined, we find that the greatest stress is laid on shooting with bows and arrows on the ground and on horseback, on lifting weights and on using the halberd, and proficiency in these ensures promotion.

The Chinese generals are a curious survival of a prehistoric age. They are rather army contractors than generals, and they consider their position specially provided for their personal profit. The general draws from the Government a lump sum for the maintenance of an army, and makes his profit by falsifying the muster roll and by defrauding his men. Not half the soldiers existing on paper exist in reality, and when an army inspector comes round, coolies are hired to pose as soldiers for the occasion, and the inspecting officer is 'squared,' in the traditional manner of China.

The soldier's occupation, which is the most honoured profession of Japan, is despised by the Chinese, in accordance with the views of their ancient philosophers. They share Count Leo Tolstoi's opinion that 'the first duty of rational beings is to abolish war altogether,' and act in accordance with that view of war. Therefore, it is but natural that China has offered only a passive resistance to her enemies during the last few thousand years.

Patriotism is unknown in China, both in its larger and its smaller aspect. The provinces and the provincial officials do not possess the sense of national solidarity, and the individual Chinaman does not possess the feeling that it is his duty to defend his country. Confucianism has put the importance of the family and the duties of the individual towards his family so much into the foreground that there seems to be no room left for patriotism—the duty towards one's country. Nepotism is part and a natural consequence of the family system, which is the palladium of China, and important official posi-

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tions are frequently given by the men in power, not to the deserving, but to members of their family.

Family being the centre of the political fabric, China is organised on principles of the utmost decentralisation. The interests of the provinces are placed above the interests of the nation, and the interest of the family is placed above the interest of the provinces. For these reasons the local authorities have become almost completely independent of the central power; the power of the State is extremely shadowy, and the importance attached to the family has created an 'individualism' which is absolutely incompatible with the existence of the State and destructive of it.

In China the policy of *laissez faire* and non-interference has been carried to the furthest extreme. The officials shirk all the work that can be shirked, and leave the regulation of all public matters and the abolishment of all abuses to private enterprise, which has consequently created States within the State. Owing to the importance of the family, the Chinese possess no political instinct, but a strongly developed social instinct. Therefore the people exercise an enormous and often beneficial subterranean influence through their secret societies and their guilds. But at the same time they have made all political government extremely difficult, owing to the activity of these secret social organisations, as Great Britain has experienced in Hong Kong.

Through the absence of political instinct and of patriotic feeling, self-interest has become the strongest *motif* of the individual—soldiers serve only for their pay or from compulsion, personal patriotism is unknown, extortion and bribery are rampant throughout the official classes, and the individual Chinese will never hesitate to sell his country to the enemy. The absence of public honesty is all the more astonishing if we compare it with the private honesty of the Chinese. In no country in the world is the word of a merchant more sacred than in China. The word of the average Chinese business man is as good as the bond of the average European. That noble feeling which we call patriotism, and which is possessed by the Japanese in the most exalted degree, is not known and hardly understood in China, but its place is taken by the passionate attachment of the individual Chinaman to his family. Therefore, the Chinese is always ready to lay down his life for the good of his family as unhesitatingly as the Japanese will sacrifice himself for his country.

The facts and evidence given in the foregoing should make it abundantly clear that the difference between China and Japan, and the difference between China and any European power, in history, traditions, character, mind, and organisation, is so great that a comparison between China and Japan or between China and any European power is altogether out of the question. As a matter of fact, the fundamental differences between China and Japan are greater than those between China and England. We therefore cannot make

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logical deductions as to the future development of China, as such deductions would necessarily be based on precedents furnished either by Japan or by a white power. Therefore it would appear that those who rashly concluded that China would follow in the footsteps of Japan were totally oblivious of, or unacquainted with, the peculiarities of China.

If we bear in mind these peculiarities which have characterised China for thousands of years, and remember how deeply the country is steeped in its ancient traditions by having lived a life apart through more than a hundred generations, we can understand why perhaps the most talented and the most Westernised Chinese statesman, Marquis Tseng, who, to the misfortune of China, died too young, wrote the following in 1887:

> The Chinese have never been an aggressive race. History shows them to have always been a peaceful people, and there is no reason why they should be otherwise in the future. China has none of that land hunger so characteristic of other nations, and, contrary to what is generally believed in Europe, she is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population. . . .
>
> In her wide dominions there is room, and to spare, for all her teeming population. What China wants is not emigration, but a proper organisation for the equable distribution of the population. In China proper, much land has gone out of cultivation, whilst in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan, there are immense tracts of country which have never felt the touch of the husbandman.

If we bear in mind all the evidence that has been put forward, it does not seem likely that China will become aggressive and a danger to Europe, nor does it seem probable that she will introduce thorough reforms for a long time to come. It appears that even the most enlightened Chinese do not quite grasp how deeply rooted China's conservatism is, and how radical must be the change that will deflect China from the course which she has pursued for thousands of years without turning. This may be seen from the celebrated Reform Edict of the Emperor which was published in 1901, in which the surface causes of China's weakness were explained. We read in this document:

> Chinese and foreign methods are to be blended together in one whole, for China's weakness lies in her adherence to tradition and the too great inflexibility of her modes of government. Worthless officials are numerous and good men few; in our modes of government we employ mediocrities who take advantage of their position and freedom from scrutiny. The officials in the yamens rely on their positions to make money, and in our official procedure attention is paid to the composition of despatches, and none at all to the real needs of the times. . . . What has ruined our government is the one word 'self-interest' and the Empire the one word 'precedent.' . . . The prejudiced literati talk of orthodoxy in scholarship without understanding in the least degree of what they speak. . . . Through our obstinate belief that literary excellence is the criterion of merit and that government can only be carried on by close adherence to precedent, we have gradually fallen into the present state of formless indifference as to whether a particular reform is to be initiated or abuse abolished.

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The publication of this edict convinced many superficial observers that China had at last entered upon the path of reform. However, those who have a more intimate knowledge of the country doubted, and justly, whether it would be possible to 'blend Chinese and foreign methods together in one whole.' That seems to be a task which is beyond the power of any man, even of a Marquis Ito.

Japan could easily reform herself, for she was constitutionally progressive, patriotic, centralised, and used to absolutism, so that a single will could move the whole nation towards reform. China is not a nation, but merely a geographical and an ethnographical expression, and as no Chinese nation exists, it is difficult to see whence a national awakening or a national movement can come. China seems to be fettered to the dim and distant past with almost unbreakable chains which the genius of its sages has devised. Japan was free from such fetters, and her mind was like a blank page.

During the last few years we have heard a great deal of Chinese reforms, and especially of educational reforms. A considerable number of reform edicts have been published, facilities have been created in China for the study of Western science, and a number of Chinese students have been sent abroad for study. But at the same time the ardent reformers have been cruelly persecuted in China, and have been treated as revolutionaries; in 1902 the European professors were dismissed from the recently created Imperial University, and the reform era seems to have come to an end and to have given place to an era of reaction. Only a few months ago the well-informed Tientsin correspondent of the *Times* reported:

> The immediate prospect of reformed education in Pekin and in the provinces is not cheerful. Universities, colleges, and schools abound, it is true, but, being under official management, they resemble the Chinese army in that their existence is largely a matter of imagination. Those sanguine students who, relying on the progressive edicts of the year of penitence, 1901, have devoted themselves to 'Western learning' in the hope of finding therein advancement, are now realising the error of their ways.
>
> At most of the recent provincial examinations it has been made clear that he who adheres to the old order of things, he who best commits to memory the sacred books and classics, will continue to find favour and promotions.

Chinese students are also no longer encouraged to go abroad in order to learn what other nations are doing. The Chinese authorities probably remember the saying of Li-fun:

> The wise man can learn everything under the sun without leaving his home. That of which he has no experience he can investigate as if he had been personally present.

. . .

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the mental attitude of the Chinese literati towards Western culture than the following text of an examination paper, in which the contempt of China for the West is clad in the most delicate irony:

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When the teachings of the philosopher Meh that all should love one another won the adherence of the people, then soldiers refused to go to war.

The State churches of Western Europe are somewhat similar in their teaching, but when their armies and navies receive the order to go to war they all compete to be the first in the fight resulting in the slaughter of the enemy.

What is the reason of this?

The contents of the essays written in answer to this question by the competing students may easily be imagined.

China's weakness has always proved her strength. The teeming millions of her population have been like shifting quicksands to the heavy foot of the conqueror. China has proved unconquerable because she is ungovernable, having never been accustomed to any form of government properly so called. The very lack of a native governmental organisation has deprived conquering nations of a means of gaining a hold on the nation, and of the possibility of imposing their will on the people. Besides the deeply rooted hatred of foreigners, the absence of governmental restrictions, and the self-centred existence of the family, have made a hostile kingdom of every household to the stranger who tries to lead or to coerce China upon a new path. A conqueror may, and possibly will, win over the mandarins; but he will find it impossible to conquer the people. For this reason Japan would not be able to obtain a hold on China even if she had a mind to do so, for Japan might possess, but she could not rule, the country.

Sir Robert Hart wisely wrote:

Whatever portion of China is ceded will have to be ruled by force, and the larger the territory so ceded, the more soldiers will its management require and the more certain will be unrest and insurrection.

The Japanese are fully aware of these peculiarities of China, and one of the most prominent Japanese statesmen recently declared:

We would not have China or a part of China for a gift, for it would only be a source of trouble and expense to us. It would cost us a lot of money for administration, and bring in nothing in return. We can only profit from China by trading, but trade would not increase by our occupation.

Bismarck said, shortly before his death, to Poschinger: 'It has been asserted that the Chinese might prove a danger to Europe; but such a development seems unlikely in view of the power of inertia which this people has shown through centuries,' and Lord Curzon, who is perhaps the best judge of Asiatic politics living, has, on similar grounds, given a complete refutation to the danger of the yellow peril in his book *Problems of the Far East*. It seems that the vast majority of European statesmen who are acquainted with China agree on this point.

We may expect that Japan will in course of time be forced to look for colonies, for only one-eighth of her narrow territory is cultivable. Japanese colonisation will probably be chiefly directed towards Corea,

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and her colonising activity should prove no political danger, but an economic advantage to Europe. China will probably continue for a long time to live a life apart, and neither reform herself nor allow outsiders to reform her. Therefore, it appears that neither in China nor in Japan are there any elements from which a peril to Europe is likely to arise.

People who speak of the yellow peril think of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, and of the Mongolian hordes which overran Europe. But these Mongolian hordes did not come from China. They came from those territories north of China, which now are Russian. The Chinese and Japanese themselves have been exposed to that yellow peril. The Mongolians conquered China easily; but of the enormous host which landed in Japan only three returned alive. From the most remote times until the present day China was threatened from the north, and Confucius repeatedly pointed out the dangers arising from the barbarians of the North as a protection against whom the Great Wall of China was erected 2,000 years ago.

When some years ago the German Emperor painted his celebrated picture *The Yellow Peril*, he either believed that that peril really existed, and in that case his belief was not founded on sufficient evidence, or he was unwittingly made the instrument of Russia, whose policy he was led to support in order to protect Europe against the yellow peril. At present Russian diplomacy is again using the argument of the yellow peril for all it is worth, in order to find allies which will extricate her from the unpleasant position into which she has brought herself. Already the German and French journals which stand under the influence of the Russian foreign office are preaching a crusade of united Europe against Japan, because of the yellow peril which threatens Europe, and even M. Hanotaux and M. Lockroy have lately been prevailed upon publicly to endorse this legend in the interest of 'La Nation amie et alliée.'

However, notwithstanding these interesting attempts to falsify history and to pervert public opinion, the two great Anglo-Saxon nations who, owing to the grouping of the Powers, will be the arbiters in the Russo-Japanese conflict, and they should never forget it, will not be convinced that China and Japan are a peril to Europe. In due time there may be a Congress of London or of San Francisco, but there must not be a Congress of Berlin.

If there is a yellow peril for Europe, it must be sought for not in China or Japan, but in another country. Russia's wanton aggression in every direction from sheer lust of conquest, her harsh and truly Mongolian rule, and her destruction of all original culture in the lands which she has conquered, by her celebrated 'policy of the steam-roller,' is the greatest peril that threatens Europe and its civilisation. 'Egratignez le Russe et vous trouvez le Tartare' is to-day as true as it was when Napoleon the First coined the phrase.

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Indeed, Russia is in race, customs, art, thought, and general culture more yellow than white, more Asiatic than European. Count Okuma, the Japanese statesman, therefore expressed what most European diplomats think, though they may hesitate to put their conviction into words, when he recently declared: 'The real cause of the yellow peril does not lie with Japan or with China, but with the gigantic Power of the North.'

O. ELTZBACHER.

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ENGLAND AND FRANCE

THE idea that England and France should work together in the cause of civilisation and progress has long been cherished by leading statesmen in both countries. Early in the eighteenth century, after the War of the Spanish Succession, when it seemed that the victories of Marlborough and the resolution of England had made it impossible for France to realise the schemes of domination which found expression in the policy of Louis the Fourteenth, Bolingbroke, one of those great statesmen who had *l'avenir dans l'esprit*, dreamt of a time when England and France should be united by the strong bond of common interests and the still stronger tie of common sympathy.

The day, however, was yet distant when the dream of Bolingbroke could become a reality and be formulated into a policy. The great struggle, closely associated with the glorious memory of Chatham, had to be fought out. The sovereignty of the seas, a question involving the very existence of England, was still disputed by France, and the iron necessities of the situation forced the two countries into arms against each other all the world over. But, when the long strife was ended, when Anglo-Saxon influence was permanently established in America, when the expansion of France on her north-eastern frontier seemed no longer to be feared, and when England, firmly established on the Rock of Gibraltar, held the key of the Mediterranean, it seemed that the time had come when France and England might be drawn together.

This was the governing idea of the policy of Chatham's famous son. Pitt, who, we know on the high authority of Madame de Staël, was well versed in French literature and history, and understood, as few men in England then did, the French mind and real French interests, took practical steps to bind the countries by material ties, in view of their ultimate co-operation in ideal aims. He did not allow himself to lose sight of this object in the early days of the French Revolution. He withstood the influence of Burke, and strove to prevent the outbreak of war. It was only when the French Convention definitely adopted the schemes of aggression of Louis the Fourteenth, and when the Low Countries were invaded, that he

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reluctantly consented to advise England to draw her sword. When the policy of the Convention was taken up by Buonaparte and crowned by the victory of Austerlitz, Pitt knew that his hopes could not be realised for a generation. One of the last persons he saw before his death in January, 1806, was Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The dying statesman spoke to the young general about the state of Europe. When Sir Arthur Wellesley had become the great Duke of Wellington he told the story of this interview, among others, to Alava the Spaniard in Paris in 1814. A less resolute man than Pitt would have been disposed to counsel the abandonment of the struggle, but in the midst of despair he retained hope in the future of his country, and, like the wizard in Campbell's poem, saw in the sunset of his life the shadows of coming events.

He fully realised that England had been saved by Nelson at Trafalgar, but he told Wellesley that for a time Napoleon must dominate the Continent. He insisted also that, if England remained true to herself, Napoleon would be driven to adopt a policy towards the nations which would ultimately rouse them against him, and he foretold that the first national resistance would come from Spain. It is one of the remarkable coincidences in history that he should have said this to the man who was destined to win immortal renown on the battlefields of the Peninsula.

When Napoleon's power came to an end, the young general who had received the dying confidences of Pitt was the most influential man in Europe. His authority, which had been steadily growing from 1809, became world-wide after that midsummer's day in 1813 when he finally overthrew the monarchy of Joseph Buonaparte at Vittoria. Shortly afterwards he invaded France, and, bearing in mind Pitt's cardinal aim, he was vigilant in his endeavours to mitigate for the French, as far as possible, the hard consequences of foreign invasion. Wellington's administration of the conquered Departments in the South of France, during the few months they were in his power, at the end of 1813 and the commencement of 1814, was marked not only by that rectitude of purpose so characteristic of the Great Duke but by far-sighted policy. The traditions in some parts of the South of France as to the excellent discipline he maintained in his army and his care for the interests of the population were vivid when I was young, and I am told they linger still in some of the villages on the Garonne. When he invaded the northern Departments of France after Waterloo, he was equally remarkable for the moderation of his language and his conciliatory spirit. This attitude, although it greatly impressed leading Frenchmen like Talleyrand and Richelieu, did not win for him the general public. This was only natural. Frenchmen could not be expected to love a man who had beaten in the fair shock of battle almost all their great soldiers, and who was the most conspicuous

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military figure in the coalition that overthrew Napoleon. Moreover, a certain rigidity of manner, an apparently unemotional character, and obligations to the allies of Great Britain, paralysed the influence which the Duke of Wellington might have exercised for the good both of England and France. The behaviour of these allies greatly complicated the situation.

In Wellington's letters to his Government he repeatedly complained in the strongest terms about them, and he more than once pointed out how their ruthless conduct and their outrages damaged the cause for which they professed to take up arms. This was particularly the case with the Prussians, and the great French historians of the Restoration like Nettement, Viel-Castel, and others, have most strongly contrasted the conduct of Wellington with that of Blücher. This was strikingly shown in the attitude to towns and fortresses whose garrisons did not maintain the cause of Napoleon. It must be remembered that the war in 1815 was not undertaken ostensibly against France but against Napoleon, whose occupation of the French throne was considered a permanent menace to the peace of Europe. When, therefore, Napoleon had ceased to reign and Louis the Eighteenth was restored, there was no object in operations of war against French fortresses held for the King. Wellington, accordingly, ordered his officers to leave such fortresses alone. The Prussian commander acted in a very different manner.

Longwy had been fortified by Vauban with a view to the protection of France on the Luxembourg frontier. At the end of June, 1815, it was held by three battalions of the National Guard from the Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, and by some soldiers from the Vosges, altogether somewhat less than 2,000 men. On the 2nd of July a military force of about 6,000 men, composed of Prussians and Westphalians, with a numerous artillery, arrived before the place. A siege began which lasted ten days. It was raised on the 12th of July by a French column from Metz, which attacked the besiegers and put them to flight. This attack upon Longwy might perhaps be excused, for it was begun before Louis the Eighteenth was established in Paris, which city he did not enter until the 8th of July. The first thing the garrison of Longwy did when the siege was raised was to send a deputation to Paris to announce its allegiance to Louis the Eighteenth. The Governor of the place received his authority from the King, and the inhabitants set to work to repair the damage which had been done. Suddenly, on the 28th of July, after the royal authority had been established in Paris for twenty days, the Prussians again appeared before the town and summoned it to surrender. This demand was refused. Then a regular siege was laid to the place, and the garrison, after an heroic defence and sustaining a protracted bombardment, was forced to capitulate on the 15th of September. The French Royalist soldiers

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were not allowed even the honours of war, and the whole episode is an instance of the manner in which some of the Allied Powers, and especially the Prussians, behaved to the French Government. It was behaviour like this that made the Restoration, associated in the popular mind with outrages of foreigners, particularly odious to many Frenchmen. England also suffered in the minds of the French people from the conduct of her allies. The struggle of Napoleon for power was in reality a fight with England. England was the heart and the head of the coalitions against him. This was realised in France, and the care of Wellington to keep discipline in his army and to prevent outrages of all kinds was forgotten in the excesses of others. The leading historians of the Restoration have done justice to him. I have myself often heard Viel-Castel speak in the warmest manner of Wellington's services to France, but the Duke could not prevent the animosity of the French to England becoming intense; and it must also be remembered that the moderate views of Wellington were not shared by any of the Ministers in London except by Lord Castlereagh. Wellington, however, held firmly to his policy, and he never deviated from it during his whole life. A quarter of a century afterwards he said to Guizot, then Ambassador in London, at a moment when the relations between France and England were strained almost to the breaking point, and so loud that he could be heard by several: 'Moi, j'ai une ancienne idée de politique bien simple, mais bien arrêtée, c'est qu'on ne peut rien faire dans le monde pacifiquement qu'avec la France. Tout ce qui est fait sans elle compromet la paix. Or on veut la paix; il faudra donc s'entendre avec la France.'[1]

I am convinced that it was mainly the conduct of other European Powers that prevented cordial relations being established between England and the Government of the Restoration after Waterloo. There was no reason whatever in the nature of things why, at all events from 1816 to 1821, when the policy of France was shaped by Decazes, Richelieu, and De Serre, the foundations of an alliance should not have been laid, which would have prevented many a disastrous episode in the history of both countries during the nineteenth century. After 1821 the time had, no doubt, gone by for a season. The countries became gradually but inevitably estranged, owing to the increasing predominance of the forces of reaction in France, manifested in such events as the Spanish War of 1822, and these became steadily stronger as the health of Louis the Eighteenth gradually decayed.

The Revolution of 1830 was followed by the establishment of better relations between the countries. After a short period of disorder, Casimir Périer became Prime Minister in March 1831.

[1] Thureau-Dangin, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet*, vol. iv. p. 258; see also *Mémoires* of Guizot.

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Previous to that event there was a well-grounded fear that, owing to the weakness and vanity of those who came into power after 1830, France might be driven by revolutionary forces to adopt the policy of foreign aggression associated with the memory of the Convention, of the Consulate, and of the Empire. When the new King selected Casimir Périer as his Minister he chose one gifted with statesmanlike qualities of the highest order. On the 15th of March Lord Palmerston wrote confidentially to Lord Granville, then Ambassador in Paris, to express his delight that Périer had become Prime Minister, and his conviction that peace would be maintained in Europe, and France also saved from civil disturbance. Unfortunately, after a very short time, Périer succumbed to cholera, which then made its first appearance in Europe. During his short term of office, however, he succeeded in preventing a disastrous war in Italy, in raising considerably the position of France in Europe, and, with the help of Lord Palmerston, in laying the foundations of that mutual respect between the statesmen of France and England which lasted throughout the duration of the Monarchy of July, and which on one or two critical occasions prevented war breaking out between the countries. The French Administration which was formed on the 11th of October, 1832, and lasted till late in February 1836, had, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duc de Broglie. The cardinal doctrine of this Administration was intimate alliance with Great Britain. This found practical expression in the formation of the kingdom of Belgium, which, bearing in mind the difficulties of the moment and the jealousies and rivalries of the hour, does immense credit to the French and English statesmen of those days, and especially to Lord Palmerston. He played the principal part in this transaction, and his firmness in resisting the slightest deviation from the objects both countries professed to have in view resulted in the peaceful solution of a dangerous problem.

During the Monarchy of July, on different occasions, in spite of the peaceful desires of statesmen, the relations between the countries were strained to the verge of war. One of these troubles grew out of disorder in the East, another had its origin in negotiations connected with the marriage of Queen Isabella the Second. Space will not permit me to go into these questions at length, yet, unless they are studied in very exceptional detail, it is impossible to form even a moderately sound judgment upon them. It is sufficient, perhaps, to say that the most dangerous of these questions to the peace of Europe was that occasioned by complications in Egypt, associated with the life and activity of Mehemet Ali. The more carefully we look into this question the more satisfied, I am convinced, we shall be that peace was preserved by the resolute action and skilful diplomacy of Lord Palmerston. His difficulties were such that they could not have been overcome by any but a very

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great man. Some of the most difficult of them were caused by the action of leading public men in London, and by the pusillanimity of trembling colleagues in the Cabinet. With marvellous skill Lord Palmerston contrived to maintain his position, and he stopped France from drifting into war by his extraordinary combination of adroitness, frankness, and resolution. Lord Palmerston understood perfectly that the prime condition of a good understanding between the Western Powers must be based on mutual respect; and, apart from the duty of defending British interests, he always kept before his mind that, if England desired the friendship of France, she must before all things avoid even the appearance of being a pusillanimous Power. When, in 1841, Lord Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston at the Foreign Office, this truth was not always kept so steadily in view. Lord Aberdeen undoubtedly desired to promote friendly feelings between the countries. Had he, however, kept himself freer from the influence of Guizot, it is probable that he would have been more successful. No one has shown this more clearly than the sagacious and well-informed historian Hillebrand, in his *Geschichte Frankreichs*.

The fall of the Government of Louis Philippe and the advent of the Second Empire marked a new stage in the relations between France and England. An actual alliance was formed between the countries, which existed for several years. The want of common action in the question of the Danish Duchies in 1864 caused the two Powers to drift apart. There had been friction caused by the question of the Danubian Principalities, by troubles in Syria, and by the Polish Revolution. Misunderstandings which arose in consequence of them were not serious, and, when got over, were soon forgotten. The Schleswig-Holstein question, however, was far-reaching in its effects. Both England and France each followed a course which was selfish and unwise, and each of them has had to suffer in consequence.

When Christian IX., the father of Queen Alexandra, became King of Denmark in 1863, the storm, which had been some time gathering, burst over the Danish Monarchy. That monarchy then consisted of islands in the Baltic Sea and of a peninsula the northern part of which was called Jutland, and the southern portion was formed by the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The succession to the Danish monarchy and the Duchies had been settled by the Great Powers, but a considerable body of the public in Germany desired that Holstein, which was a part of the Germanic Confederation, should have a prince of its own, and that, as an old arrangement existed that Schleswig should always be united to Holstein, that duchy should also become a part of Germany. Germans did not seem at all to observe that the argument might be turned against themselves. If Schleswig was a part of Denmark, and if Holstein was perpetually to

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be connected with Schleswig, then the Danes might fairly argue that Holstein was part of Denmark. In the spring of 1864 Prussia, dragging Austria at her heels, invaded the Danish Monarchy and ultimately forced King Christian to cede the Duchies, not to Germany, but to Austria and Prussia, who then fell out amongst themselves and went to war, with the result that the two Duchies were incorporated in Prussia.

The abiding interest in the Schleswig-Holstein question is the circumstance that it marked a new departure in the foreign policy of England, the inevitable result of which was the complete isolation of this country.

In the year 1852, after a protracted series of negotiations, a solemn agreement was come to between Austria, England, France, Prussia, and Russia, determining their attitude to the Danish Monarchy. This is known in history as the Treaty of London. Its object was to maintain the integrity of Denmark, while preserving the federal tie which, since 1815, united the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg with the Germanic Confederation. It also arranged the royal succession in Denmark in a manner which seemed to exclude the possibility of future complications. Lord Palmerston signed this treaty on behalf of England. Several States of the second and third order acceded to it, among them principalities of the Germanic Confederation. The Treaty of 1852, however, did not clearly settle the relations between Schleswig and Holstein, and a very angry controversy arose when, in 1863, King Ferdinand the Seventh gave autonomous institutions to Holstein, and subsequently the royal assent to a law binding Schleswig closely to Denmark. Ferdinand the Seventh died in November 1863. The question of the relations between the Duchies and Denmark was then complicated by a dispute about the succession to the sovereignty of Holstein. Lord Palmerston at once perceived that Bismarck intended to make use of the general confusion to take possession of the Duchies. He suggested in his place in Parliament that the object of the Government of Berlin was not to meet any real or supposed wishes of the inhabitants of the Duchies, but to annex the territories, with a view of getting possession of harbours in them, and so to lay the foundations of that navy we now see developing so rapidly. Lord Palmerston knew well that, ever since the days of Frederick the Great, an influential party existed in Prussia which desired the overthrow, no matter by what country, of the maritime power of Great Britain. He perceived, moreover, that the inevitable result of allowing a settlement carefully arrived at by the Great Powers of Europe, such as that which regulated the relations between the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with the rest of the Danish Monarchy, to be set aside for the purpose of gratifying the ambitions of a single nation, would be a serious blow to progress in European international life, and inaugurate a reign of lawlessness.

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There existed, however, in this country in 1864 a school of politicians who held that England should stand outside the international life of Europe, but remain on terms of friendship with each individual Power. They did not see that such a policy, if consistently carried out, must make this country despised and hated by every European nation. Politicians of this school had been for years bitterly opposed to Lord Palmerston. In 1864 they had, moreover, powerful allies in quarters where it was held that the growth of Prussian power was in the interest of England. Lord Palmerston was then nearing his eightieth year, and this circumstance also influenced rising politicians to turn their faces towards coming men, who were supposed, more or less, to sympathise with the views of his opponents. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Lord Palmerston would, in all probability, have had his way, were it not for the conduct of the French Government.

The greatest fault in the policy of Napoleon the Third was that he did not see the danger to his country from the development of Prussian power. In this respect he was far less sagacious than King Louis Philippe. This dulness of political perception led him into his anti-Austrian policy, and to his want of appreciation of the counsels of Drouyn de Lhuys, who, in his views regarding the relations which should have been cultivated between France and Austria, was one of the most clear-sighted statesmen of the Second Empire.

Napoleon the Third was governed by the idea that the settlement of 1815 should be overthrown, and that France should acquire territory on her eastern and north-eastern frontier. When the question of the Danish Duchies became acute, he proposed to the Government of this country that France and England should interfere by force of arms, and that England should promise not to agree to any peace which did not involve rectification of the French eastern frontier, by which no doubt he meant the annexation to France of the German countries on the left bank of the Rhine, including the fortress of Mayence. Lord Russell was at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, according to a statement which he made a few years later to Sir Henry Howard when the latter was Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich, it was he who was mainly responsible for the rejection of the French proposals. This statement of Lord Russell, which I heard from Sir Henry Howard, is quite reconcilable with Mr. Gladstone's recollections of what took place in the Cabinet in 1864, which Mr. Morley publishes in his life of that statesman. Sir Spencer Walpole, moreover, has shown that Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston were not always in agreement on the Danish question. My impression is that, in the circumstances, Lord Palmerston was less apprehensive of French than of Prussian aggrandisement. However that may be, Denmark was abandoned to her fate. Mr. Morley, in the work already alluded to, says that, during

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the discussion in the Cabinet which came to this resolution, Lord Palmerston was silent and held down his head. No wonder! He was perhaps the only man in the room who had any notion of the consequences to the two Western Powers and to European civilisation from this decision. From that moment it became a rooted belief all over Europe that England, under the paralysing influence of wealth and prosperity, had lost the spirit that had made her great, and had become too selfish and fond of ease to bear the sacrifices of a great war. The French Government on their side had been for some time profoundly distrustful of the resolution of England, and began actively to court the friendship of Prussia. M. de Reiset, who in the early sixties was French Minister at Darmstadt and then at Hanover, tells us that the instructions of French diplomatists in Germany were to support the policy of Bismarck. The Emperor of the French persuaded himself that, by aiding Prussia in her schemes of ambition at the expense of Austria and Germany, he would acquire for France the territories he coveted on the left bank of the Rhine.

The influence of England became less and less. When the war of 1870 broke out, during the time it lasted, and at its close it would be difficult to say whether this country was more despised by the French or the Germans. The belief that England was a declining Power became steadily greater, and there seemed good reason for that opinion. Lord Beaconsfield did not succeed in restoring solid confidence in this country. He took an erroneous view of the situation in the Balkans, and, apart from this, there was a general feeling that, in as far as his foreign policy was vigorous, England was not behind him. This suspicion appeared justified by the general election of 1880, and little or no change took place in Continental opinion for many years. England was looked upon as a Power that could be flouted with impunity. This conception of England became a real danger to peace. It was the cause of the state of mind in France which led to the Fashoda trouble. It strengthened the Anglophobe movement in Germany, and has helped to give that movement practical direction.

The South African War produced a distinct change in the estimate in which England is held in Europe. This is not due to any belief in English statesmen or politicians, nor is it owing to the revelation of the unexpected military resources of England, nor even to her unquestioned naval power. It is the result of admiration for the firm and dignified attitude of the English people in the hour of difficulty and danger, when any show of weak excitement in consequence of reverses would most certainly have induced the enemies of England to combine for her humiliation. No one who has had communication with foreign politicians and thinkers will, I am sure, question this statement. It is now felt from one end of Europe to the other that a people, gifted with the self-control

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and sound political instincts the English showed themselves to possess during the Boer War, is not to be trifled with and may become useful as a friend or ally. To this belief we partly owe the recent change of feeling in France. To it is due, in no small degree, that Frenchmen of all sorts and conditions welcomed the idea of a good understanding with England long before the terms of the recent Agreement were made known. A striking sign of the times was an article which appeared in the *Gaulois* of the 8th of March, entitled 'L'Angleterre et la France,' from the pen of the Comte de Castellane, in which this member of a political group, not hitherto friendly towards England, expressed his desire for cordial relations between the countries with as much heartiness as M. Clémenceau in *L'Aurore*.

The English mind had been prepared for a change in the relations between France and England by the attitude of Germany. The psychological moment for an arrangement with France was seized when King Edward the Seventh was in Paris, and an endeavour initiated to remove causes of friction between the countries. That it has been brought to a practical issue is owing largely to the tact of our sovereign, to the conciliatory spirit of Lord Lansdowne, to the statesmanship of Lord Cromer, to the diplomatic ability displayed by M. Delcassé and by the French Embassy in London, and last and not least to the political sense and patriotism of the leading journals in London and of important provincial newspapers.

I do not propose to criticise the comprehensive arrangement which has been recently arrived at. Nothing is to be gained by a discussion as to which country has got the best of the bargain. The real point is that the two great civilising Powers of Western Europe have been drawn together. There is one thing, however, which all who desire in this country the friendship of France should lay to heart. The permanent condition of an *entente cordiale* is that England should maintain forces, both by sea and land, suitable to her position. Neglect on her part to form an adequate army, or to maintain her navy in at least its present state of efficiency and comparative strength, will surely be followed by a reaction across the Channel against the policy now inaugurated. Frenchmen have no wish to acquire, nor have they any interest in cultivating, the friendship of a feeble country. Englishmen must never forget that the chief guides of the German people avow that the object of their policy is the overthrow of Great Britain. Sir Charles Dilke alluded to the character of German official utterances in a recent debate on the navy estimates, and Professor Delbrück has explained their meaning very clearly in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Germans do not consider the overthrow of England so difficult as many in this country imagine it to be. They feel confident that ill-considered reductions in our naval and military expenditure will be made,

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national defence neglected, and Germany enabled, when occasion serves, to strike a swift and deadly blow at the heart of England. They have been confirmed in this view by recent debates in the House of Commons. These debates have, at the same time, produced an unfavourable impression all over Europe. If England were now seriously to impair her power by neglecting to provide for the efficiency of her naval and military forces, her relations with France would soon become worse than they have ever been. Those who advocate a policy of reduction of armaments without reference to the problem of national defence are doing their best to weaken the advantages derived from the Anglo-French arrangement, which they unreservedly profess to welcome. It would be an evil day for the cause of culture and progress if the French nation were definitely to make up its mind that Great Britain was an untrustworthy Power, unable or unwilling to perform her international duties. Anything which encourages this idea tends to bring about a renewed estrangement between England and France, which will be profitable to the enemies of both countries and inimical to European civilisation.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

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THE WHITE MAN'S PLACE IN AFRICA

In the last number of this Review there appeared an article by Mr. Roderick Jones on the supposed black peril in South Africa. There has also been recently published one of the few books ever written, which were worth the trouble of perusal, on the Negro races of South Africa, *The Essential Kafir*, by Mr. Dudley Kidd. Further, the action of the Imperial Government in the Transvaal in relation to the importation of indentured Chinese labour has again drawn our attention to the race problem in that part of the continent. The atrocities—real, alleged, or exaggerated—committed by agents, white and black, of Belgian companies in the northern half of the Congo Free State; the proposed settlement of a Jewish colony in British East Africa; the need for maintaining permanent plantations of cotton in all suitable and accessible parts of the Dark Continent; the serious struggle between the Germans and the Ovaherero; and, lastly, the Anglo-French Agreement, which tightens the French hold over North-Western Africa, while it lends increased sanction to the British regeneration of Egypt: these, and many other minor points, unite to raise for our consideration the part which the white man is destined with justice and prudence to play in the human settlement of the African continent.

There are three obstacles to the white race from Europe overrunning and colonising the continent of Africa as it has overrun and colonised the two Americas and Australasia. The first is the insalubrity of the well-watered regions and the uninhabitability of the desert tracts; the second is the opposition of strong indigenous races; and the third, of quite recent growth, is a growing sentiment which is increasingly influencing public opinion, in Europe more especially, and which forbids the white man to do evil that good may come: namely, to displace by force of arms pre-existing races in order that the white man may take the land they occupy for his own use. It is probable that the second and third reasons combined may in future prove the more effective checks. Deserts, to be made habitable and cultivable, only need irrigation, and apparently there is a subterranean water supply underlying most African deserts which can be tapped by artesian wells. The extreme unhealthiness of the well-watered

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parts of Africa is due not so much to climate as to the presence of malaria in the systems of the Negro inhabitants. This malaria is conveyed from the black man to the white man by certain gnats of the genus *Anopheles*—possibly by other agencies. But the draining of marshes and the sterilisation of pools, together with other measures, may gradually bring about the extinction of the mosquito; while, on the other hand, it seems as though the drug (*Cassia Beareana*)[1] obtained from the roots of a cassia bush may act as a complete cure for malarial fever.

It is not, therefore, the insalubrity or aridity of African spaces which will so much stand in the way of eventual European colonisation as either the sturdy opposition of indigenous races or a sentiment of probity which would prevent the white man using his superior arms to forcibly eject the Negro, the Hamite, or the Libyan from coveted territory.

A more rapid increase, however, in the population of Europe and Asia, and the consequent need for fresh land, may to a great extent stifle the white man's conscience, and if one or other European nation is too nice about land-grabbing in Africa it may only have the melancholy satisfaction of seeing other European nationalities pressing in where its own conscience forbade it to encourage colonisation. Yet on, the whole, these restrictions imposed by sentimentality march fairly parallel with expediency. The native races of Africa are sturdier foes than the North or South American Indians or the simian savages of the Australian continent. Well treated, they are fairly docile; rendered desperate, and united in their millions by a sense of common wrong, they might become most formidable fighters, with whom a life-and-death struggle would be unprofitable.

What we have therefore to consider is the line of least resistance to the white man in his colonisation of Africa. Where can he found white men's colonies likely to be permanent as the homes of a prosperous white people, and where outside those special provinces can he exploit Africa to his personal advantage and to that of the coloured races?

So far as we can trace back the unwritten history of Africa, nearly the entirety of that continent would appear to have been originally the domain of the Negro race. In the extreme north of Africa (Mauritania) the first human inhabitants may have belonged to that primitive, undifferentiated human stock which we identify with the skull of Neanderthal, a type represented to-day in a modified degree by the Veddahs of Ceylon and the black Australians. But in the rest of

[1] A decoction of this root was in use amongst the natives of the east coast of Africa opposite Zanzibar, where it attracted the attention of Dr. O'Sullivan Beare, his Majesty's Vice-Consul. Dr. O'Sullivan Beare introduced this drug to the British Pharmacopœia, and it is fast coming into use as a notable cure for malaria and black water fever.

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Africa, and even possibly in Mauritania, the first human inhabitants seem to have belonged to the Negro species, represented at first, no doubt, by dwarfish types like the Bushman and the Congo Pygmy. The big black Negroes developed their characteristics probably in the Upper Nile valley, and thence spread right across the continent to the Atlantic Ocean, to the verge of the Sahara, later into the Congo forest, finally (and not very anciently) into the southern prolongation of Africa. The first branch of the Caucasian stock, of the typical 'white' man, to invade the Dark Continent seems to have been the Hamite—a cross, no doubt, between the brunet or Iberian white race, the allied Dravidian of Asia, and, possibly, some of the Negro stock still lingering in Arabia. The Iberian type of white man arose very possibly from a Neanderthaloid base, but at a relatively remote period it occupied much of the Mediterranean lands, Western Europe, and Northern Africa. Various blends with the Hamite [Libyans] overran the Sahara, and together with the Hamite and Semite formed the basis of the first Caucasian population of Egypt. The white-skinned, dark-haired Libyan or Iberian and the swarthier Hamite or Egyptian were the first outposts of the white race in Africa, and, with the closely-allied Semite from Arabia, constituted the only appreciable 'white' element in the colonisation of Africa until the heyday of the Roman Empire, when a few European types, not altogether of the Mediterranean race, began to filter into the north of Africa.[2] Practically, therefore, this monopoly of European colonisation by the Hamite and the Libyan continued down to the Dutch settlement of Cape Colony 250 years ago; for nearly all the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Italians who began to settle on the African coast-line belonged fundamentally to the Iberian stock. These, however, did not materially influence the human type which had become indigenous to those regions, and it is really the Dutch settlement in South Africa which first implanted the blond Aryan as a native of Africa, as the possible foundation of a great white nation in the distant future indigenous to African soil. The Dutchman was followed 150 years later by the Frenchman, Englishman, Scotsman, and German.

In 1830 the French conquest of Algiers once more resumed that Europeanising of North Africa which had been attempted by the Greek and the Roman. It is almost safe to predict that the centenary of the French landing at Algiers will see a great Latin Empire over the northern third of Africa, stretching from the western frontiers of Egypt to Lake Chad, the Niger, the Senegal, and the Mediterranean.

The result of this conscious and unconscious colonisation of North Africa by the Frenchman, Spaniard, Italian, and Maltese (for, although the French flag may wave over nearly all this empire, other Latin

[2] Such as the blond and Aryan Greeks and Romans who colonised the Delta of the Nile and the Greek and Roman settlements on the coast of Barka and in Tunisia, together with Vandals and Gothic mercenaries.

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nations besides France will participate equally in its colonisation) will be that the white race, as represented by the Libyan and Berber, will be strongly reinforced from across the Mediterranean with even whiter men of Alpine or blond Aryan physique. Egypt will also be Europeanised by the lighter-skinned Mediterranean races, though it is doubtful whether the English will form more than a tiny (even if powerful) element among the inhabitants of that land.

Our only hope of establishing a New Britain on the African continent lies in the direction of trans-Zambezian Africa, on those lofty plateaux between the Zambezi and the Cape of Good Hope; perhaps also on the higher lands in the basin of Lake Nyasa and to the north-east of the Victoria Nyanza.

For practical purposes the only areas south of the Sahara Desert which at the present time are favourable to white colonisation are the following.[3] In West Africa there can be no white colonisation under existing conditions; the white man can only remain there for a portion of his working life as an educator and administrator. The only high land (so far as is yet known) in the whole of West Africa which offers any approach to a European climate and the conditions necessary for healthy, vigorous life are the peaks on the islands of Fernando Po and St. Thomas in the Gulf of Guinea and the highlands of the Cameroons.[4] There is already a flourishing Portuguese colony of one or two thousand settlers on the upper parts of the small island of St. Thomas in the Gulf of Guinea, where climatic conditions are suitable and vigorous children are reared. In North-East Africa, Abyssinia and Eritrea will suggest themselves as white man's countries—presenting, that is to say, some of the conditions favourable to European colonisation. The actual coast of Eritrea is extremely hot, almost the hottest country in the world, but it is not necessarily very unhealthy. The heat, however, apart from the existence of a fairly abundant native population, almost precludes the idea of a European settlement. But on the mountains of the hinterland which are still within Italian territory there are said to be a few small areas suited at any rate to settlement by Italians, who, by-the-by, seem to be getting on very well with the natives in that part of Africa. But a European colonisation of Abyssinia, possible as it might be climatically, is out of the question in view of the relatively abundant and warlike population indigenous

[3] By 'favourable' I mean offering a fair proportion of well-watered, cultivable soil, a healthy climate, and a relative absence of settled indigenous population. By colonisation I mean the white settler who intends to stay and be succeeded by his children and children's children; I do not mean temporary settlers and planters who come out for commerce with the natives or for making money and then returning with their gains to the Mother Country.

[4] The interior of the western part of the Cameroons colony, apart from the lofty, isolated volcano on the sea-coast, which attains an altitude of 13,000 feet, has several ranges of very high mountains, nearly 10,000 feet in altitude at one or two points, which have hitherto been little explored, but are suited to European settlement.

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to the Ethiopian Empire. In some respects, of course, the Abyssinians ought to be looked upon racially as a Caucasian outpost. Tinged as they may be with black blood, they are fundamentally of the same human species as ourselves. Somaliland is perhaps too hot for settlement by a European race, apart from the arid and waterless condition which characterises much of this eastern promontory of the African continent. Here, again, there are independent, warlike natives to be reckoned with, who would certainly dispute with tenacity and ability in warfare any attempt to alienate their land.

Then comes Central Africa, which may be taken to range from the northern limits of the Congo basin and the Great Lakes on the north to the Cunene River and the Zambezi on the south. British East Africa and Uganda offer probably the largest continuous area of white man's country in the central section of the continent. The Ankole country in the south-west of the Uganda Protectorate and the highlands north of Tanganyika, together with the slopes of the Ruwenzori range, offer small tracts of land thoroughly suited to occupation by a white race so far as climate and fertility are concerned; but these countries have already been occupied, to a great extent, by some of the earliest forerunners of the Caucasian (the Bahima), as well as by sturdy Negro tribes who have become inured to the cold. To the north-east of the Victoria Nyanza, however, there is an area which has as its outposts the south-west coast of Lake Rudolf, the great mountains of Debasien and Elgon, and the snow-clad extinct volcanoes of Kenia and Kilimanjaro. This land of plateaux and rift valleys is not far short of 70,000 square miles in extent, and so far as climate and other physical conditions are concerned is as well suited for occupation by British settlers as Queensland or New South Wales. But nearly 50,000 square miles of this East African territory is more or less in the occupation of sturdy Negro or Negroid races whom it would be neither just nor easy to expel. Therefore we are not able to deal in our calculations with much more than 20,000 square miles in this direction which we can unhesitatingly offer to European settlers with a prospect of their taking root and attaining prosperity. It is understood, though not authoritatively, that the British Government has agreed to place about 5,000 square miles out of this area at the disposal of some Zionist committee, which is to attempt to plant a more or less autonomous Jewish State on whose soil the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe will be welcome. It is, of course, a matter for the British Government to consider whether, with the claims of possible British settlers in view, they are right in thus generously disposing of 5,000 square miles of habitable land in a British possession to a people who, however unfortunate, are not British subjects. Perhaps, however, this is a somewhat ungenerous way of contemplating the transaction. A more serious obstacle to its success would be the unsuitability of these Jewish immigrants as colonists. It would be futile to

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establish them on this land merely that they may become peddlers or petty tradesmen in a country which is crying out for agricultural development.

The only portion of German East Africa which is at all suited to European settlement lies along the edge of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau. Here is a district of a little more than a thousand square miles which is not only elevated and healthy, but very sparsely populated by Negroes. A few patches in the Katanga district and the extreme southern part of the Congo Free State offer similar conditions.

In British Central Africa we have perhaps 6,000 square miles of elevated, sparsely populated, fertile country to the north-west of Lake Nyasa and along the road to Tanganyika. There is also land of this description in the North-East Rhodesian province of British Central Africa, in Manikaland, and along the water-parting between the Congo and the Zambezi systems. Then in the southernmost prolongation of British Central Africa are the celebrated Shiré Highlands, which, together with a few outlying mountain districts to the south-west of Lake Nyasa, may offer a total area of about 5,000 square miles suitable to European colonisation. A small portion of the Moçambique province, in the interior of the Angoche coast, might answer to the same description. Then again, far away to the west, under the same latitudes, we have, at the back of Mossamedes and Benguela, other patches of white man's country in the mountains of Bailundo and Shella.[5]

In South Africa, beyond the latitudes of the Zambezi, we come to lands which are increasingly suited to the white man's occupation the further we proceed south. Nearly all German South-West Africa is arid desert, but inland there are plateaux and mountains which sometimes exceed 8,000 feet in altitude, and which have a sufficient rainfall to make European agriculture possible. But the ownership of these habitable regions of the German colony is at present being vigorously contested by the Negroes of the Ovaherero tribe on the north, and to a lesser extent by the Hottentot half-breeds in the south. No doubt the European will in the long run obtain the mastery, but at the price to conscience and expediency of allotting quite half this territory to the black man. Therefore, excluding the bulk of German South-West Africa from our survey as being nearly hopeless in its aridity, and after allowing for these native reserves, we can only consider about 20,000 square miles of this 'colony' as being available for European settlement. About two-thirds of the Transvaal, a third of Rhodesia, a small portion of southern Bechuanaland, two-thirds of the Orange River Colony, four-fifths of Cape Colony, and a third of Natal sum up the areas attributed to the white man in South Africa. The

[5] The principal beginnings of European colonies in this direction are the various settlements of the American missionaries in Bailundo and the Boer colony at the back of Mossamedes, on the Huila Plateau.

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remainder of this part of the continent must be considered mainly as a reserve for the black man, and to a much smaller degree (in South-East Africa) as a field for Asiatic colonisation, preferentially on the part of British Indians.

Counting the white-skinned Berbers and Arabs of North Africa, and the more or less pure-blooded, light-skinned Egyptians, as white men, and the land they occupy as part of the white man's share of the Dark Continent, we may then by a rough calculation arrive (by adding to white North Africa the other areas enumerated in the rest of the continent) at the following estimate: that about 970,000 square miles of the whole African continent may be attributed to the white man as his legitimate share.[6] If, however, we are merely to consider the territory that lies open to European colonisation, then we must considerably reduce our North African estimate, though in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Barka there are in all about 75,000 square miles (scattered, of course, amongst the native settlements) which white men of the Mediterranean race may colonise in the future.

If Europe would make up its mind to demand no larger share, but agree that the remainder of African territories should be allotted almost entirely to the ownership of the Negroes and Negroids who now inhabit them (with, perhaps, some degree of Indian colonisation in those waste lands of East Africa which have a climate unhealthy to Europeans), and if, indeed, some idea of the scope of this partition could be brought home to the indigenous races, then I think that we might run less risk of piling up the elements for an awful war between black and white. In South Africa there is no reason why we should give way to sentimentality and needlessly endow the Negro with land where he cannot claim it by legal right or long-established settlement. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently remembered that there are many parts of Cape Colony where the white man actually preceded the arrival of the Bantu Negro, though he may have driven away or exterminated the more ancient Hottentot and Bushman; but face to face with the Kafir in Cape Colony, on the principle of 'first come, first served,' the white man has the prescriptive right to consider himself lord of the soil over four-fifths of the land. Basutoland, Zululand, Swaziland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and the northern parts of Rhodesia are different, in that the white man has more or less guaranteed the rights of the indigenous Negro population, as he has in the eastern fifth of Cape Colony. To abrogate these rights without unprovoked wrong-doing on the part of the blacks would be one of those crimes on which Fate always seems to inflict an ultimate punishment. But if, without excuse, the black populations of those parts of South Africa

[6] The total area of the African continent is 11,508,000 square miles. There is already in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt a 'white' Caucasian population of about 19,000,000; in East, Central, South-West, and South Africa there are about 746,000 European colonists.

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which are endowed with a temperate climate should rise against the white man's rule or refuse to abide by ordinances that are just and fair, then it would not seem an unreasonable punishment that these populations should be shifted to other parts of South Africa where they would come less into conflict with the white colonist and the interests of a white man's country. In short, the ultimate policy which might rule our action in South Africa would be directed towards an eventual division of territory between the white man on the one hand and the black man and Asiatic on the other. Whenever it was necessary to find room for any surplus of the indigenous population, or whenever inter-tribal disputes or actual unprovoked wrong-doing on the part of the black man required his expulsion from any of these districts, the more tropical regions of South-East Africa from Zululand to Mashonaland might be reserved, together with Portuguese territory, as a black man's country. If the South African territories which possess already a white population and a temperate climate are, nevertheless, unable to rely entirely on Europeans for their agricultural and industrial development, and if in some cases it is not desired to introduce the Asiatic as a resident, then a multiplication and extension of railways would enable large numbers of Negro workers from the north and east to come, as Irish harvesters come to England or Poles to western and northern Germany, for short spells of work. These labourers could leave their homes and families behind in the lands from which they came, because they would be able to return to them by an easy and rapid journey.

Yet, if the white man is to arrogate to himself all the soil which he possesses in South Africa, and even to aspire here and there to extend his holding—if, in short, he wishes to strive for the ideal of a 'white' South Africa—he must face difficulties, and be prepared to do his own manual and unskilled labour as well as to occupy every other grade in the social hierarchy. It is by no means certain that men of British, Dutch, and German descent will consent to the policy which is being attempted in Australia, and which is largely the policy of North Africa. Eager as many of us are to implant unskilled British labour, for instance, in the South African colonies, this policy is frustrated at the present time not only by the failure of the Government to secure cheap conditions of life for the white man, but by the unwillingness of the European to work as a navvy or an agricultural labourer. Much disagreeable manual labour can, no doubt, be accomplished by perfected machinery; but if there is still a gap in the social hive that the white man is too proud or too enervated to fill, then we fall back into an inevitable black, white, and yellow system for South Africa; while over the western and central parts of the continent the black man must eventually monopolise the soil, commerce, and industries, with the white man as a long-lingering instructor. If the southern promontory of Africa could change places with Mauritania and face

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the Mediterranean, there is little doubt that the difficulty could be solved in the direction of a 'white' South Africa by the rapid peopling of the land which would take place by the Mediterranean races, who would be content to do everything for themselves without importing the black man or the Asiatic; but the tendency of the blond Aryans is to be an aristocratic class, for ever striving for the formation of a serfage, over whom they preside with more or less *bonhomie*.

If the greater part of tropical Africa be regarded as the black man's legitimate domain, where, with the exception of a few European and Asiatic settlements, the Negroes and Negroids may own the soil and be trained more and more to self-government, this will be the great safety-valve for the racial aspirations of those who are fast awakening to a sense of their rights, and a bitter sense of the wrongs they have suffered at the hands of European pioneers.[7] North of the Zambezi there must be no such treatment of the black races by Europeans as has occurred in the past history of South Africa, and is not uncommon there at the present day. Bad as this behaviour is, it is less intolerable in South Africa, where the white man exists in relatively great numbers. But in the Negro territories between the Zambezi and the White Nile a 'Colonial' treatment of the Negroes would be insensate, as it would lead eventually to terrible uprisings, only to be put down by an extermination of the people who are wanted to develop the resources of the country. To give an instance: Down to the present day a mere handful of British has sufficed to restore and maintain order in Uganda and East Africa, chiefly by means of a Negro soldiery and a Negro police. They have been perhaps at most 2,000, dwelling in a territory of 300,000 square miles, peopled by three or four millions of blacks. They have implanted themselves and their rule with this relative ease because in the main, very nearly without exception, they were just and humane, and genuinely strove to govern the dependent tribes of Negroes in a kindly and considerate manner. There have recently come upon the scene parties of Europeans who have left South Africa during the recent depression in industries which followed the war. A friend of mine who was travelling in British East Africa described to me bitterly the contrast between the behaviour of these men and women imbued with the 'Colonial' dislike and contempt for coloured races, their impudent lawlessness as regards the black man's life or property, on the one hand, and the considerate, sympathetic treatment of the natives by officials and merchants direct from the United Kingdom, who soon grew to be on the best of terms with all the tribes in the vicinity of their residences. He pointed out to me that if this aggressive attitude went unchecked, and characterised that great body of European emigrants that we

[7] I have, however, been careful to point out repeatedly in previous writings my belief that the worst of the white man's mistreatment of the Negro race is a slight matter compared with the wrongs inflicted by Negro on Negro.

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really desire to see on the *unoccupied* plateaux of East Africa, it might lead to serious consequences.

We ought, it seems to me, to aim at some scheme of partition as regards Africa. In addition to what the white man possesses as a colonist already, all remaining unoccupied African territories with a healthy climate might be reserved to him for his future expansion. A portion of the unhealthy, unoccupied lands in the eastern half of the continent might certainly be offered to the Asiatic.[8] All the rest of Africa—and it is the greater part of the continent—which is unsuited to the white man, and is more or less in possession of the Negro or the Negroid already, should be reserved as the black man's domain, though nothing need prevent the white man from coming there to educate and to trade, just as no fair legislation should prevent the black man and the Asiatic seeking work *as free men* in the white man's countries. I do not wish to advance the opinion that even in the black man's home he is everywhere or anywhere ripe for immediate self-government at the present time: the only result of hastily withdrawing European control and administration would be another welter of savage warfare, such as for untold centuries has kept the Negro as a race far behind the European and the Asiatic. The white man, no doubt, must rule and educate in all but a very few Negro States until their African civilisation is securely constructed. But wherever the land is classed as a black man's country, the interests of the black man must be rated first and those of the alien second. And if the policy which is now alleged against the Belgian concessionnaire companies in the northern regions of the Congo, the treatment of the natives which the Germans seem to have adopted in Damaraland, or the attitude towards black races which some South African colonists of British or Boer descent would have us adopt, continues and becomes of universal character, the Negro as a race will rise against the European, and such insensate horrors would follow as characterised the rebellion in the interior of Sierra Leone, and set back for centuries the spread of that real and beneficent civilisation which, despite all checks and disappointments, the white man is to bestow on Africa in the long run.

H. H. Johnston.

[8] I do not mean this to be taken cynically. Those parts of South Africa which are unhealthy to the white man are probably quite healthy for such Asiatics as the natives of India.

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FRANZ VON LENBACH

HISTORIAN-PORTRAITIST OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

> In all my poor historical investigations, it is one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good portrait, if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent, if sincere, one; in short, any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure which he saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine.
>
> Often I have found the portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen biographies, or rather, I have found that the portrait was as good as a small lighted candle, by which the biographies could, for the first time, be read, and some human interpretation be made of them.

THUS wrote Carlyle in 1854, and the words in which he advocates the superiority of the portrait over the biography have a certain pathos to-day, in view of the unfortunate controversy raging around the personality of the Sage of Chelsea, when every day brings further proof of the varying meanings which can be wrung from words, and of the tragic importance originally trivial incidents can acquire in the course of a few retellings; whereas in a portrait a man leaves a sort of reflex behind, to bear true witness to his character for all time.

The Germans, who in educational matters are always alive to the advisability of stimulating the imagination by illustration, as well as of feeding the reason on statistics, have proved the importance they attach to portraiture as an adjunct to historical study by the fact that the University of Halle bestowed the diploma of *Ehrendoktor* on Lenbach, in recognition of the service he had rendered his country in portraying so successfully the founders of the German Empire.

In truth Lenbach well merits the gratitude of every patriotic German, for his portraits of Wilhelm the First, of Bismarck, and of Moltke will keep the memory of this great triotalive long after their memories and histories lie forgotten and unread.

With both Bismarck and Moltke Lenbach was on terms of closest intimacy, and he thus had ample opportunity of becoming also well acquainted with the character of the 'old Kaiser,' whom he portrayed at different periods of his career.

The most representative portrait of Wilhelm the First is, perhaps, that now in the Leipzig Museum, but the one of greatest psycho-

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logical interest is that which, as Adolf Rosenberg relates in his book on Lenbach, was done in the New Palace at Potsdam in the last year of the Kaiser's life, on a sultry August afternoon, when, even to him whose motto had ever been that he had 'no time to be tired,' there had come a moment of lassitude, in which his nine decades of years weighed heavily upon him, for his heart was oppressed with anxious fears over the health of his only son, his loved 'Fritz.'

Lenbach seems to have painted Kaiser Frederick only once, in 'Kürassier' uniform, in 1874, when the Crown Prince was still a model of beauty and manly strength: a wonderful portrait, eloquent of those rare moral and intellectual qualities which made 'Fritz' the idol of all classes of society in Germany, so that even to-day rough faces still soften and keen eyes grow dim at the mention of the name of one who embodied the highest ideals of the Germanic race. One wonders what the history of the Empire would have been if Wilhelm the First had carried into execution the idea of resigning in favour of his son, to which he alludes in a letter from Versailles to his wife, the Empress Augusta. Would 'Fritz's' large-hearted sympathy have enabled him to tame at the onset the Socialistic monster, which, rendered irritable and antagonistic by oppression, has now assumed such a menacing attitude towards the government of the Fatherland?

Before leaving the subject of the Kaisers, it may be well to mention that Lenbach also painted the late Empress Frederick, and in 1880 did a charming group of her three daughters, Victoria, Sophie, and Margaret of Prussia.

It is as portraitist of the late Prince Bismarck, however, that Lenbach did his most important work; and here Carlyle's simile well applies, for his portraits are verily as lighted candles, by which the biographies of this great man can for the first time be read and a human interpretation be made of them.

Previous to Lenbach's appearance on the scene artists had found it very difficult to get access to Bismarck, except when his portrait was required for some national purpose, for the Prince took little interest in art, and his highly nervous temperament made him abhor the tedium of portraiture sittings.

Lenbach's talent for quickly seizing a personality therefore immediately commended him to Bismarck; and since, in addition to his appreciation of the artist, he was also strongly attracted by the frank and upright character of the man, a cordial friendship, which survived all vicissitudes of time and fortune, sprang up between the two congenial natures.

Thus Lenbach became an intimate of Bismarck's circle, and till the death of the Prince in 1898 was a constant visitor both at Friedrichsruh and Varzin; he was, indeed, one of the very few friends who joined the annual family gathering at Christmas, and again in

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April for the Prince's birthday, which was always celebrated in true German fashion.

After a time Bismarck acquired such confidence in Lenbach that he even allowed him to remain and work in his study while he himself was transacting his official business, and it was from the sketches he thus made that Lenbach afterwards produced some of the most successful portraits.

Lenbach's admiration for Bismarck developed into a sort of 'culte,' and he was so assiduous in producing and exhibiting portraits of his hero that his fellow-artists bestowed on him the title of 'sole purveyor of Bismarck portraits, by order of the Chancellor,' and many jests and witticisms were published about him in the art papers of Munich.

One of his fellow-countrymen even 'broke into poetry' on the subject, and thus warned Lenbach that he was in danger of going Bismarck-mad:

> Er malt wie seine Augen blitzen,
> Wie die macht'gen Brauen sitzen,
> Nimmt den Pinsel doppelt voll
> Und wird schliesslich bismarcktoll!

The artist took all this most good-humouredly, and in no way allowed himself to be distracted from what he realised to be *the* serious task of his life.

Lenbach's intimacy with Bismarck began in 1879, and from that date forward his portraits form an invaluable record of the Prince's life.

These portraits begin when the Iron Chancellor was at the height of his fame and power, and continue through the tragic period when, dismissed from office, one who had guided the affairs of Germany for nearly thirty years suddenly found himself in the position of a mere country gentleman, obliged to seek information regarding the politics of his country in the daily papers.

The *Schadenfreude*, which Germans themselves admit to be their great national failing, never showed itself more strongly than in the case of Prince Bismarck, who when he fell from power was deserted by all save relatives and a few fast friends; while the press, which before had voiced his slightest words, became inundated with calumnies of his public and private character, and the son of the man who did most to make the Empire found himself a stranger in its capital.

Portraits of this period show a nervous tension of the muscles, and reveal the grim determination of character which in these dark days alone saved Bismarck from self-destruction or insanity; and though afterwards, when a reaction set in, and, on his eightieth birthday, the 'Recluse of Friedrichsruh' received an ovation from all parts of Germany which must have shown him that he now held an

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assured place in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen, this strained expression gave place to a calm consciousness of recognised merit, the Prince's features never quite lost the traces of his bitter disillusionment.

Every phase of Prince Bismarck's character has been depicted by Lenbach, who after his custom worked out a fresh problem in each portrait, so that, notwithstanding their number, no two are exactly alike.

These portraits are an eloquent confutation of the popular idea which imagines Bismarck to have been a sort of ogre, from descriptions read of his 'cruel mouth,' 'wicked eyes,' 'ferocious eyebrows,' and 'enormous ears,' and are especially valuable on account of the way in which they lay stress on the genial and humane side of the Prince's character.

Lenbach, who had ample opportunity of judging, says:

> Few people are aware of the depths of Bismarck's feelings, for his was a deeply sensitive and reserved nature; he had, if anything, too much heart, and as a matter of fact it was his heart, not his head, that invariably seized the essence of a problem. He reminded me of a steamship in which the engines are too big for the shell of the vessel, and threaten to rend its ribs.

This view of Bismarck is also strongly corroborated by his physician, Schweninger, who at the time of the Prince's death said of him:

> Nobody will ever be like him, either in personal distinction, refinement of feeling, or in the truly regal proportions which were his. In his composition there was something of the tenderness of the woman, much of the *naïveté* of the child, and all the qualities of the man.

Part of the above paragraph is quoted by Sidney Whitman in his interesting *Reminiscences of Bismarck*, which give a very sympathetic picture of the Prince and show the sweetness of disposition he displayed in his home circle.

His Bismarck portraits have brought Lenbach universal fame, but the praise the artist must assuredly have valued most is that which the Prince himself bestowed when, visiting a picture exhibition, he said to a friend: 'I am glad to see myself immortalised here by Lenbach's brush; it is thus that I should like to descend to posterity.'

Lenbach's first portrait of Moltke was done in 1872, and exhibited in Vienna, and this was the means of beginning a friendship which grew closer as the years went on, especially after the artist's marriage with the Graf's niece, the lovely Countess Moltke.

Moltke's calm, self-contained nature made him an ideal sitter, the more so as, being a highly cultured man, who took an interest in art for its own sake, he gave the artist every assistance in his power; and thus it was that Lenbach acquired the perfect knowledge of Moltke's character and appearance which enabled him to make his portraits of this great soldier such veritable *chefs-d'œuvre*.

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Even in a crowd of distinguished-looking men Graf Moltke always arrested the attention, owing to his commanding figure and nobly formed head, and Lenbach has done him full justice in his portraits, which well bring out the almost classical regularity of features, the steely glint of the keen blue eyes, the firm, well-shaped mouth, and the strong impress of great intellectual gifts, which, in conjunction with his well-known taciturnity, gave rise to the epigram that Moltke could be eloquently silent in seven languages.

The pleasing effect of Moltke's features is somewhat lessened by the extraordinary inflexibility of will which characterises them, and when a further scrutiny reveals a total absence of passion, and even of human sympathy, one feels at once that he would be a far more ruthless enemy than Bismarck, who, even when wearing his most ferocious 'bulldog' sort of expression, was always at heart *un bon homme.*

A born soldier, Moltke—unlike Bismarck, who thoroughly appreciated the good things of this world—was severely simple in his tastes, looking upon all forms of self-indulgence with a Spartan-like scorn, and since he himself was ready to offer up all on the altar of duty, he was apt to expect and exact the same immolation of self from others.

Though born a Dane, Moltke's conception of duty was such that, once Wilhelm the First had his oath of allegiance, he would, had the interests of Prussia demanded it, assuredly have sacrificed Denmark with the same *sangfroid* as when, after the battle of Sadowa, he advocated the despoliation of Austria, or again, after the war of 1870, when he counselled the utter annihilation of France.

Even his devotion to his family and his great affection for his English wife must, one feels, have been largely due to a sense of dutifulness; for has not Moltke himself given proof of the fact that with him it was mind, and not heart, that predominated when, at an early period of his career, though acknowledging that he was in love with a fair Polish lady, he writes to his mother that he will crush it down, adding, with racial pride, that he would not of course think of presenting her with a Polish daughter-in-law?

Bismarck once said that Moltke was always ready and reliable because he was cool to the very core, and the estimate appears just.

Thus a comparison of these two heroes would suggest that Moltke possessed all the attributes necessary to make him most successful in laying the foundations of empire, whilst Bismarck was adapted beyond all other men for consolidating it when completed.

Moltke also put a stamp of approval on Lenbach's work; as well he might, for if these portraits show up the cold, abstract side of the Field-Marshal's character, they also reveal those admirable

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qualities which stamp Moltke as the embodiment of duty in its sublimest form.

A portrait of special interest is that in which Moltke allowed the artist to portray him without the wig which he had been obliged to wear from his youth, as here one is able to study the exact contour of the head of one who has been fitly called a compendium of military science.

All Lenbach's sitters, indeed, have good reason to be satisfied, for the artist, in addition to his talent for characterisation, possesses in an extraordinary degree the rare gift of intuition, which enables him to seize and reproduce in the countenance the moment in which the soul has reached its highest grade of expansion.

Therefore, since, besides its rulers and soldiers, Lenbach has also depicted almost all the people of note in the political, literary, artistic, and social circles of Germany, a complete collection of his works would be a most eloquent and convincing demonstration of the actuality of the renaissance which took place in his native country in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and it is with this period that Lenbach's name will always be associated, though the master to the last ranked among the workers and exercised a powerful influence in the art world of Munich.

Lenbach's art, which ignores detail and rarely finishes any part of the portrait except the head, has nothing in common with the early branch of portraiture started by Van Eyck and developed by Quintin Matsys, Hans Memling, and others, until it reached its zenith in the perfect finish and elaboration of detail to be found in works by Holbein the younger, who so powerfully influenced the British school of portraiture.

He belongs exclusively to the other branch, sometimes called 'psychological portraiture,' introduced by Leonardo da Vinci, who, not content with the simple reproduction of the outward semblance of his sitter, strove to depict his inner life, and also, for the first time, displayed a consciousness that the artist should be the master, not the slave, of Nature, and that it is for him to decide what shall be omitted and what brought into prominence.

This style was continued by Titian, Velasquez, Rembrandt, and Franz Hals, and though some of his admirers go rather far in asserting that in Lenbach it has reached its apogee, it is certainly true that his best work is equal to that of the old masters.

In the series of articles which his friend Wyl published in 1897, under the title *Franz von Lenbach's Erzählungen aus seinem Leben*, much interesting information is given regarding the master's ideas on art and artists.

Lenbach here relates that the sentiment of individuality, which has been his ruling principle in art, first came to him in 1852, as he was painting a portrait of his brother:

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I suddenly realised that an artist should concentrate his mind on the work in hand, as though nothing existed in the world except the one being before him, who is unique in the universe and will never come again.

Each model, therefore, is a distinct and complete incident for the artist, who should feel himself penetrated by the duty of creating out of the manifold and changeable nature before him something which will last for all time and make a distinctive impression on the beholder.

At another time, speaking of artists, Lenbach says:

Each man is a unit in himself. Each has something within him that no other has, each can do something that no other can, and, if he only treats his special talent as one would a precious pearl, he can stand bravely beside the greatest, even as a modest but pleasing flower by a splendid lily or centifolious rose.

Everyone should write over his door in golden letters: 'What canst thou do that no other can?'

Lenbach was born on the 13th of December, 1836, and probably owes a good deal of his individuality to the sturdy Tyrolean stock from which he sprang, as well as to the freedom from all restraint which he enjoyed in his youth.

His father, who was a Tyrolean mason, came in the course of his wanderings to Schrobenhausen, a village, situated between Ingolstadt and Augsburg, which Lenbach declares to be about the size of the Glass Palace in Munich!

In Schrobenhausen the elder Lenbach settled, married twice, and had altogether sixteen children; so that, as the gains of even a successful mason were then extremely small, it will readily be understood that he had little time or money to spend on the bringing up of his numerous offspring. Lenbach tells us that, as the hardworking mason required the house quiet for himself and his apprentices, the children only dared to put in an appearance once during the day, namely, at three in the afternoon, when they fetched themselves the traditional German *Butterbrod*; for the rest of the time he and his brothers led what he describes as a *Räuberleben*.

Lenbach was destined to follow his father's calling, and for this reason was sent at the age of eleven to the industrial school at Landshut, where his sense of colour was first awakened as, during the services held in the beautiful Gothic church there, he observed the wonderful colour effects produced by the sunlight coming through the stained-glass windows.

How the first 'genuine Lenbach' was produced is told in the following amusing, if somewhat irreverent, anecdote:

I once [relates Lenbach] played a diabolical trick on our religious instructor, for, previously to the class, I had cut out of soft cloth the form of a donkey, rubbed chalk well into this; then, when the unsuspicious 'man of God' turned his back to the bench in which I sat, I pressed the donkey three times against his black soutane, the impression coming off most successfully. Thus adorned the pious man returned home through the town, presenting a spectacle which

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did not fail to arouse the hilarity of the street urchins, though it was not until Don Abbendio arrived at his house that his housekeeper discovered the trick.

That the possessor of the first three 'genuine Lenbachs' utterly failed to appreciate his good fortune can be understood!

Lenbach led the practical life of a mason until the death of his father, in 1852, left him free to follow his own devices, when, already conscious that he possessed artistic talents, he at once joined the Polytechnic School at Augsburg, where he was far from pleased with the instruction, given in the French theoretical style, and conceived a violent antipathy against all academic training; which his after-experiences would appear to have confirmed, for he spoke strongly on the subject at the Congress held in Munich in 1893.

At Augsburg he, however, learnt much from copying the old masters in the Museum, and when he returned to Schrobenhausen his two distinctive tendencies were well developed—he was already a psychologist and a colourist, as is indicated by his preference for the works of Rembrandt and Rubens.

For some time after his return to Schrobenhausen Lenbach painted enthusiastically from Nature; then, in order to qualify himself for portraiture, he entered the Court-portraitist Gräfle's studio in Munich; but though he admits that he here acquired some useful technique, the insipid flattery which characterised this master's works was eminently distasteful to him. This Gräfle was a pupil of Winterhalter, whose portrait of the late Queen Victoria in Buckingham Palace inspired the French artist, M. Bonnat, recently with such enthusiasm that he expressed his conviction that the works of Winterhalter must soon come into favour again.

Lenbach next studied under Piloty in Munich; and here he was more fortunate, for, though this master was not himself a great artist, he was extremely successful in developing talent in others, and many now celebrated German painters passed through his school.

While in Piloty's studio Lenbach painted his first picture; and it is characteristic of the success which attended him through life that this was not alone accepted and hung at the Munich Exhibition of 1857, but also found an immediate purchaser, who gave 450 *gulden* for it.

As in addition Lenbach received a State scholarship of 500 *gulden*, he was able to attain a long-cherished ideal, and set out for Italy in company with Piloty, who was then making studies for his large picture of Nero at the burning of Rome.

Speaking of the beneficial influence which the study of the works of the old masters had in developing his talent, Lenbach says, in his customary apt manner: 'Man is also an inflammable substance,

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and must be kindled into fire either by other human beings or by works of art.'

Lenbach, who was already an enthusiast, with 'Nature' inscribed in large letters on his standard, revelled in the brilliant atmosphere of Italy, and fell into what he calls a *Sonnenfanatismus* of which he afterwards realised the danger when he observed how some of the *pleinairistes* appeared to have lost all sense of dimension.

1860 was a decisive year in Lenbach's development, for he then, on Piloty's recommendation, was appointed professor at the art school which the Grand Duke of Saxony was founding in Weimar, under the direction of the landscape painter, Graf von Kalckreuth.

This enterprise, which was started in the laudable intention of forming a lasting memorial to Goethe's and Schiller's association with Weimar, did not afterwards prove the brilliant success that was expected; but it was the means of furnishing Lenbach with a friend, who was assuredly one of those whose personality and works are potent factors in kindling in other men's souls the fire divine—Arnold Boecklin, the lately deceased Swiss-German painter, whose tragic life of struggle, clouded by family misfortune, forms such a striking contrast to Lenbach's own career, which was practically one long success, and affords a gratifying proof that an artist of genius may sometimes succeed in overthrowing the false idols of the populace and establishing a true ideal in their stead while he himself is still in the heyday of his youth and talent.

Lenbach has been especially fortunate in the close and lasting friendships he early formed with men of kindred spirit.

Thus, besides Boecklin, Lenbach found that Reinhold Begas had also been appointed to the Art School of Weimar, and the three friends, all still unknown to fame, used to sit whole nights through disputing over art and things artistic.

Portraiture especially engaged their attention, for, curious to relate, both Boecklin and Begas imagined at this time that they were adapted for this branch of art; though the first was to develop into the greatest symbolic landscapist of the age, and the second was to become the great sculptor and *protégé* of Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, whose somewhat exclusive patronage of Begas caused the following witticism to appear recently in a German art journal: 'We Germans have but one God, one Kaiser, and one artist—Reinhold Begas!'

Lenbach admits having learned much from Boecklin, especially of the wonderful effects which can be produced by contrasting colours; but they held totally opposite views regarding portraiture, for Boecklin maintained that this should also be symbolical, and that, for instance, if one were painting the portrait of a young girl, everything should be in keeping, and even her garments should be in the colours of spring; while Lenbach thought that the more one used

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the universal symbols of youth the more the individual character of the portrait is lessened.

In the conversations with Wyl, before mentioned, Lenbach relates that when he felt himself becoming unduly influenced by Boecklin he took refuge in Rubens, who, although possessed of even more fantasy than Boecklin, laid all his magic aside when painting a portrait, and absorbed himself completely in the individual, employing only the very simplest methods. As an example of portraiture Lenbach cites the portrait of a young nobleman in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna, and calls this one of Rubens's occasional poems, in contrast to the fantastic orgies of his large works.

In the simplicity of his wants and independence of character Lenbach, in his youth, was a true child of Nature. Thus, though Schrobenhausen is nine German miles from Munich, he thought nothing of doing the double journey on foot, and would by preference start in the early morning and go barefooted through the dewy grass.

Also, having accustomed himself to a diet of bread and milk—by which he once cured himself of a fever—he tells how, on his first journey to Italy, he found it dreadful to have to eat meat and drink wine at the inns *en route*.

That he afterwards was successful in overcoming this aversion to wine an incident out of this Weimar period would seem to prove, for he relates that, in one of their rambles together, he and Boecklin having discovered an inn possessing some seventy bottles of excellent French wine, rare in those parts, exhausted the same in a couple of days.

Lenbach's friendship with Boecklin and Begas has a lasting memorial in the splendid portraits he has done of both.

That of Begas, done in 1893, depicts the reposeful dignity of one whose success is assured and who is, perhaps, just a little conscious of the fact that his classically formed head and majestic presence make him the most striking figure in modern Berlin.

The way in which matters developed at Weimar did not please the three friends, none of whom remained more than a few years.

Lenbach returned to Munich in 1863, and was fortunate enough to come under the notice of that invaluable art-patron, the late Count Schack, who just then was starting the collection of pictures which is now one of the treasures of Munich.

Here, for the second time, Rubens was of assistance to his devoted admirer, for Count Schack, who wanted some of his favourite old masters in the museums of Italy copied for his new collection, happened to pass through the Pinakothek, in Munich, just as Lenbach was putting the finishing touches to a copy of Rubens's portrait of his second wife, Helena Fourment, and the first glance told the Count that he had found the artist he wanted.

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'One could here'—Count Schack relates in his account of how he formed his collection—'scarcely speak of a copy; rather was it a facsimile of the original.'

That this description of Lenbach's skill as copyist was no empty praise all will agree who, visiting the Schack Gallery, have stood astounded at being suddenly confronted by the apparent originals of Titian's 'Cavalier with a Glove' and Giorgione's 'Concert.'

Lenbach and the Count soon found that they were in sympathy in matters of art, and the former gladly undertook the commission, and set off for Italy to make the necessary copies; there he conceived a great admiration for Titian, in whom Rubens also saw the Alpha and Omega of painting.

The heavenly calm of Titian [he says] is truly refreshing after the confusion and wild desires of the world, and before his pictures one feels oneself lifted up into the paradise of this incomparable artist.

For Michael Angelo, on the contrary, though admitting his greatness, he confesses to have had little sympathy. This master he considers as the exact antipode of the Greeks, whose works express beauty, imposing dignity, and, above all, calm.

Take, for instance [he says], the sepulchral monuments in the Medici Chapel in Florence. What a strange idea to choose such a place for a display of anatomical knowledge, and to put, in strained and uneasy attitudes, gigantic figures which, though very wonderful in themselves, here hinder instead of furthering the sentiment which it should have been the object of art to produce!

The 'Last Judgment' in the Sistine Chapel he describes as 'a chaos of distorted and crazy figures.'

Having completed all the copies desired by Count Schack, Lenbach returned to Munich, but in the summer of the next year (1867) he was sent by his patron to do further commissions in Madrid.

In 1868 Count Schack joined Lenbach in Madrid, and took him, as well as another artist, Ernst von Liphart, for a long tour through Spain, which afterwards extended itself to the African coast.

When Lenbach returned to Munich after this trip he had what the Germans call his *Lehr- und Wanderjahre* behind him, and from this really dates his career as an artist.

The critic Pecht, long an admirer of Lenbach's art, about this time made his personal acquaintance, and has left a vivid description of the appearance Lenbach then presented:

His manners were far from cordial, and from behind a pair of enormous spectacles came a piercing, flashing, and yet reflective gaze. . . . His figure was slim and elastic. His nature presented a curious mixture of simplicity and diffidence, mingled with a proud self-consciousness and reserve. All this, combined with his careless and disdainful way of speaking, produced an immediate impression. One saw that he found pleasure either in himself or in the

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present; that his was the absolute discontent of an ideal nature, which demanded the very highest from himself and the world; that though poor as a church mouse, he would with equal indifference have received or renounced the gift of a kingdom.

Yet others as well as myself felt the fascinating influence of this decided personality, who possessed natural refinement and unusual self-command, which left him always cool and indifferent, and yet beneath whose outward calm one felt there was an inward glow.

Thus Paul Heyse, the highly cultured and accomplished salon cavalier, conceived at once the warmest sympathy for this remarkable 'Altbayer,' and ever proved himself a true and unselfish friend.

Of the poet Heyse a marvellous portrait by Lenbach hangs in the modern picture-gallery in Dresden; as befits the genial nature of this gifted favourite of the Muses, the picture sparkles with light and laughter, and might stand as the embodiment of 'the joy of life.'

As a striking pendant to the above portrait ought to be placed that of the pessimistic philosopher, Hermann Lingg, whose features bear the mark of bitter disappointment, and who seems to dwell in an atmosphere of gloom.

Up to this time the French school of portraiture had reigned supreme in Munich, its chief exponent being Josef Stieler, a pupil of Gérard, who had accustomed the public to consider his style of vapid sentimentality and shallow colouring an ideal of elegance and gentility.

As was therefore to be expected, there was a terrible outcry over the audacity of this young artist, who, in endeavouring to bring out the character of his sitter, showed a sovereign disregard of all conventional rules, and ruthlessly sacrificed not alone the most dazzling uniforms and costly feminine attire, but also hands and arms, and even entire bodies.

All detail is generally painted in carelessly, and so vaguely as to be almost irrecognisable; for to Lenbach nothing is of importance save the head, and on this he concentrates all his attention, striving with almost passionate intensity to wrestle out the problem of the individuality before him. When this has been solved his interest ceases.

The fulness of light is always reserved for the countenance; the high lights for the eyes, which Lenbach has extraordinary skill in reproducing, and in which he generally places the clue by which we can read the character of the person represented.

It *is* curious, however, that Lenbach should display such a complete disregard for the hand, which can be such an aid in giving individuality to a portrait.

The master himself never seems to have made any announcement on this point, and critics have not yet hit on a satisfactory explana-

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tion; for, as Herr Rosenberg points out, though Lenbach may not have been especially drawn to those old masters who attached most importance to the hands in portraiture, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Dürer, and Holbein, even with the masters who had been his guiding stars—Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Velasquez—the hands played a by no means unimportant *rôle*. This writer suggests that Lenbach rejected the help of the hands because he considered that the intellectual life should be so exhaustively expressed in the countenance as to render further comment superfluous.

The richness and depth of Lenbach's colouring also caused great astonishment, and Stieler's admirers described his portraits as 'painted with mud and shaded with ink'; while others, it is amusing to read, threw at him *the reproach* 'that his pictures might have been done by the old masters.'

In connection with this later criticism, Count Schack aptly remarks that a playwright of the present day would scarcely feel dissatisfied if told that his play might have been by Shakespeare.

One of the most sympathetic and just critiques of Lenbach was that given, in the Vienna *Kunstchronik* in 1875, by Baldwin Groller:

> Lenbach [he wrote] could not be said to be a mere copier of the old masters, still less an eclectic; he sees with his own eyes, only he learnt the art of seeing from the old masters.
>
> As he once copied the pictures of Giorgione, Titian, or Velasquez, so he now copies the individual whom he has to paint; as he then was not content with imitating the mere workmanship, and also painted in the soul of the picture, so he now portrays not only the outward form, but also the mind that inhabits it.

Lenbach, as a resident in Munich, naturally portrayed most members of the Royal House of Bavaria, from Ludwig the First to the present Regent; and in considering the historic importance of Lenbach's work a special place must be given to the portrait of Ludwig the Second, which he did for the 'Rathaus' in Munich, for had this King's patriotism been of a less exalted nature there might have been no German Empire, or at least only a very imperfect and inefficient one.

In his dreams of a great Germanic Empire, Ludwig of Bavaria might not have unreasonably expected that he himself would play the principal *rôle*, for the Wittelsbracht is perhaps the most ancient princely house in Europe, and he numbered three Germanic emperors among his ancestors.

When, therefore, relinquishing even his final rather impracticable suggestion that a Hohenzollern and a Wittelsbracht should reign alternately, Ludwig, on the 4th of December, 1870, offered the imperial crown to the King of Prussia, it was really an heroic act of renunciation, and it is one of the curious little ironies of fate that in Germany

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to-day one hears far more of the keen regret which Wilhelm the First felt at the semi-eclipse suffered by Prussia when he exchanged his old title for that of Emperor of Germany!

How different were the after-lives of these two monarchs! Kaiser Wilhelm, exemplifying the truth of the old adage that 'nothing succeeds like success,' advanced daily in popularity and died the idol of the nation.

Ludwig the Second, disappointed in his hopes of political influence and baffled by the ill-timed parsimoniousness of an obstinate municipality when, seeking consolation in art, he would, with the help of the architect, Gottfried Semper, have made Munich the most beautiful of modern cities, withdrew from the world in displeasure, and brooded in silence over the consciousness that his was 'une vie manquée,' until his vagaries grew such as to earn him the title of 'the mad King of Bavaria,' and he at last sought rest in the waters of the lonely Starnberger See.

There are people, however, who still maintain that this unfortunate Ludwig only suffered from what in modern Germany is called the malady of 'Grössenwahn'—an overweening ambition and love of power, which is called *genius*, or *madness*, according as the patient is lucky enough to be in a sphere where he can find an outlet for his colossal theories, or unlucky enough to be obliged to keep them compressed within his brain.

Prince Bismarck, who had important political correspondence with King Ludwig till the last years of his life, said after the tragedy: 'I could by no means think him wanting in intellect from the correspondence which he carried on with me. I first heard of that through the papers.'

At a very early period Ludwig the Second was attracted by Wagner's music, which he probably foresaw would prove a powerful prop to the Empire, by uniting the different peoples in a sympathy and admiration for the heroic Teutonic Sagas which are their common heritage. So, even at the cost of rendering himself unpopular to his subjects, he furthered Wagnerian opera in and out of season, and the establishment of a Temple of German Music in Bayreuth was one of the very few projects he brought to realisation.

It was in 1868, when the opera of the *Meistersänger* was first performed in Munich, that Lenbach met Wagner, and the two, probably mutually attracted by the other's intense individuality and independence of character, at once became close friends; for, in spite of his eccentricities and irritable temper, Wagner had the gift of inspiring in his intimates an affection and enthusiasm that almost amounted to fanaticism.

Those were days, however, when followers of the Wagnerian

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'culte' were few and far between; therefore the thoroughness with which Lenbach advocated the cause gained him the gratitude of all admirers of the master, and made him always a welcome guest in the Wagnerian circles which were afterwards formed throughout Germany.

He thus obtained the *entrée* to the *salon* of the Countess von Schleinitz—afterwards the wife of the Austrian diplomat, Graf von Wolkenstein—where, on his occasional visits to Berlin, he made many interesting friends, intercourse with whom was a valuable intellectual stimulus, and who, besides, brought him both fame and work, as it became a sort of unwritten law that all true Wagnerians should follow the master's example and get their portraits done by Lenbach.

Another *salon*, though this was not Wagnerian, which was influential in getting Lenbach international renown, was that of Frau von Werthheimstein, in Vienna, where the artist spent part of the winters of 1871 and 1872.

Frau von Werthheimstein is described by Lenbach as exceptionally attractive and intelligent, and her rooms were a rendezvous not only for the aristocracy, but also for all the statesmen, artists, and 'literati' of the Austrian capital.

Commissions flowed in to Lenbach, and in less than a year he was able to exhibit fifteen portraits at the International Exhibition in Vienna, among his most successful society portraits being those of Graf and Gräfin Andrassy, Graf Wilezek, Princess Obrenowitch, Countess Clan-Galles, and others.

Lenbach had his studio in the same house with Hans Makart, the gifted but eccentric painter, who at this period exercised a truly tyrannical sway over the fashionable world of Vienna, and afterwards, with Makart, took a journey through Egypt, where both revelled in the ecstasy of light which D'Annunzio so marvellously describes in *La Gioconda*.

In 1882 Lenbach paid his third visit to Italy, and was so attracted by the cosmopolitan society which gathers every winter in the Eternal City that he got into the habit of returning thither every year, and his rooms in the Palazzo Borghese became one of the most brilliant social centres in Rome.

From about this time feminine portraits assumed a more important place in his work, and, as one of his critics has observed, he developed a special talent for reproducing the brilliancy and charm of the international type of woman, who is equally at home in London, Paris, Rome, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and is well described as possessing beauty similar to the women of Renaissance days, but whose soul is modern.

Probably attracted to the study by the weird beauty of his own

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little daughter, Marion, Lenbach has also found a pleasure in unravelling the intricacies of childish souls.

Among his important Italian portraits may be mentioned those of Queen Margherita, whose intellectual beauty strongly appealed to the artist, of Eleonora Duse and Marcella Lembrich.

Both in 1884 and 1885 Lenbach obtained access to the Vatican for the purpose of painting the lately deceased Pontiff, the venerable Leo the Thirteenth, whose remarkable moral and intellectual qualities gained him the esteem and admiration of the whole world.

At this time much interest was felt in the conclusion of the celebrated 'Kulturkampf,' which had raged so long between Bismarck and the Vatican, and a Viennese critic, who suggested that Lenbach's portraits of Pope Leo and Prince Bismarck ought to hang side by side as historical pendants, thus contrasted these:

> On one side the powerful frame of the Iron Chancellor, who ruled the destiny of Europe; on the other the frail, emaciated form of an old man who seemed to have the very slightest hold on life, and yet who came out of the contest victor.
>
> In contrast with temporal power, we see here in the Pope the representative of a spiritual force resting on the tradition of nearly two thousand years, and, the frailer the outward tabernacle appears, the greater is the reverence felt for the mysterious authority within.

In connection with the 'Kulturkampf' must be mentioned the portraits Lenbach did of Ignaz Döllinger, the somewhat fanatical leader of the Old Catholic movement in Germany; one of these, a curious double portrait representing Döllinger in company with the late Mr. Gladstone, commemorates the bond of sympathy which existed between these two men owing to their mutual aversion to the dogma of Papal infallibility.

Lenbach painted many portraits of Mr. Gladstone, whose complex character, Herr Rosenberg asserts, much interested the artist, who regarded him not alone as a celebrated statesman, but also as an interesting psychological problem, 'for, if Radical to fanaticism in his politics, in his intellectual work Gladstone was a conservative-romanticist, as is shown by his defence of the authenticity of the Homeric poems.'

The portraits of Mr. Gladstone cannot be counted among the master's most successful work, owing to a slight tendency to caricature, and one is inclined to suspect that, consciously or unconsciously, Lenbach had been influenced by his hero Bismarck's noted aversion to the Grand Old Man.

Far more sympathetic is his treatment of another great idealist, the Italian statesman, Marco Minghetti, who did so much to procure for Italy the place she now holds in European politics.

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In spite, however, of the attractiveness of Italian life, Lenbach became convinced that the cosmopolitan spirit so prevalent nowadays is a serious danger to art and the cause of much of the modern artist's shallowness, and that, to have the sense of security necessary for the production of immortal work, a man must feel his native soil under his feet; and he therefore returned and settled in Munich, where, with the assistance of the gifted architect, Gabriel Leidl, he had a villa built in the style of the Italian Renaissance period, when the arts of architecture and gardening were at their height.

In this villa, which is justly considered one of the artistic gems of Munich, we find Lenbach's intense feeling of individuality strongly displayed, for each room differs in size, shape, and even height, from the others.

Twenty years before, when visiting for the first time the old Roman palaces, Lenbach was much impressed with the error of the modern conception, which is to isolate the different branches of art, instead of uniting all into an harmonious whole; and he then also realised that, though a poor picture may be outshone, one of real worth will only assert its value more clearly when placed in competition with the most splendid brocades and bronzes.

The truth of this theory is apparent to all who ever visited Lenbach's home, where, from a room decorated with early German and Italian pictures, we passed into a sort of fountain-grotto with mosaics from the master's own designs, where the ornamented stone seats are covered with soft-toned costly stuffs, and the only note of colour is the brilliant plumage of birds; then comes the most splendid apartment, containing Titian's portraits of Francis the First of France and Philip the Second of Spain, as well as precious Gobelins and antique busts; and, lastly, the *atelier*, where all is in accordance with Lenbach's theory that art should be entwined with everyday life, and not a thing apart; and ample evidence of his extensive *clientèle* is furnished by the work on the walls, which includes portraits of emperors, kings, princes, statesmen, field-marshals, scholars, and poets, as well as thoughtful and attractive feminine studies. Prince Bismarck, who was Lenbach's guest here in 1892, is naturally strongly *en évidence*.

In arranging his rooms Lenbach adopted the same principle as in painting his portraits, giving everything its proper value, and displaying his artistic skill in selecting what ought to be brought out into prominence and what shaded off into clare-obscure; as is to be expected, pictures are here the high lights, and their perfections are heightened by a tasteful arrangement of other art treasures.

From the time that he settled in Munich, Lenbach entered keenly into all matters connected with art, and has been untiring in

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his endeavours to reform both the educational methods of modern academies and the arrangements of what he terms the 'annual art fairs' now held in all great cities. He describes as insane the idea of expecting a person to examine two thousand pictures at once, and says that it is practically the same as to be asked to listen to two thousand musical instruments playing different tunes, the half of which ring false.

Therefore, in addition to the object-lesson provided by his own house, he further developed his theory at different exhibitions where the necessary space was allotted him; notably at the International Art Exhibition, held in the Munich Glaspalast in 1897, where a whole suite of rooms were arranged in accordance with an elaborate scheme of his own, by which every modern work got the special setting it required, owing to the introduction of pictures by the old masters as well as plastic works of the Renaissance and earlier periods, which, together with marbles, furniture, rich carpets, and hangings, combined to produce a splendid harmony of colour.

At a congress held in Munich, in 1893, for the furtherance of better methods of painting, Lenbach, who was elected president, made an important speech on the causes of the decadence in modern art.

He strongly condemned the academical teaching, which led simply to an over-production of pictures which could not give pleasure, and which assuredly no one would ever want to buy, so that modern exhibitions presented the appearance of asylums for the housing of what would otherwise be homeless pictures.

This will only be checked, he maintained, when the present academic division between theory and practice ceases, and the student is stimulated from the beginning to create something which will fulfil a real practical end, even though it be only in some minor branch of art.

Lenbach further warmly protested against the great distinction usually made between decorative and what is called 'high art,' since whatever is perfect in its way must surely always be high art, whether it is a beautiful piece of furniture or a picture by Raphael. All the great artists were conscious of this fact, he pointed out, and most of the old masters began at some trade; many sculptors were goldsmiths and many painters mechanics.

He illustrated the necessity of attending to this point by quoting the fact that, though there are over two thousand artists of varying merit in Munich, the theatrical managers had been obliged to send to Vienna and Coburg for the decorations for the Wagnerian representations.

In this discourse Lenbach also advocated a greater attention to technique, and deplored the pretension of modern days, when there were no apprentices, and all wished to be masters.

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Some of Lenbach's portraits were seen at the International Art Exhibition held in Earl's Court some years ago, but on the whole the London public have had little opportunity of getting acquainted with his work; which is the more to be regretted as the English school of portraiture sadly needs the infusion of those qualities which so distinguish this Munich master.

ANITA MACMAHON.

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HOW THEY TRAIN ACTORS IN PARIS

SOME of us are making a desperate effort to wring from Government a subsidy for a national theatre. Are we going to win this time? I know not; but in any event the State-aided theatre will be nothing without the State-aided school of acting. And for this 'the profession' will have to make greater sacrifices than the Government—in time, money, and devotion to the cause of art. They must be prepared to teach for nothing, and to take the despised amateur by the hand and make a man of him. With becoming respect for Mr. Tree, as for other distinguished actors, I doubt whether the best of one-man schools on the ordinary commercial basis is what we need.

What we do need in the arts is the enthusiasm which sends the best men in medicine into the hospitals, often to the neglect of a profitable practice. We have it to some extent at the Royal Academy, but only to an extent. Except in the cause of charity, we are without it altogether in the art of the actor. The French are blessed with it all round, and that is why their acting and their painting are on the highest level. The greatest painters not only take their turn of teaching at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; they work in noble emulation, on a system that assigns to each artist his particular *atelier* of pupils, and makes him covet the glory of bringing out the Prix de Rome of the year. Gérôme, who died the other day an octogenarian, used often to ride into Paris in the very early morning from his villa in the suburbs to coach raw lads at their work. He had some small allowance, which might conceivably have paid his cab-fares had he come on wheels. Such devotion, in its full and perfect flower, is still wanting at the Royal Academy. The Academicians, no doubt, take their turn of gratuitous teaching, but many of them regard it as an unmitigated bore. They are busy and preoccupied. Their early morning is for the worm, in the shape of the millionaire, who must take his sitting between his gallop and his board meeting, or not at all. They feel scant interest in beginners, who are mere fellow-creatures in the abstract, with no recommendation in the fees from private teaching, or in the tie of blood. Gérôme was found dead in bed one morning in his Paris studio. In that very bed on another morning years ago I found him willing to

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listen while I pleaded the cause of a youngster from England, eager for admission to the Beaux-Arts, but without a word of French to his name. He had nothing to recommend him but his love of art and a bundle of drawings. But, happily, the drawings were in the universal language; and, looking at them, Gérôme nodded assent. Think of the temerity of such an intrusion on a British R.A.! That spirit, and that alone, will give us a national theatre. The masterpieces of the drama will be nothing without a rank and file that know how to interpret them. This presupposes the school of acting, and the school that is free to all. No sum of money likely to be at the command of poor students could pay for the teaching at the Conservatoire.

The greatest actors in France volunteer for this service. I have seen Got at the height of his fame, with his decoration in his buttonhole, taking his early morning class of declamation at the Conservatoire. I wrote of it at the time, and I am beholden now to what I said then when the impression was fresh. The Conservatoire is both a high school and a university of the scenic arts. You learn to sing there, or you learn to act, if you have the vocation, by a long course of laborious study under the best professors in the world, who give their services to the State for next to nothing. The schooling is regular and methodical, and great stress is laid on declamation, on the art of doing perfect justice to French verse, which, without such justice, is perilously apt to lapse into hybrid prose. The masterpieces of dramatic literature are rehearsed over and over again, with due attention to gesture and expression; and a kind of tradition of the way of rendering them is carried down from one school of actors to another. Got received his first reading of a classic part from an earlier master, who, in his turn, had it in a direct line from the original creator, himself a player. There is something to be said against the system, of course, as well as something for it, but fortunately French histrionic art is never likely to want initiative and originality. The respect for tradition acts only as a useful brake on the wheel.

The teaching process, strictly speaking, is never at an end; it goes on at the stage rehearsals, long after the pupil at the Conservatoire has become the actor in vogue. A French rehearsal is a very serious thing, and there is no mumbling through a part. I remember a now almost historic rehearsal at the Français, before the secessions, when the company was at its full strength. I found them on the stage, sheltered in small tents from the cutting draughts of the wings. The piece in preparation was *Ruy Blas*, revived with much splendour under the Republic, with Sarah Bernhardt as Queen and Mounet-Sully in the title-part. Got as *semainier*, or superintendent of the week, conducted the rehearsal.

Mounet-Sully's besetting sin is vehemence; and it found him

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out in his delivery of the grand tirade against ministerial jobbery, in the Council scene. His invocation of the spirit of Charles the Fifth soon showed a tendency to degenerate into a roar.

Got stopped him at once. 'I should certainly say that in a different style; it is too solemn to be rendered in that way.'

'I am quite of your opinion,' said a grey-haired man who had just joined him from the wing—M. Perrin, the administrator of the company.

It was a timely reinforcement. The two together were hardly an overmatch for their impetuous comrade, strong in his conviction that it is a far cry to Hades. The rehearsal was suspended for a quarter of an hour while they fought it out. There was a whole world of critical acumen—I will not say wasted on it (more especially as I mean just the opposite thing)—on either side.

'It is a call to wake the Emperor from his death-sleep,' said Mounet-Sully; 'it must be loud.'

'It is a reverent appeal,' said Got.

'Almost as impressive as an act of religion,' said Perrin.

'I assure you I cannot see it in that light,' returned Mounet-Sully. 'For me, it is a passionate cry to the shade of the Emperor.'

'But you don't expect to wake the man up—*voyons!*' said Got.

'Well, try it again,' said Perrin.

Next it was the turn of the queen, who had to step forth from behind the arras and announce herself to her adorer. The superb Sarah accordingly quitted her tent to place herself in very visible hiding. Then, in the well-known voice, we had: 'O merci!'

Ruy Blas. 'Ciel!' (It is a start of surprise, and, as we may imagine, he is perfect here.)

La Reine. 'Vous avez bien fait de leur parler ainsi. "Je n'y puis résister, duc; il faut que je serre Cette loyale main si ferme et si sincère!"' She darts out her hand, extending the arm at full length—a gesture peculiar to her in private life as on the stage. She always shakes hands in that way.

Got. 'I don't like that. You only give him your hand; you ought to take his.'

Sarah Bernhardt. 'I think my way is better; there is more *netteté* in the action.'

She probably means that it is more statuesque, as it certainly is, but is perhaps unwilling to use an illustration from her favourite art. Her acting has always shown a keen sense of the beauty of pose. She gets the full plastic as well as histrionic value of a situation.

Perrin. 'What does your text say? Look at the stage direction. (*Reads.*) "She advances rapidly and takes his hand before he can prevent her."'

Sarah Bernhardt (*laughing*). 'Very well, then; give me your hand.' (Mounet-Sully lets her take it.)

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By-and-by enter Febvre, as Salluste, to surprise Ruy Blas—'Bonjour!' tapping him on the shoulder.

Ruy Blas. 'Good heavens! I am lost! The Marquis!'

The discussion of this single entry occupied them the better part of an hour. Febvre, Mounet-Sully, Sarah Bernhardt, Perrin, Got—all took part in it, and with the liveliest interest, often all talking together. The first entry was from the centre—Ruy Blas standing in soliloquy conveniently near, his master tapping him on the shoulder, then crossing to the council table, throwing down his cloak, and taking a seat to meet his astonished stare. 'Would it be better to do that,' asked Febvre, 'or to take one's seat first, without touching him at all, and then confront him with the "Bonjour"—making that the "tap," so to speak?' He tried it, and they were unanimously of opinion that it would not do. 'How would it be to throw the cloak to him to hold?' suggested Sarah. 'No,' said Perrin, 'you discount your effect of the handkerchief later on, which is a much better one.' 'Would you have him at the centre of the stage or near the wing?' That was the fourth proposition. I really forget the rest.

And all that I saw that day was less than a thirtieth part of the declamatory preparation for one piece. Yet we wonder by what magic, by what happy gift of Nature precluding the necessity of labour, the French have become the first actors in the world!

At another time I saw Got take his class at the Conservatoire. It was mainly a lesson of declamation. The students came forward one by one, and delivered a passage from some classic, ancient or modern, grave or gay. The great actor was there to see that nothing was wanting to their perfect equipment for the work. It was not enough to take it trippingly on the tongue—that was a matter of course. The elisions had to be right, the cadences, the inflections, with every other point incidental to the colossal difficulty of the Alexandrine. There were refinements of sound which no foreign ear could hope to catch; but the old man stood listening for them, like a Chinese virtuoso following the flight of a sky-note on the single string. He stopped the lesson again and again, to enforce a point in gesture or attitude—all to the end of putting away everything that was not Nature in its conceivable highest, as distinct from habit in its incrustations of bad taste. He was, in fact, training his students in the process of looking within for the truer, and therefore the better, self. The self-consciousness of the French artist has made him the most supremely natural craftsman in the world. It was a great saying of Flaubert to Maupassant: 'Cultivate your originality.'

It was especially a lesson in elocution—our lost art. The time has passed when every sound in the English language had its law, with old Walker for its lawgiver. If we bow to any authority now, it is only to the tea-tables of Mayfair. When that region determined

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to treat its final 'g's' as a waste product, we joined in the 'singin'' of their death song. Yet it is hardly enough authority for a rule of life. One of the last of Walker's disciples was Mr. Phelps. To hear him declaim the recitative of Athalie in its English dress was to feel proud of our tongue. Mrs. Dallas, better known as Miss Glyn, was another. There is a story of her taking a class of ladies in the recitation of *The Raven*.

'"Prophet," said I, "thing of e-vil,"' began one mincing miss of the band.

'Thing of what?' was the majestic query, in the deep chest-note of the old school.

'E-vil.'

'I know as little of the word, young lady, as I am sure you know of the thing. "E-v'l," if you please. Go on.'

'"Prophet still, if bird or dev-il."'

'Oh, please, don't call him out of his name: "dev'l's" the only thing he has right about him, from all I hear.'

That was the old school—the grammar of speech, the grammar of gesture, the grammar of action and of all the arts proper to the great and difficult business of exhibiting yourself to your fellow-creatures at a height that makes you visible from top to toe. The genius of interpretation was the only thing that came by the light of Nature. You learned to move so as not to fall over your own feet, to speak without choking with your own words, to produce yourself in every mood and every condition of human personality—from the heroic ages to the empty day. It was an art that gave us the greatest lights of our stage; for even those who thought they ignored it, lived on a tradition that had all the essential of a method. The tradition has gone, with the system of apprenticeship in the other crafts. We want a school to take its place. To the Conservatoire we owe the Théâtre-Français of our day, with the pit as censor in the interests of the art, ready to shudder through all its ranks at an accent out of place or a gesture that exceeds the modesty of Nature—to moan at any attempt to force the note.

With the ministrant parts of the stage thus provided for, the subventioned house, as a theatre of application, would take its natural place. The clergy would then want no excuse for going to the play, for the elocutionary part of the entertainment might be regarded as part of their ordination course. What sweeter and more comely service than to render unto our Maker one of the things that are His, in bringing into His house a technical purity in the use of His most precious gift? And lay and cleric alike would find their account in a repertory that supplied the masterpieces of our dramatic literature in a procession as majestic as that of the kings in *Macbeth*, with a place in it for our latest births of time in the drama of the day. A theatre so organised might be the

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great humanising influence of an age that has witnessed the wreck of so many other forms of appeal. The pulpit and the lecture platform have lost their hold in France, but the stage survives as a school of manners, and, allowing for the difference in the point of view, a school of morals as well. There is nothing more edifying than the Français or the Odéon on a great night, with the lion of democracy and the lamb of every reaction in Church and State, the workman from the faubourgs and the dandy from the boulevard, side by side in the peaceful and exquisite enjoyment of what they have all agreed to regard as a good thing and one of the glories of their land.

The subventioned theatre would have another use as a great house of experiment where all the newest ideas might have their chance. Such a house has been provided in Paris by municipal liberality, and it serves as a sort of endowment of research in new forms of dramatic art. Our stage might then recover its simplicity of decoration, by the perfectly natural process of putting finer things in the place of the scenery. Great passions will ever carry it over great upholstery, if you give them their chance. To this day the only setting of the chief scene of the *Malade Imaginaire*, at the Français, is an armchair. It is carried on by a couple of lackeys, as though it had just been removed from a furniture van, and is planted right in the middle of the stage.

That chair is the very one in which Molière, playing the part of Argan in his own piece, suffered the first shock of the illness that carried him off. It is but one of the treasures of a house that is a perfect museum not only of historic properties, but of the whole art of the stage. In the green-room (as M. Delorme, its historian, has told us), in the committee-room, in the office of the administrator, in the archives, in every part of the theatre to which the public has no access, there is a prodigious mass of full-length portraits, of medallions, of genre pictures, of engravings, drawings, marbles, bronzes, of statuettes. These, with the works exhibited in the public rooms, form a unique collection, whereof every piece belongs in some sort to the history of the house of Molière. The museum of accessories is as rich in its way as the museum of painting and statuary. Here we may find the mandoline used in the *Barber of Seville*—an instrument of rare beauty of form, purity of tone, and antiquity of make. Here, too, is the original guitar of the *Marriage of Figaro*. When the piece came out in 1784, the management thought it was so sure to fail that it was not worth while to buy a guitar for the hero. An instrument was accordingly hired at ten francs a night. The piece ran for fifty nights—a 'tremendous success' for that period—and in the excitement of this surprise the conditions on which the guitar had been obtained were totally forgotten, until the owner presented his bill for 500 francs. The canes and walking-sticks are just as

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curious in their way; a volume might be written about them alone, with all their characteristic varieties of expression. The cane of the marquis, elegant and rich, with its long handle of engraved gold and its flowing tassel in threads of the same metal; the cane of the doctor—ebony, with an ivory handle, as though in half-mourning; the miser's crab, a mere theft from a neighbour's tree; the cane of the prodigal, mounted with turquoises; the pilgrim's staff, the stick of office, the cane with which Louis XIV. ruled France—every variety has its specimen. The house boasts the possession of the very bell that gave the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Let us not inquire, but try to believe. This is the legend. The bell was once hung in the tower of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, behind the Louvre, and it was taken down at the Revolution to melt for cannon. They were then playing *Charles IX.*, and, there being no bell to sound for the massacre represented in the piece, Joseph Chenier asked for this one, on behalf of the company, and obtained it. It has belonged to the theatre ever since, and is still used from time to time; in *Marion Delorme*, for instance, it sounds the death-knell of Didier and De Saverny. As for the archives and the library, there is certainly nothing like them in the theatrical world. Every interesting fact—representations ordinary and extraordinary, daily receipts, shares of profits, incidents, changes, fusions of companies, rivalries of artists—has been noted with the most scrupulous care for the last two centuries. The walls are lined with pictures. The finest portrait of Molière is hung in the green-room. In another picture in the same room the poet contemplates with an expression very suggestive of quiet disdain a group of merry-andrews, French and Italian, who realised the popular conception of comedy before he began to write. Two other pictures of capital importance show the green-room of 1840, an assemblage of the company of the time, and the green-room of 1864. Regnier and Samson are in the first, with Rachel, Madame Arnould-Plessy, and Mdlle. Mars.

There can be no subsidised theatre without a dramatic school; there can be no such school without virtually gratuitous teaching. Both institutions involve some renunciation of the starring system. The Français is a sort of co-operative undertaking, in which the interests of dramatic art are expected to come first, and those of the dramatic artist only after that. There are no supernumeraries in the company, in the sense in which we use the term. Everyone is, or has been, a candidate for the highest histrionic honours. No doubt some have declined to the inferior parts, as the aspirant first-fiddle of orchestra often declines to the big drum. Many begin as winners of the first prize of the year at the Conservatoire, and so claim their right of engagement at a national theatre. They may be dismissed at the close of their twelvemonth; they may remain only as salaried hands; they may become shareholders of the enterprise,

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with better pay, a share of the profits, a grant on retirement, a pension for life. So there is still the prospect of bread and cheese. Bresson received over three thousand pounds down when he left the company, with an annuity of about four hundred more. The starring system, the actor-manager system, might yield larger rewards; the difference is willingly devoted to the general welfare of the concern. At any rate it was so devoted until Sarah Bernhardt, yielding to the tempter, broke her engagement to fend for herself. Coquelin then followed her lead in insisting on his right to an annual tour, which was in the nature of a prolonged benefit. The majority still understand that self-sacrifice is a part of the bargain. The great players, remembering what they owe to the system of free teaching, are ready to show their gratitude by contributions in kind. No one-man school could have given them access to such an array of professors—Delaunay for their master in comedy, or even Regnier; Bresson for romantic drama; Got for wellnigh all. Subsidies are useful in their way; but the successful actor must be ready to contribute time and trouble to the endowment. Nothing can spare him the essential pang of giving up something of worldly profit for the sake of a nobler thing. We want a spark of the fire of the Renaissance here. You cannot revive a drama as you start a shop. The soul of the business is pride in a high calling, love of it, pity for struggling beginners without guidance and without means.

RICHARD WHITEING.

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ENGLISH HORSE-BREEDING AND ARMY REMOUNTS

CAN we, as a nation, see without concern the industry for which we have always been famous pass away from us into alien hands? Surely Englishmen would not willingly lose the prestige they have enjoyed during so many centuries as horse-breeders, even were that prestige the only thing at stake. It is not, however, merely a sentimental loss that threatens us: it is a question of the highest national importance, for none will deny that we should, within our own country, possess supplies of horses sufficient to equip our military forces.

SCARCITY OF HORSES OF THE USEFUL STAMP

Though, as we shall see, some departments of the horse-breeding industry in England are more flourishing now than they have ever been, the most important departments of the same industry have never been in a condition so grave as they are to-day. The decline in the number of horses of the *useful* class suitable for military purposes has been manifest for years past. Year by year the remount officers have found increasing difficulty in purchasing the animals required for cavalry, artillery, and transport. This difficulty received serious consideration in 1886, when General Ravenhill, then Inspector-General of Remounts, with his Staff, visited the United States and Canada to buy horses. With our augmented establishments of artillery and mounted infantry creating a demand for larger numbers of horses the difficulty of the remount officers must necessarily increase.

PROBABLE REASONS FOR INCREASING SCARCITY OF REMOUNTS

The Remounts Department, limited as it is to the low price of 40*l.* per horse, is of necessity able to buy only the 'failures' which come into the market. The British farmer does not aim at the production of a horse which when four years old will realise 40*l.*: he cannot afford to do it. He aims at breeding an animal which shall make a hunter and which shall be worth 60*l.* to 75*l.*, or even more;

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and if his young horse give promise of fulfilling his expectations, it at once commands a price which places it quite out of reach of the remount officer.

Only the 'failures' are accessible to the purchaser of horses for the army; and failures are growing less plentiful every year for the reason that true principles of mating are becoming more widely understood now than they were twenty years ago. This is due in great measure to the valuable educational labours of the numerous breed societies which have been established during the last quarter of a century, each of which makes the interests of one particular breed of horse its special care. The farmers who continue to breed horses are more successful than they used to be in producing animals of the superior stamp at which they aim.

The scarcity is also due to the fact that very many farmers have practically given up breeding altogether: they found that breeding horses on the haphazard system of sending any mare to any horse which satisfied their fathers did not pay.

Hence the scarcity of the horses on which the remount officer depends to supply the needs of the army: hence it comes that the question of finding horses for our cavalry, artillery, and transport is more serious to-day than it was when Lord Rosebery's committee[1] sat, more than thirty years ago, to inquire into the capabilities of the country in regard to a better supply of horses.

Causes of the Decline of Breeding

When Queen Victoria came to the throne, an enormously greater number of horses of the useful class were bred in England than have been bred during the last forty years or more. The great system of mail and passenger coaches, which in pre-railway days were the principal means of transit, compelled the employment of vast numbers of horses. The writer is not aware of the existence of any figures which would tell us the number of horses used on the 'road' in any given year, but it is known that the coaches which ran between London and Brighton in the thirties required at least 1,500 horses to work those sixty miles of road alone.

A coach plying between London and Edinburgh, 400 miles, required 400 horses to work it, for 'one horse per mile one way' was the rule. These figures give some slight idea of the numbers of horses used in England in the coaching era.

When railways began to drive the coaches off the roads the demand for horses naturally declined, and in course of time ceased altogether; and breeders, ceasing to produce animals for which

[1] Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Condition of the Country with regard to Horses, and its Capabilities of supplying any present or future Demands for them: Chairman, the Earl of Rosebery. 1873.

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the market had disappeared, devoted their pasture and money to breeding other kinds of stock—cattle and sheep.

Believers in the future of automobiles predict that these vehicles will at no very distant time increase to such an extent that the light van and omnibus horse, as well as the heavy draught horse, will be banished not only from our streets but from our country roads.

It is clear that the increase of self-propelled vehicles and the increasing application of electricity to tramways must, in course of time, oust horses from many spheres of utility: but as in the past, so in the future, horses will remain indispensable for the majority of purposes in England.

Horses for Pleasure

Before going further into our subject it may be well to glance at those phases of the horse-breeding industry which are now more flourishing than they have ever been before, and whose thriving condition is sometimes cited to support fallacious arguments concerning the industry as a whole. There has been a marked increase in the number of racehorses bred in England and Ireland during the last fifty or sixty years. In 1849 there were 1,315 horses of various ages running in the two countries, and in the present year the number of racehorses on the turf exceeds 3,000.

Exact figures concerning the number of horses used in the hunting field have never been collected; but as the fox-hunting establishments in the United Kingdom numbered 112 in 1857,[2] and increased to over 200 in the season 1903–4;[3] and as greater facilities of transit and other causes have brought far larger 'fields' of horsemen to follow hounds, we shall be much below the mark if we say that the number of hunters in the kingdom to-day is thrice the number that existed half a century ago.

The acknowledged increase in the number of our racehorses and hunters has been sometimes quoted as evidence of the flourishing state of the breeding industry; but this argument is utterly misleading, both as regards the facts themselves and as regards the conclusions drawn therefrom.

The racehorse, as a racehorse, is hardly worth considering as an asset in national defence. Admirably as he is fitted for his direct purpose—the carrying of a light weight at high speed over a short distance—he is not the stamp of animal which lends itself to other uses. The good thoroughbreds which promise to repay the expense of training and racing are devoted to the turf. The failures of the thoroughbred stud are to be purchased at prices which sufficiently indicate their lack of general utility: they are useless to the remount

[2] *Sporting Magazine*, 1857.

[3] *Baily's Hunting Directory*, 1903–4.

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officer, who seeks an animal that can either carry a soldier with his accoutrements—from eighteen to about twenty-three stone—or can take its place in gun team or transport wagon.

Nor is the hunter, for different reasons, an asset upon which the nation can rely; though, as we gratefully saw in the recent emergency of the South African War, the sportsmen of Great Britain throw open their stables to their country at a pinch. The hunter is essentially private property; during his working life his value places him beyond reach of the remount buyer, and when his career in the hunting field is closed, whether from age or unsoundness, he is useless for military work. The same applies to the polo-pony.

The hunters of the kingdom are at the disposal of the country in the time of urgent need, but not in time of peace; and it is in time of peace that the army requires horses to teach cavalry and mounted infantry men to ride and manœuvre.

Our 'horses of pleasure'—racehorses, hunters, and polo-ponies—then, serve no practical purpose in mounting our troops under normal conditions.

Part played by the Thoroughbred in improving the Supply of Horses

The Royal Commission on Horse Breeding, established in 1887, is entrusted with the expenditure of the money which was previously given in 'Royal Plates' on the turf (to which Parliament added a sum of 2,000*l.* a year, making a total of 5,000*l.* annually). This money is used to subsidise a small number of good thoroughbred stallions for the public service. These stallions, selected at the annual show held at Islington, receive each a 'premium' of 150*l.* for the year, and stand for service at nominal fees in appointed districts throughout England and Scotland. Their purpose is to aid in the production of horses other than thoroughbreds, and the young stock obtained by their services is of a distinctly superior stamp. The weakness of the scheme lies in the smallness of its scale. Twenty-nine stallions, it is obvious, can make little impression upon the quality of all the half-bred stock in England.

Britain's Dependence on foreign Countries for Horses of the useful Class

How largely we are dependent upon foreign countries for our supplies of horses for commonplace everyday use, for van and omnibus work and other useful purposes, few people are aware. The trade in horses between Great Britain and foreign countries has expanded with great rapidity in recent years, and when we review the details of this trade with the assistance of the Government

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returns which are published every year, it is startling to discover the extent to which we depend upon America and the countries of Europe for our supplies of useful horses—for all classes of horse, indeed, save the racehorse, hunter, polo-pony, and those of the heavy-draught breeds, known as the Shire, Clydesdale and Suffolk.

The Board of Trade returns show that we import far more horses than we send abroad: it is impossible to take the published figures as they stand, for the reason that, to quote from a letter received from the Intelligence Branch of the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade, 'no distinction is made in the case of horses between those which are intended for slaughtering purposes and those shipped for other purposes.' It is much to be regretted that a distinction which is of the utmost importance should not be carefully made, because there has grown up in recent years a great trade in old and worn-out horses with Holland and Belgium.

These animals are included in the returns solely because they are shipped alive. And they are shipped alive because it is cheaper to transport them alive than to ship the carcases. These worn-out horses are walked straight from the vessel to the slaughterers' yards at the Dutch and Belgian ports to be quickly and humanely destroyed. They are not to be counted horses in the proper sense at all: they merely represent so much meat in various shapes, so much bone manure, glue, hair, and leather; the ingenious economy of our continental neighbours enabling them to turn the carcase to much more profitable account than we could in England.

In comparing our import and export figures, therefore, it becomes necessary to strike out these worn-out horses from our calculation.

To avoid overloading our pages with figures let us condense two periods of the trade: a five-year period of half a century ago and the latest five years.

During the five years 1851–1855 we imported 21,936 horses, and exported [4] 11,875 horses.

During the five years 1899–1903 we imported 200,085 horses, and exported [5] 66,962 horses.

[4] The trade in worn-out horses did not exist at this time: all the animals then exported were either for breeding purposes or for service.

[5] The figures actually given in the returns show 156,962 horses exported during 1899–1903.

As stated above, the worn-out horses exported for slaughter are not distinguished in the official returns from horses shipped for breeding purposes and for service. Of these 156,962 horses, 126,676 were sent to Belgium and Holland. These included a proportion of good serviceable horses which were purchased at high prices, but the average value of the whole number is given as 11*l.* only, clearly showing that the vast majority were of the worn-out class, which are worth a couple of sovereigns apiece. We are enabled to arrive at a rough estimate of the actual number of worn-out horses included from the figures collected in 1898, when the attention of the public was drawn to the sufferings of these unfortunate animals caused by neglect on the voyage.

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These figures show us two important matters: first, that while our imports of horses have increased nearly tenfold during the half century, our exports have increased only sixfold during the same period; and, secondly, that whereas fifty years ago we were breeding all the horses we required for all purposes save about 2,000 yearly, which we obtained from abroad, we now, on the average, buy from foreigners 26,624 horses a year more than we raise in our own country.

The reason for this has already been given. Fifty years ago there still existed a demand for horses to work the coaches; and breeders, not yet realising the magnitude of the change which the railway was destined to work, were producing practically as many horses as the country required. We now require far fewer horses of this stamp; but as it no longer pays to breed them at all, the industry has dwindled almost to extinction.

Our expenditure on foreign horses is another feature of the subject, and one on which much might be said. Without dealing at length with this aspect of the trade, it may be mentioned that during the eleven years 1893–1903 we have paid away to foreign breeders over fourteen millions of money.

Character of Horses imported

The horses we purchase from abroad are of very varying character. The most valuable are the carriage and coach horses, the upstanding animals which are so eagerly sought by the dealers, and whose production is so unaccountably neglected by English breeders. We buy large numbers of these horses every year from France and Germany; they boast a strong strain of English blood, which goes far to account for their excellence, but this is a point to which we may refer on a future page.

We are now concerned with their value. They cost the dealer from 50*l.* to 150*l.*, or even more; a well-matched pair standing from 15·1 to 16 hands is worth a 'fancy price,' 500 to 600 guineas or more. It would pay us handsomely to breed such horses in England, and so retain in our country the money we now spend buying them in foreign countries; but for some reason the English farmer does not turn his attention to this very remunerative class of stock. He knows, none better, that it costs as little to rear a good

It was stated that 14,000 worn-out horses were shipped to Holland and Belgium in the year named. Since then this trade has greatly increased, and we shall be well within the mark if we take it that during the period 1899–1903 the number of knackers' horses exported has averaged 18,000 per annum, or 90,000 in the five years. Thus deducting from the total of 'official' horses, viz. 156,962, the estimated number of 'living carcases' 90,000, we obtain the net total of 66,962 serviceable horses given in the text.

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horse as a bad one; and though the supply of good carriage horses is always far short of the demand, and suitable animals command ready sale at remunerative prices, he does not breed them: hence nine-tenths of the fine coach and carriage horses to be seen in London and elsewhere come from abroad.

From Russia and Scandinavia we import droves of ponies: small and coarsely bred, but hardy and useful animals, which find purchasers among small tradesmen and costermongers. These ponies are of no great value: they cost from 5*l.* to 8*l.* per head, and inasmuch as it would not pay us to produce them in England, we may be satisfied to obtain them from countries whose great areas of waste land permit the profitable breeding of such low-grade animals.

America sends us horses of a coarse but most useful stamp, which for the most part are bought by omnibus and van proprietors, who require animals that combine considerable draught power with fair speed. These horses are worth on the average about 30*l.* to 40*l.* per head, but they represent a particularly useful class of animal regarded from the national standpoint.

Their utility may be shown in a very few words. It will be remembered that when the events of the South African war required the despatch of great forces of cavalry and artillery, the War Office, under the registration scheme which had been adopted some years before with an eye to such contingencies, took large numbers of horses from the stables of the great London carrying companies. These horses had to be replaced, and the Board of Trade returns show whence they were obtained; in 1901 we imported over 19,000 horses from the United States. Last year, when the trade was recovering its normal condition, we imported only 3160 horses from America.

Ninety per cent. of our purchases from the States are of the 'bus-horse type; the remainder consist of carriage horses, a few 'trotters,' and a quite insignificant number of racehorses.[6]

Character of Horses exported

While the large majority of the horses we import are of low commercial value, the horses which we sell every year to foreigners are of very different character.

The best English stallions of our different breeds are, and always have been, in demand on the Continent, as well as English mares; and the use foreign stud-masters have made of the breeding stock they obtain from us offers an object-lesson in the wisdom of putting aside prejudice in favour of one breed over another. In France, Germany, and Hungary stud-masters have succeeded in 'grading

[6] *Special Report on the Market for American Horses in Foreign Countries.* Washington Government Printing Office. 1898.

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up' horses of particular desired types, and stallions of these breeds are bought at high prices to be taken to America, where the skill of continental horse-breeders is now fully recognised.

If we refer to the pages of the *Sporting Magazine* of 1820 we find that for years before that date foreigners were buying English thoroughbreds and great numbers of English half-bred mares for breeding purposes. The evidence given before Lord Rosebery's Committee in the year 1873 showed that as far back as witnesses could personally remember—to 1840 or earlier—French, Italian, German and Austrian agents had been visiting England regularly every year to buy stallions and mares for breeding purposes. And again, the records of the breed societies, which issue certificates of pedigree for horses sold to go abroad, show that the exports of the best bred horses continue to be more numerous now than they have ever been.

It is a singular thing that foreign breeders, with all the liberal assistance given by their Governments from the public purse for generations, should still come to England to buy breeding stock: but so it is. The continental horse-master fully appreciates the value of the pedigree sire of any of the English breeds which have been long established, but when he obtains stallions of pedigree and character he uses them without prejudice. The science of 'mating,' the secret of pairing animals so that the good qualities of one parent may correct the defects of the other, or that the progeny may more nearly than either parent approach a desired type, has been far more carefully studied in foreign countries than in England.

The present Position

Our present position, then, is this: in proportion to our greatly increased population we are breeding fewer horses than we bred fifty years ago, but those we do breed are of a higher average quality. This advance, in some measure at least, is the result of the work of the several breed societies, which have been labouring to educate the farmer in the true principles of horse-breeding and to raise the accepted standards of merit. It is to be remembered that these societies can do little to encourage increased production: their mission is to foster improvement in quality.

This, so far as it goes, is satisfactory; but this general advance in quality, implying as it does higher prices, has been the means of embarrassing the Remount Department, which depends upon the cheap horse.

Many of the animals we import—the coach and carriage horses which come from Normandy and North Germany—are excellent; but we discover no cause of congratulation in the exception to the general rule that our imported horses are bad or indifferent, for the

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simple reason that we could breed coach and carriage horses equally good, or better, at home. They are with few exceptions the direct descendants of the good stock which we sell to the foreign agents; and surely it would pay us much better to keep this good stock in our hands and breed therefrom in England the high-class harness horses we require, than to let our breeding stock leave the country and send our money after it to buy its produce.

It is not as though the continental breeders enjoyed advantages of climate or soil which give them an advantage over ourselves. They cannot rear horses of a better stamp than we can: on the contrary, as already shown, all foreign stud-masters continually and regularly seek English blood to improve their own; and this after years of careful stud-work, conducted on scientific principles at great public expense.

Foreign Studs

It would be impossible in the space available to give any adequate idea of the extent to which horse-breeding on the Continent is encouraged and controlled by the several Governments; but a few figures may help to show the magnitude of the scale on which stud operations are conducted.

In France the State maintains 3450 stallions of twelve different breeds: the majority (about 1400 or 1500) being Norman and Vendean horses, suitable for breeding saddle and harness horses of the useful class. These stallions are distributed among twenty-two central studs, from which animals suited to the needs of the various districts are sent out to stand at 689 local centres for service.

In addition to the stallions belonging to the republic, over 9000 horses belonging to private persons are licensed for service. About 270,000*l.* of Government money is spent annually in France on horse-breeding.

In Germany, a few years ago—1896–7—the State owned about 2600 stallions of fifteen different breeds, light and heavy, the majority of which (1153) were classed as 'Heavy Riding' and 'Light Draught' horses—again the most useful stamp of animal. These are distributed among seventeen rural studs which supply the local stations: these local stations number 899. About one-fourth of the total number of Government stallions are bred on the four State breeding farms, on which at the period named were 660 mares and 30 stallions. Privately owned stallions are licensed: about 1500 licences were issued in 1896–7. Brood mares may be purchased from Government on easy terms, and inducements are offered to owners of good mares and young stock to keep them in the country. The annual expenditure of Government money on horse-breeding is about 190,000*l.*

Hungary owns four great breeding establishments where stallions

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for the public service are reared. In 1896, 2838 sires of different breeds were distributed among eighteen central depôts, which supplied 946 local stations. Hungarian stud-masters, having followed one settled policy for many years, have succeeded in establishing distinct strains suitable for definite work. Hungary is the only country on the Continent which possesses a distinct breed for the saddle.

Only the pick of the young horses reared on the great public breeding farms are kept for the State studs; these number about 20 per cent. of the horse foals bred every year. About 25 per cent. of the foals are sold as 'communal stallions' to the local authorities of districts where such horses are required. About 233,000*l.* of public money is spent annually on horse-breeding.

Austria possesses some 2000 Government stallions, which are attached to five central depôts, whence they are distributed among 522 local stations. The stallions belong to thirteen distinct breeds, the largest number of any one breed being English half-bred stallions, which in 1897 numbered 766. There are two large State breeding farms, and two smaller establishments where carriage horses only are bred. About 140,000*l.* is spent every year from the public purse on horse-breeding.

Russia, Italy and Turkey each possesses extensive breeding studs; but perhaps the particulars given will suffice to show the scale on which the continental Powers conduct the business of horse-breeding. In every case the supply of remounts for the army is the principal object kept in view; and while the fees charged for the use of Government stallions are in every case nominal, the price paid to the private breeder for a remount is calculated to make the rearing of good stock profitable to him.

The foreign stud-master has the highest opinion of English thoroughbred blood, but he has no blind prejudice in its favour. If he seeks to produce or perpetuate a particular type of horse, he uses the strain of blood which experience has taught him is most likely to bring about the result he desires. It is very largely owing to his absence of prejudice in favour of one strain or another that the Norman, German and Hungarian breeders have been so successful in establishing distinct strains of the useful type.

The Want of Army Horses in England

Our insular position, which makes the navy our 'first line of defence,' denies to the army the paramount importance that attaches to the armies of continental countries, which have lengthy land borders to defend. The remount question is thus of even more importance to continental countries than to ourselves; hence the enormous and costly machinery European Governments maintain to secure possession at all times of adequate supplies of horses.

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It is not necessary that we should adopt a system on any continental model to provide our army with horses, but it is absolutely necessary that our mounted troops should be mounted in fact and not merely on paper; and, as has been shown in the preceding pages, various forces have been at work which now render the work of the remount officers almost impossible of accomplishment.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the difficulty. It is very generally known that our cavalry regiments and batteries of horse and field artillery in Britain do not possess anything like the number of horses which they would require if placed on a 'service footing.' It is well known that the horses cannot be obtained at the price (40*l.*) to which the remount officer is restricted; and, as the writer has endeavoured to show, the horse which can be sold at the price the Government will pay is steadily disappearing.

It has been said that England will be able to obtain from private stables all the horses she requires to mount her troops and horse her guns in *the hour of emergency*. That proposition may be granted at once. In grave emergency, such as invasion, we may take it for granted that private individuals would place at the disposal of the country, hunters and polo-ponies, carriage and van horses in numbers which would enable us to keep the field and replace casualties for as long as might be necessary.

But can we be content with this? Can we teach men to ride, can we teach them the secrets of horse-mastery between the hour when invasion threatens and the hour that brings the storm upon us? Can we teach troops to manœuvre in large bodies, or can the ablest officers learn to handle them in a period that may be measured by weeks, if not days?

It is not enough that we should have horses in the time of emergency, we must have horsemen; and the trained horse-soldier cannot, it is presumed, be made at a few days' notice. Without claiming any knowledge of military matters, the writer merely reasons that, inasmuch as the most apt pupil requires a certain time to learn to ride and acquire the elements of horse-mastery, he must require at least a little longer apprenticeship to learn in addition the duties of a soldier. For this reason it is urged that the mounted branches of the army should be kept supplied in time of peace with as many horses as will enable our soldiers not only to learn to ride, but to manœuvre in large bodies.

The Remedy

Different classes of horse are required for the several branches of the army: the animals suitable for heavy and light cavalry and mounted nfantry, and for artillery and transport work, necessarily differ one from the other in type; but in some respects they are

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tried by a common standard: they must be five years old, they must be undocked, and they must not cost more than 40*l.* per head.

Now, the British farmer cannot breed a horse, keep it till it is five years old and then sell it for 40*l.*; if he does so he sells at a loss. It is necessary, therefore, that the Government should adopt one of two courses: (1) buy the horses at three and four years old, or (2) raise the limit of price for five-year-old horses. From the pecuniary point of view it matters little which course is adopted, as if three-year-old horses are purchased they must be kept at the public expense until fit to take their places in regiment or battery. Five years is the minimum age at which any horse can safely be asked to perform the often trying work exacted of a troop horse, and to put a younger animal to such hard work would simply mean to fill the stables with broken-down invalids.

The purchase of horses of three and four years old would be the preferable plan, for the reason that few private purchasers care to buy animals so young. Therefore, if the remount agent were permitted to buy horses of three and four years old when their breeder could afford to take 35*l.* to 40*l.* a head for them, the army would secure the pick of the home market instead of the refuse, as it does under the existing system.

Were the farmer thus assured of a fairly profitable market for young horses he would gladly breed more of them. Nine Englishmen out of ten would rather breed a horse than a cow or a sheep if he could afford to do so; it is simply because our farmers are obliged to consider every detail of their business from the monetary point of view that they have in so many cases desisted from horse-breeding.

Since horses of three and four years old cannot be put to work it becomes necessary to arrange for their maintenance and training till they can be drafted to regiment and battery. This could be done by the establishment of remount depôts. It is assumed that if the mounted branches of the army at home be maintained at their full strength, about 4000 horses per annum will be required to replace losses from age, accident, and disease: therefore ten such depôts each to contain 400 horses would be wanted. We would establish six in England, two in Scotland, and two in Ireland.

Each depôt would comprise stabling for 400 horses, with a riding school wherein the young animals might be handled and broken, a field or two for outdoor work, the necessary loose boxes for sick animals, the usual offices, and the needful accommodation for the staff of fifty hands (one man to every eight horses), the supervising officer, and his subordinate. The stabling should be of cheap and economical construction; horses for campaigning must not be pampered, or they become soft and liable to disease when exposed to hardship and bad weather.

These depôts with their riding schools would answer some useful

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purposes beside that for which they are primarily required. They would, for example, provide much needed facilities for teaching soldiers to ride and for teaching them the elements of horse-mastery. The staff, consisting of picked good-conduct men who have retired after service in the army, preferably in a mounted branch, would form a valuable corps of trained horse masters and buyers.

Careful calculations show that these ten depôts could be established with all the necessary buildings, land, &c., for a capital sum of 250,000*l.*, about one quarter the cost of a single first-class battleship.

The remount depôt scheme which has been thus briefly outlined might well be adopted in our Colonies—in South Africa, for instance—with great advantage to our military efficiency. I refrain from taxing the reader's patience with a more detailed sketch of this scheme, having dealt with the subject at some length in a pamphlet[7] published two years ago.

WALTER GILBEY.

[7] *Horses for the Army: A Suggestion*; 6*d.* published by Vinton & Co., 9 New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

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THE STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES

I

During the last few months the subject of State Registration of Nurses has been much discussed, and partisans of both sides have circulated literature on the subject. In this Review there have been two excellent articles, one by Lady Helen Munro Ferguson, in February last, in favour of State registration, and one by Miss Lückes, matron of the London Hospital, against it. I will preface these few remarks by saying that I began studying the question with an open mind, but was naturally a little biassed against registration by the views of Miss Florence Nightingale, the pioneer of skilled nursing, and by the formidable list of experts which was sent me, who object apparently to any form of registration. But a careful study of the question has inclined me to believe that some form of organisation would be of enormous service, not alone to the members of the profession of nursing, but to the general public. It is the point of view of those who employ skilled nurses that I shall try and put before those who may be interested in the subject.

At present all nurses are 'classed' together, those who have the highest qualifications, and those who have none at all. Registration will at least eliminate the wholly untrained or imperfectly trained. The general public has no means of finding out what training, if any, the nurse has had, except by personal investigations, which are not always possible. It will be seen by a circular issued by those in favour of State registration that the census of 1901 showed that there were about 80,000 women engaged in nursing the sick in the United Kingdom. Some it must be presumed have qualified in all branches, some have nursed four years in a London hospital, some have spent a few months in a 'special' hospital or country infirmary—in fact, there is no end to the variations of so-called training; but all these women have the right to call themselves trained nurses, they adopt the usual uniform, and can be, and are, employed without discrimination by those requiring skilled attendants. It was with great surprise I noted that Miss Lückes (who is head of one of the best, if not the best school for nursing in the United Kingdom) seemed to attach so little importance to

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technical training. From the point of view I have adopted, surely the question of technical training is the whole point. Before the days of Miss Nightingale, any woman was supposed to be able to nurse an invalid.

> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou.

But when medical and surgical science have made the strides they have, the absolute necessity for having skilled nursing is indisputable. Should only a good-tempered, high-charactered, nice woman be required, who could thoroughly be trusted, most establishments could provide one, either a relation or a trusted old servant who could do all that love and affection could suggest for the patient; but when a trained nurse is required, the public should surely be able to get one, and have some guarantee of her efficiency. No amount of amiability or unselfishness is of any use in the operation theatre without professional skill; the importance of technical knowledge in a nurse is increasing every day; in operations, the sterilisation of the instruments, the aseptic precautions, &c., the intelligent watching and understanding of symptoms between the visits of the doctors, are all left to the nurses. This is recognised by the larger hospitals, who are making examinations more and more a feature of hospital training. No nurse failing to pass them is certificated. I know that the following example is not considered a parallel—why, I know not—but in the case of any one employing a doctor or a lawyer who is an unregistered or even unqualified practitioner, he does so at his own risk. Why should it not be the same with nurses, and a minimum standard be registered by a Council? What the advocates of the State registration suggest would be

A General Nursing Council,

a body empowered to deal with all educational matters affecting nurses, who would define the curriculum through which every woman must pass before she can be certified as a trained nurse, settle the period of her training, and the subjects of her education. The certificate signed by the matron of the training school would testify as to a nurse's general good conduct and practical proficiency, while the lecturers upon the different subjects of the curriculum would testify that she had attended the regulation number of lectures and demonstrations on each subject. It would be the duty of the General Nursing Council to appoint examiners, hold examinations, and grant to candidates who passed those examinations a State certificate in nursing. The first result, therefore, of the appointment of such a Council would be that a system of nursing education and a minimum standard of qualification would be established throughout the United Kingdom. It would be the duty of the General Nursing Council to compile and

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publish annually a register of trained nurses, and to remove from the same the name of any registered nurse who proved herself to be unworthy of trust and professional confidence. So the public would, for the first time, have some measure of protection against ignorant and inefficient persons who term themselves trained nurses, and obtain responsible work in that capacity. The nursing profession would also be protected from those members of the calling who bring discredit upon it.

I do not bind myself to this scheme in its entirety, but consider that organisation on some such lines would be a protection to the public. At present private nursing is largely exploited by untrained and unsuitable persons, and the public frequently pay the fees which fully trained nurses charge to women who are either half trained or wholly ignorant of the responsible duties they undertake to perform. Considering the importance of those duties, and that in some cases the very life of the patient may depend on the efficient and scrupulous fulfilment of medical directions, the public should certainly be able to obtain some official guarantee that the nurses they employ are proficient in their technical work, and should have some means of protection against those who without any justification assume the dress and title of a trained nurse.

It is a source of wonder to me that nurses who have embraced the career of a trained nurse, devoted themselves body and soul to their profession, made many sacrifices to receive a lengthened period of training, and who I suppose hope to reach the highest position open to nurses, should look with equanimity on the profession being crowded out by untrained and unskilled nurses, who demand the same remuneration as those who have received the best training it is possible to obtain. Those in favour of registration consider that it would be the first step towards the thorough organisation of what is surely the most important profession open to women. What incentive is there now for a woman to perfect herself professionally when trained and untrained are treated alike? As a counsel of perfection, it would no doubt be well to have grades in the profession: for instance, in the case of small ailments and certain chronic cases, a nurse with less than the minimum pass standard might be sufficient, but for dangerous and severe illnesses and complicated cases only a nurse with the highest qualifications would answer. Anyhow, the public should be able to know what type of nurse it was employing. Great stress is laid on the fact by those who object to registration, that character and general suitability would be lost sight of were registration adopted. It seems difficult to realise why this should be anticipated. Candidates for registration will have to be recommended for registration by heads of training schools. Why suppose that these will recommend 'bad' or even 'indifferent' nurses, or those unfitted by character and temperament for registration, more than they now recommend such nurses for certification?

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The public anyway would be better off than they now are, as they would be sure at least of technical skill, which they are not at present. Of course it is better that personal inquiries should be made as to a nurse's character; but to whom is the employer to apply? Presumably to the matron of the hospital in which the nurse is trained. But matrons are subject to change, death, and removal, and consequently it might be impossible within a few months or years of a nurse's departure from her training school to obtain such a reference. It may also be said that there is not much time in the case of sudden and dangerous illness for personal investigations, and it would be a great advantage to know that a 'registered nurse' had had a sufficient training, and had not taken up nursing as a 'fad' or for a change of occupation.

Has not the time come when the wheat should be separated from the chaff, and the nursing profession, which is fulfilling one of the greatest works of humanity in endeavouring to 'heal the sick,' be organised on a really sound basis? Registration would be a beginning, and would certainly testify that a nurse was properly trained and technically fit for her duties, and that she had not been guilty of unprofessional conduct or moral fault. No such guarantee is given by hospital certificates. Personal inquiries would be just as possible under a system of registration. At the present moment there is not a sufficient number of really properly trained nurses. It is difficult to understand why so many doctors and matrons of hospitals object so strongly to registration, as it would not only be a protection to the public if, when they required technical skill, they could get it, but it would, I should hope, lead to differentiation and separation into classes and grades of the nursing profession. In the same way, if a patient is suffering from some slight ailment he sends for the doctor's assistance, but should he be suffering from serious illness he commands the services of a consulting physician, and knows who he is consulting. Were all nurses who nurse the public trained for four years at the London or any other hospital which has a good training school attached to it, perhaps registration would be unnecessary, but in view of the present state of chaotic disorganisation of the profession, I cannot help feeling registration would be of the greatest possible assistance. I trust that those who occupy responsible positions in the nursing world will, instead of adopting a *non possumus* attitude to every suggestion made for organisation, formulate a scheme themselves to meet the undoubted needs of the public.

THERESA LONDONDERRY.

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THE STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES

II

THE State Registration of Nurses is not, and can never be, a panacea for all the real or imaginary grievances brought against or held by nurses, and its advocates do not arrogate to it any such impossible or ridiculous position. It is merely recommended as an act of justice to fully trained women, and as a means in some degree of mitigating the evils which most undoubtedly do exist.

According to the last census, 80,000 women in the United Kingdom described themselves as sick nurses. Probably not more than a quarter of these are fully trained—that is, hold a certificate of three years' work in the wards of an hospital. By what right, then, do the vast majority of these women call themselves sick nurses? Some merely to purchase a uniform for indoor and outdoor wear, being careful to see that as long a veil as possible is attached to the bonnet; or they may go to a Maternity Home, and have three months' work as Monthly Nurses, after which they do general private nursing; or they may enter a Private Nursing Home of eight to ten beds, where probationers are taught to nurse, at the expense of patients, who pay from 6*l.* 6*s.* to 10*l.* 10*s.* a week; they may become Assistant Nurses in a Fever Hospital, after a year's work in which they do general private nursing, taking a case of appendicitis as readily as one of scarlet fever; or they may become a Cottage Nurse, having had six months' training under a superintendent; they fulfil their engagement as speedily as possible, and gladly enter the ranks of private nurses, where more money is to be made. These are some of the many methods of becoming a nurse, and, in addition to those more irregular paths, there are many general hospitals, where the probationers are trained in the wards for one or two years, and for the remainder of the four years for which they are bound undertake private nursing for the hospital; this is an excellent and rather popular method of increasing the revenues of the hospital, but seems hardly fair to either the patient or the nurse.

Before considering the justness or advisability of State registration, it will be well to determine what amount of training a woman

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should receive before she is justified in calling herself a trained nurse. Almost all properly trained nurses and almost all matrons will agree that the first essential is three years' work in the wards of a hospital or group of hospitals, in which the variety and number of patients are sufficient to afford the probationer the experience she requires. No ability, no quickness of intellect, will compensate for the lack of experience, gained by daily contact with patients for so long a period. It teaches her much that is invaluable, apart from the technical part of her work. By constant practice comes a deftness and gentleness of hand, a methodical orderliness, and a subordination of herself and her interests to her duty. She learns also to call nothing 'common or unclean' that relates to patients, and by living in a community and under discipline to respect the rights and endure the failings of her fellow-men. These things are not learnt in a day, and they come with some slowness to most women whose education is somewhat limited. There is also in all systematic training schools a series of lectures, which the probationer is expected to attend. During the first year these usually bear directly on nursing subjects, and are given by the matron, or some well-trained nursing authority. During the two following years she attends more advanced lectures, given by members of the medical staff, on Medicine, and Surgery, Bacteriology, Gynæcology, and so on. At the end of the first and third years she will be examined, and should she pass she will be granted a certificate of efficiency, and be qualified to take her place as a fully trained nurse among her peers. It is to be noted that at many hospitals the work the nurse has done in the wards, and her conduct in the home, have an adequate effect on her examination, so that the result is by no means dependent solely on her ability to theorise about her profession. It is said that many nurses, who possess plenty of technical skill in their work, are not capable of displaying this knowledge at an examination. This is true of some women, but it is due either to a faulty education before and after they enter the hospital, or to a want of self-control. These are the exceptions and need hardly be considered; they are probably good only in the ordinary ward work, or for a perfectly straightforward private case, but I should not like to be dependent on such a nurse in a sudden emergency, with the doctor ten miles away.

It has been said by the opponents of registration that it can only 'pretend to register technical knowledge, and that this is the least important side of a nurse's qualification'; this is a point much insisted on in Miss Lückes' paper in the May number of this Review, and in the manifesto issued by the Central Hospital Council for London. Why then does a woman enter the service of a hospital as a probationer, and stay there three years, working hard, and receiving such sums as 8*l.*, 12*l.*, and 20*l.* a year? Why whilst there is she taught, at some expense to the hospital, such subjects as

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elementary Hygiene, Bacteriology, Anatomy and Physiology, if they are of no value, and 'it is clearly understood that she will not be a better nurse in consequence?' But this is not so. The difference between the trained nurse and the untrained woman is the knowledge she has acquired by study, and the experience she has gained in the wards during her training; it is for her technical skill she is employed, and not for her sympathetic powers. Technical skill alone will make a nurse, but when combined with sympathy, and the charm of gracious manners, it makes the great nurse. Kindness, sympathy, tact, and discretion, admirable though they are, do not qualify any woman to nurse. There are no doubt little illnesses, where they are all that is absolutely necessary, but in the sharp moments of life that may come to us all, and find us facing an acute illness, such as typhoid fever or pneumonia, it is not the kindly nurse we want, it is the technically skilful, one not to 'smooth the pillows' but to save the life. I have here fallen into the illogical error so often made by the opponents of registration, that of divorcing the kindly woman from the technically skilful. The untrained stupid woman, who cannot pass examinations, is not always kindly—indeed she is much less likely to be so than her highly trained, well-disciplined sister. One of the most important results of a long consecutive training and the institutionary life among many different personalities is, that those who have passed through it are wonderfully capable of effacing their own requirements, and of giving due importance to the affairs of their patients.

Another point which is much dwelt on by our opponents is that when the name of a nurse is once placed on the register it will be difficult to remove it, and that therefore as a guarantee of continued efficiency it is a danger to the public. The Medical Council remove from their register the names of medical men who are proved to be guilty of unprofessional or criminal conduct, and, being within their rights in doing so, their decision is respected by the courts of justice. A Central Nursing Council should have the same power, and the decision should be equally respected. At present very many nurses hold certificates of efficiency which have been granted by all sorts of institutions and individuals, after very varied and not always sufficient training. These can never be cancelled, but remain as a permanent testimony of the nurse's efficiency, although many are valueless, even at the time they are granted. A certificate issued by such a body as the Central Nursing Council would be a very different matter. It would guarantee that the woman holding it had had three years' training in a hospital, or group of hospitals, that she had passed an examination which proved her to possess practical knowledge, technical skill, and experience, and that before the examination she had produced certificates from the hospital or hospitals in which she worked showing that her conduct had been good, her

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work sufficient and varied, and that, in the opinion of the matron and medical instructors, she was a suitable person to seek registration. Moreover, this certificate of registration would be recoverable in case professional or moral misconduct was proved against the holder. That this would not be easily done would be the surest safeguard to the nurse; frivolous and vexatious complaints would not be considered, and a name would only be removed for serious and sufficient reason. It is not claimed that in this way all erring nurses would be removed from the roll: this could only be done when they were found out; but it is claimed, and I think with reason, that the possibility of removing a name from the register would be beneficially deterrent.

In advocating State registration for nurses we are not breaking new ground, or even asking for a doubtful boon; it has been tried in other countries and its success is assured. A Nurses' Registration Act has been in force in New Zealand for eighteen months, and Dr. McGregor, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions, says in his official report: 'The Nurses' Registration Act is working smoothly; . . . such an Act is necessary owing to the advance of scientific surgery and the progress of medical knowledge. It protects medical men and also the public from the increasing number of unqualified women who pose as nurses, and who too often prove a real danger in critical illness and in operation cases.' In Cape Colony nurses have been registered for some years, and we have the testimony of Dr. Moffat, Medical Superintendent of Somerset Hospital, Cape Town, to this effect: 'In relation to the working of the Medical Act in Cape Colony, as it affects nurses, the legislation in the Act of 1899, Part II., Section 4, affecting nurses, is gradually improving the education of nurses and raising the standard of professional knowledge.' State registration has been obtained in four of the United States of America, and so successfully has it worked that in no less than seven other States associations of nurses are being formed to procure legislation.

New South Wales and Victoria have a thoroughly organised voluntary registration in force. In New South Wales the Australasian Trained Nurses' Association registers, as training schools for nurses, those hospitals whose curriculum of study and work is not less than three years, and the certificates of those hospitals are recognised as qualifying for registration. In Victoria the Victorian Trained Nurses' Association registers hospitals as training schools, and its conjoint board of examiners, composed of medical men and matrons, conduct an examination which qualifies for registration. I am told by a registered nurse from New South Wales, who has held the responsible post of matron of a women's hospital in Melbourne, that they are feeling the need of a final examination, and hope that in time an examining board will be appointed.

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In Canada associations are being formed to procure legislation, and in Germany the following petition has been presented to the Government by 170 important societies: 'That the possibility be given to every nurse to pass an examination after the three years' training prescribed by Government; to receive a certificate and the right to wear a badge which is protected by Government, and which the Supervisory Board will have the power to deprive them of should occasion arise.'

In this country many of the more thoughtful nurses, particularly those engaged in private nursing, have felt that some measure for the organisation of nurses was necessary, and to bring this about the Society for the State Registration of Nurses was formed two years ago. During that short time it has gathered a membership of more than 1,200 nurses, and it is also supported by a considerable number of influential men and women. The first work of the Society was to formulate a Bill, which is now before Parliament, but as that has been blocked, it is now asking for a special committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the whole nursing question. A committee has been formed in Edinburgh, and at a recent meeting the following resolution was passed: 'That this meeting, after a long discussion, approves of the principle of State registration of nurses, and of the appointment of a council with branch councils.' In Ireland the Irish Nurses' Association has been initiated; it has a membership of several hundred nurses. At a large meeting of this association, held, by the kind permission of the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, in a hall of their college, the following resolution was passed by a very large majority: 'That this meeting considers that it is essential that nurses, throughout the United Kingdom, should be efficiently educated for the performance of the responsible duties entrusted to them. That a minimum standard of education and common rules of discipline can be secured only by an Act of Parliament, and that as a preliminary to such legislation it is desirable that a select committee of the House of Commons should be appointed at an early date to inquire into the whole nursing question.'

Nursing as a skilled profession for women has sprung up with great rapidity, its expansion and success have been enormous, but it is a mere group of women with no cohesion, no organisation, no ethical or practical standard, or means of discipline. It is to bring order to this chaos that we ask for State registration. Its object is not to hinder the employment of any nurse—there is ample room for the work of all grades—it is merely to draw a distinct line between the fully trained, skilled nurse and the unskilled woman.

ISLA STEWART,
Matron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

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THE KINGSLEY NOVELS

WHEN, in the course of reviewing the Victorian novelists, we come to the Kingsleys, whose names were once household words, we must needs inquire how much of their fame is factitious? and how far is their neglect deserved?

Both men wrought poetic justice in their stories; both told a story admirably; both had high ideals; both men loved their country passionately; both worshipped English ways with a fervour of adoration that in its very simplicity is refreshing. Henry Kingsley wrote one book of such excellence that one cannot help reflecting how wise a man was Single-Speech Hamilton. Of his other works we must needs conclude that half their number would have contained twice their merit. Thackeray's high level was maintained throughout many years of production; so was Disraeli's. But it seems apparent from the thin and unconvincing narrative of most of Henry Kingsley's work that he listened too eagerly to the voice of the publisher, and was shipwrecked on the rock of over-production.

Charles Kingsley laboured with almost neurotic intensity. The strenuousness of his work is as apparent in his last book as in his first; and the name 'Kingsley' stands in its rugged strength for so much in the nineteenth century that the mere juxtaposition of the words 'Kingsley' and 'neurosis' is hard to bear. Still, it is better than that he should be called a 'tub-thumper'—as others use. What we all alike mean—those of us who mean praise and those who mean detraction—is that the strength of his convictions and the violence of his expression of them really spoil his effects.

Now, this was a shortcoming which we shall seek in vain in the works of Henry Kingsley. He wrote easily, with an ample, graceful manner, chatting rather than dogmatising, and clearly aiming at leaving on the mind of the reader the impression of an easy-going man of the world, of one who knows a great deal more than there is occasion to express or than it is manners to express, of one who prefers a smile to an argument, and a jest to both. His own creation, Lord Saltire, an enchanting character, of whom we have a slight sketch at the age of twenty-five and a full-length portrait at the age of eighty-five, probably represented to Henry Kingsley's

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mind the typical English gentleman; and a very fine type Lord Saltire was. But Charles Kingsley could never have drawn Lord Saltire. Violent physical achievements and violent mental exertion made up Charles's ideal of manhood. Would it be unfair to say that he had little or no sense of humour?

Of the two brothers, Charles, of course, has left the deeper mark on the century. When we speak of Kingsley and Kingsleyism, we naturally refer to the Rector of Eversley's work. His name really stands so high, and has had so wide an influence, that in the tangled mass of conflicting interests and aims which we have learnt to call the nineteenth century, Kingsley (and all that Kingsley stands for) explains far more than the work of greater men.

It is the custom to sneer at him now. Nothing is easier. His exclamatory manner and his astonishing polemics are enough to set most people smiling. But for the few who can see through little (and even great) mannerisms there is serious matter behind. It is true that his influence is that of a preacher rather than that of a man of letters; but, in point of fact, the novel was the vehicle which he selected for the transmission of his message, and it is hardly possibly to overestimate the good and the evil which that message wrought to his native country and to his time.

We cannot think of Charles Kingsley without remembering Tom Brown. Fierce animal courage and detestable manners—these are, in effect, the test of manhood according to the Kingsley traditions. The schoolboy nourished on *Tom Brown* learnt to look on fighting with his fists as the best possible way of passing the time. Other things in the world there might be. It was decidedly a mark of merit, for example, to be able to throw a cricket ball further than somebody else. Books, too, although much inferior to fighting as an objective, and although hardly manly in themselves—held, for some reason, a position which it behoved a well-regulated schoolboy to recognise. Perhaps this was because the Bible was, from some points of view, undeniably a book. It would not be permissible to inquire what was the use of the Bible, and so it was better form not to inquire what was the use of books—such books, at least, as Homer and Virgil. Books in one's own language were to be received with suspicion: they would probably be immoral, and were certainly bad form. The better side of this depressing picture, of course, is that so much activity in the open air favoured the development of a strong, physical type of youth—very necessary for success in life, while the brutality of manners which went with it really aimed at, and sometimes attained, a frankness and nobility of character which went far to atone for the essential stupidity of the type.

The schoolboy passed from the *Tom Brown* stage to the *Hereward the Wake* stage. He found a literature ready waiting for him. Slaughter is revered in these later works. It is obviously a

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matter of great regret to Charles Kingsley that men can no longer wield battle-axes and wade ankle-deep in blood. This is to live! So two generations of Englishmen grew up trained to believe in violence of action and carelessness of thought, and really maintaining that it was possible to do right instinctively, or perhaps with the aid of the Bible, which they were expected to revere if they would be 'manly,' all means of understanding that wonderful production having been sedulously hidden away from them.

When England was half as full as it is now, and the rest of the world was at Englishmen's feet, this school of thought might be—was—retarding, but it could not do us permanent injury. No other school of thought, however, has arisen; and the minds of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen are still consciously or insensibly directed by the conviction that with a cold bath in the morning and boxing lessons (and the Bible) perfect manhood may be attained; other things signify but little, or are worse than useless.

All this was absent from Henry Kingsley's work. One rises from the study of volume after volume of his chatty romances with the sense that one has been in good company and has not been scolded. Charles and Henry both loved country life and wrote copiously, if not always felicitously, about scenery. But Henry is content to enjoy, and Charles wants to lecture. Metaphorically speaking, he is in a perpetual state of tearing up the grass to see how it is growing. He once described himself as 'sensuous' but not 'sensual.' He is entitled to his opinion, in spite of the doddering maxim that 'no man knows himself.' Nevertheless, 'ascetic' is more the adjective that one would select to describe the output of his genius, whatever the man's own state of mind may have been. In fact, one gathers the impression that most things are naughty. In speaking of a taste for natural science, which he was striving to inculcate in a young man, he adds, 'It will help to keep him from brandy pawnee and the pool of hell.' 'Brandy pawnee' is an antiquated Anglo-Indian term for brandy and soda: an excellent and wholesome drink, though somewhat out of fashion to-day. Pool—though not to be compared with the three-ball game, or even pyramids, and serving mostly as an elaborate excuse for whisky and soda—is a game of skill. Why 'pool of hell'? Unless, indeed, the denunciation is metaphorical as well as extravagant, and is to be taken as fulminated against all diversions but slaughter, whether slaughter of men in the name of patriotism or slaughter of butterflies in the name of science.

One is tempted to make these reflections because of the legislative tone of the writings that suggest them. One even feels tempted to contradict in detail the Kingsley decalogue. Thus the cold bath has killed many a promising young fellow. To most of us, botanising and geologising are hardly relaxations—the music-hall and the billiard-room are more interesting. The idealisation of brute force

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and simplicity of mind is clearly misleading in a day when all warfare is so complicated, so much more the affair of the brains than of the biceps. It is not true that the abolition of duelling has improved our manners; the chief result is that instead of one insolent bully we have a hundred. The other great 'abolition' has put the world in a fine pickle. No doubt the earlier abolitionists are quite at home in Elysium; they did not come of a school that was easily disconcerted. But I sometimes wonder how later abolitionists, watching the world that they have left behind them, contrive to sustain in Elysium the gaze of Stonewall Jackson, or R. E. Lee, or John C. Calhoun.

The best way to appreciate Kingsley is to gather up the memory of all the brutal stupidity that is talked in his name; to recall the fine things ruined for want of a little thought; to grow thoroughly exasperated with the effects of the worst side of the Kingsley school—and then, with one's mind at red heat with a passion of impatience, to take up *Westward Ho!*

It is fifty years since *Westward Ho!* was written, and the book is as fresh and great to-day as it was in the days before the Crimean war. Its drawbacks are of no consequence at all, and we realise once more the meaning of the text that the 'letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' One of the most stirring of the late Archbishop of York's sermons was preached against 'priestcraft,' and was based upon the startling statement that priestcraft was the work of the people and not of the priest. Assuredly Kingsley's worshippers have organised in his name a cult at which he would have stared aghast. They have so assiduously crushed the spirit under the load of the letter that the name of Kingsley has come to stand for all that most roused Kingsley's ire. A similar transformation may have been observed in the development of other creeds.

It is difficult to know where to place Charles Kingsley's novels. In effect they are sermons. *Westward Ho!* is the nearest approach to a novel that he wrote, and it may be described as an excellent book for boys. *Hereward the Wake* is also a book for boys, but it is not—like *Westward Ho!*—a book that grown-up people can also enjoy. *Hypatia* is eminently a book for grown-up people, and a very serious book too. *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* and *Two Years Ago* are all social discourses, not to say sermons. In all we find the same burning enthusiasm and the same ardent love of humanity. If we must admit that the scandals of the tailoring trade, the housing of the poor, and the horrors of a cholera epidemic are, fortunately, no longer questions over which we need grow wroth, we must at the same time admit that the spirit in which these distressing calamities were watched by Kingsley is one that is sadly to seek to-day. There, then, is the true place of this righteous man and noble teacher, hideously though his teaching has been parodied by a generation that has too soon forgotten him.

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If Charles Kingsley wrote no book as brilliant as *Ravenshoe*, his books are of deep and noble intent; and it is a chilly thought that nothing like them could be written to-day, or, if written, published. Enthusiasm, indeed, is not dead; but it is discredited; it is 'bad form,' except in the case of amusements. The gravity and intelligence with which our generation will discuss the question of handicaps is wonderful to contemplate, especially when we consider the frivolity and impatience with which serious matters are dismissed. Indeed, nothing of the Kingsley fire still warms and illuminates life. Kingsley himself would have heartily approved seriousness over sports, but only as a local manifestation of the spirit which ought to illuminate all our days and deeds. 'Be strong' was his favourite maxim. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might' was a good text for the guidance of his hours. The intensity of his own life slew him; but, being aflame himself, he set others on fire, and his spirit made itself felt over a whole generation of English thought and action. Each of his books was in turn acclaimed a masterpiece; but if we must select one which may be placed with *Westward Ho!* as likely to captivate another generation of readers, it would be *Hypatia*. This is a wonderful work. It stands in a place of its own by reason of its having furnished an inspiration to the late (alas! that we must say 'the late') Charles Mitchell. There are a few, a very few, cases where one art has found the perfect expression of its own spirit in a sister art. Milton and Arne are one in their interpretation of the graceful riot of *Comus*. On tenderer lines Davenant found a perfect interpreter in Hatton. The divine mystery of the sea which Coleridge felt so embracingly is exquisitely rendered in Barnett's music to the *Ancient Mariner*. The melodrama of the Portuguese Empire is never fully understood until we have heard and realised *Adamastor re dell' onde profonde*. The gorgeous paganism of the 'Bacchus and Ariadne' reveals to us a world that only Titian saw; and the same world, tinged, and deeply tinged as it had come to be, with cruel introspection, disfigured with squalid passion and marred with hideous discords, still looks on us through the dying eyes of Mitchell's Hypatia, and speaks to us through the pages of Charles Kingsley's 'novel.'

It is in this novel that Kingsley is at his best, perhaps for the reason that his lack of humour was no drawback to his highly successful attempt to portray a world in which humour was not a conspicuous feature. What is really striking is that (if one who is not a Jew may say so) he has contrived to realise the Hebrew character in a way that Disraeli himself might have approved. George Eliot's Hebrews, for all the patience that she spent in drawing them, leave us unconvinced. Raphael Aben-Ezra, on the contrary, is astonishing. The youngster who brings to Raphael's mother the news of Heraclian's defeat is quite a subordinate character, but how

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faithfully are the lines of the type preserved! Many English artists have attempted to render sympathetically the amazing vitality of the Chosen People. Few have succeeded. Disraeli's work is authoritative, but then he was a Jew himself. Mr. Meredith's Alvan is as tiresome as Daniel Deronda. But with Raphael Aben-Ezra we come face to face with a live man. His wild-boar energy, his sumptuous indolence, his instinctive love of all forms of art, his intellectual energy, his biting cynicism, his gay acceptance of ruin, his alternations of profound self-abasement with robust assertions of racial pride—all these things fall into their places, and make up, in the hands of a master, a portrait vivid, convincing, and commanding.

Another and, one would say, a wholly unintended result of Kingsley's work is the strange attractiveness with which he endows the pagan world. The pagan world is dead, and cannot speak for itself. It is customary to reprobate its tone: 'the hard pagan world' we are accustomed to call it. But we, who have the advantage of living in a Christian world, may sometimes ask ourselves anxiously, Is it possible that the pagan world was much harder than the world we live in? With something of the divination of the seer, Kingsley saw the two at an epoch when one was just merging in the other. He does not spare either; he holds no brief. He tells us of the loathsome slaughter of practically unarmed prisoners in the amphitheatre, and he tells us, with swift, horrid accuracy, of the murder of Hypatia. Which was the more enormous crime? He delights in the murder of Hypatia's murderers; and we share his delight. Yet is it not strange that we should gladly dwell on the murder of a hundred unarmed miscreants calling themselves Christians, and monks into the bargain? Is it not still more strange that the avengers of Hypatia should look so much more noble to us —all pagans that they were—than the Christians who obeyed Cyril? This is an abiding merit of the work, that these violent and contradictory passions find a natural place there side by side. All are rendered impartially, with a savage disinterestedness, that is in itself great. It is the fashion to decry Kingsley's historical method, and there is no doubt that as a historical teacher he was hardly a success. But there is also no doubt that he possessed, in an uncommon measure, the historical mind. 'Instructive' is a dreadful word; and yet one must say that *Hypatia* is a work intensely instructive, just as *Westward Ho!* a brighter effort, tells us next to nothing, and is valuable only as a great romance.

Much of Henry Kingsley's work was trivial; Charles was never trivial. Much of Charles Kingsley's work was tiresome; Henry was never tiresome. Charles Kingsley took everything seriously, himself included. Henry is eternally smiling, even though the jest is not always apparent. Charles had no sense of humour; Henry overflows with humour. Lord Saltire is Henry Kingsley's masterpiece; but

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so many of the characters of *Ravenshoe* live and delight us that it would be no more than fair to say that Lord Saltire is only the finest expression of a type that Henry could not draw, in different poses, too often. Few social studies are of greater interest than *Ravenshoe*. It is a picture of English town and country life at the epoch of the Crimean War. In the middle of the nineteenth century England was enjoying the double advantage of a prosperous country life and a vigorous and flourishing manufacturing interest. In these sumptuous and settled conditions a fine plot is developed. The dialogue is felicitous; and though Mr. Norris is past grand master in nimble dialogue, Henry Kingsley takes high rank after him. Charles's dialogue is somewhat lumbering, and his fine ladies and gentlemen lack inspiration. Now Lord and Lady Ascot, Lord Hainault (a very different personage from Lord Beaconsfield's Lord Hainault), Lord Welter, Lord Saltire, Denzil Ravenshoe, even the slightly sketched General Manwaring—all these are faithful, distinguished portraits. I suppose that one must admit the plot to be commonplace. It is the old story of the concealed marriage and the substituted heir. There is a wicked confessor, and there is also a jolly priest who is a very good fellow by way of contrast. The incidents are many and exciting, and they play their proper part in the book as illustrations, so to speak, to the story. We have none of the panoramic effect of Charles Reade's work. Above all we have none of the pagan fury of expression which Charles Kingsley loved. It is not trivial work, but a tone of smiling earnestness pervades and lightens the narrative, which moves easily to an agreeable if somewhat obvious end.

As a picture of manners and social history it could hardly be improved upon. If any student of history were to ask in the future of what elements the social world of England was composed at the date of the Crimean War, the answer is that they are all to be found in *Ravenshoe*. There is not a touch of exaggeration, not a false note, not a caricature in the book from beginning to end. *Ravenshoe* contains, moreover, some of the best portraits of children in literature. Passionately though Charles Kingsley loved children, the recording of child life and child language was beyond him. The portrayal of child life is a difficult thing. It may or may not be important, but undoubtedly it is one of those things that are revealed to some and denied to others. Even to Titian, who could paint the Venus of the Uffizi, the Charles the Fifth on the Field of Mühlberg, the Bacchus and Ariadne of the National Gallery, and the queer little swaddled Archduke of the Pitti, even to Titian himself the secret was not revealed as it was to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and as it has been to Mr. Shannon. In literature the number of artists who have appreciated and translated child life is wonderfully small. After all, the Garth children are common little brats. Until

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Mr. Kenneth Grahame wrote the *Golden Age* we should have had to admit that Mr. Henry Kingsley's pictures of child life were unsurpassable; and to say that Gus and Archie Herries are only a shade less interesting than Edward and Harold and Charlotte and Selina, is to give to the creator of Gus and Archie Herries the highest praise available at the moment.

One test that is often applied to authors of all kinds is to inquire, What phrases has he added to the language? or Which of his characters live? Those who decry Dickens would be astonished to realise how much of their memory of fiction, how many figures, how many incidents, how many phrases, are traceable to the armchair at Gad's Hill. The test is fair. If Coleridge had written nothing but the first stanza of *Kubla Khan* he would still be immortal. Two lines earned for a duke a crown less perishable than the strawberry leaves. We remember the M.P. who wrote, two hundred years ago:

> Annihilating all that's made
> To a green thought in a green shade,

and are not at all concerned with what he deemed important at the time—his pay as a member of the House of Commons.

Therefore, if in honest desire to appreciate the great brothers we ask which of their characters live, we are applying a reasonable test, and we find some odd results. If we come to phrases, one phrase is always remembered with glee and malice against Charles Kingsley—'and then began a murder grim and great,' but it is rather remembered against him than in his favour; while Henry Kingsley was not a phrase-maker. Then follows the weightier inquiry, Which of their characters have lived, say, for a generation? Wonderfully few. Let us take Charles Kingsley first. *Alton Locke* undoubtedly lives—as a name: probably few remember the significance of the story which was woven round his career. *Hereward the Wake* has a slightly less shadowy existence. As regards *Westward Ho!* the curious fact remains that the name of the story is all that abides. We remember that it is a tale of 'the spacious times of great Elizabeth,' but Amyas Leigh does not exist as a personage; Sir Richard Grenvill is quite unconvincing. On the other hand, *Hypatia* lives, and lives more as a great figure than as the type of the wonderful work of interpretation to which she has given her name. The powerful study of Raphael Aben-Ezra is forgotten, except perhaps by some High Church functionaries who may condescend to say—referring to his theological reflections—Ah! Kingsley.'

Now those of Henry Kingsley's creations who survive do not attract the attention of such important people as High Church functionaries; but then, on the other hand, they are not spoken of so slightingly. It is with the affection that becomes our reminiscence

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of old friends that we speak of Lord Saltire, Charley Ravenshoe, and Lord Welter:—in effect most of the characters (including the children) of *Ravenshoe* live yet. But that is as much as we have a right to admit of Henry Kingsley's work. It may be doubted whether any readers who are not Kingsley lovers remember much about *The Grange Garden*, or *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, or *Austin Elliot*.

So, if we are called upon to place the brothers Kingsley in the world of nineteenth-century letters we shall have to recall, in reflecting on their lives and intentions, much that is elevating and something that is distinguished. As regards the work of Charles Kingsley, we shall have to say that over emphasis destroyed the artistic effect that he would fain have produced. A not dissimilar lack of finish is perceptible in the work of Henry Kingsley, owing to his eagerness to produce. A little more mental concentration in the case of both, a little more deliberation in the case of Charles and a little more earnestness in the case of Henry, and the world of letters would have been enriched by two great artists. As it is—*proxima accesserunt*.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

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THE YOUTH OF JAMES III

1688–1712

OWING to the romance which surrounds the story of Prince Charles Edward, the history of his father's life has, we think, been too much neglected, and the character of one of the best of our Stuart princes is in general little known. We have no intention of venturing to write a life of James III., but it seems possible that some account of his youth in France may be of interest, and of these years the French memoirs of the day give us many interesting details, especially those of the Marquis de Sourches, Grand Prévost of France,[1] who in his daily journal regarding the doings of the French Court constantly mentions the English Royal Family and their intercourse with his master, Louis XIV. No truer picture of the period could be found, we imagine, than these daily jottings, and the accounts of the ceremonies and regal hospitalities of the most stately court in Europe are related with a charming simplicity, as are the more serious matters which concern the progress of the wars in Spain and the Low Countries.

In these pages we get glimpses of the first twenty years of James's life, from the day he arrived at Saint Germains with his royal mother. The Prince was only eight months old when his lifelong exile began. The account of the melancholy journey is well known, and we can picture to ourselves the desolate Queen's flight in the dark, wet winter's night, carrying her little son in her arms, and the stormy passage to France, when the baby Prince was almost the only person not sick on board, and behaved like the 'son of a sailor.'

It was owing to the courage and firmness of Mary Beatrice that her son's, and, later, her husband's safety, was secured, and her personal appeal to the generosity of Louis XIV. had probably much to do with the friendship he ever after showed to the royal exiles.

[1] *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches* (ed. de Cosne). Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena*, *The Stuart Papers*, M. de Broglie's *Fénelon à Cambrai*, and *Les Derniers Stuarts* (Cavelli), have also been consulted for this article.

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From Calais the Queen wrote to him (on the 21st of December, 1688), saying she had come to seek 'a refuge near the greatest and most generous monarch on earth. . . . She desired to confide to him her most precious possession in the person of the Prince of Wales, her son.' Louis responded in a manner befitting such an appeal.

The Governor of Calais had wished to receive the Queen with all the honours due to her, but she preferred to preserve a strict incognito and to live in retirement until the arrival of the King her husband. After two days of anxious waiting she proceeded to Boulogne, where she hoped to have surer news of James's voyage than at Calais, Dover having declared for King William. At Boulogne, Mary Beatrice, again refusing the signal marks of honour urged upon her, took refuge with her little son in a convent, and here she passed those days of anguish regarding the fate of her husband thus described by Madame de Sévigné: 'The Queen of England remains at Boulogne in a convent, weeping without intermission that she neither sees nor can hear any certain news of her husband whom she passionately loves.' When the silence was broken it was only to increase the Queen's misery, as it was asserted that James had been arrested. Mary Beatrice's first wish on hearing this was to send her son to Paris and return herself to England; but happily the arrival of an equerry from King Louis, and the entreaties of her followers, induced her to travel towards the French Court. When the royal party reached Montreuil the good news of the King's safety was brought to them. At Beaumont another of King Louis's equerries met the Queen with the still more joyful intelligence that he had landed in France.

In the afternoon of the 28th of December, Mary Beatrice was drawing near to Saint Germains, and Chatou, a picturesque village on the Seine, witnessed the meeting between her and King Louis. We will here use Monsieur de Sourches's words in his Journal for that day (dated the 6th of January, old style):

> The Queen of England arrived at Saint Germains with the Prince of Wales, her son. The King went to meet her as far as Chatou, followed by a great cortege of carriages full of courtiers. When the carriages of the Queen appeared, the King got down from his, with Monseigneur and Monsieur, who were with him; and having caused the first coach to be stopped, in which was the Prince of Wales, he embraced this young Prince several times with many signs of tenderness. The Queen of England, however, having been told the King had left his carriage, got out of hers, and they walked with *empressement* to meet each other. The King saluted her, as did Monseigneur and Monsieur, whom the King presented to her, and after many marks of friendship on both sides the King conducted the Queen to his own carriage and took his place at her left in spite of much resistance on her part.

The Dauphin and Monsieur sat opposite, and thus in royal pomp the exiled Queen reached the palace generously placed at her dis-

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posal by Louis, and which, though she happily could not foresee it, was to be her home for the rest of her life.

The carriages arrived in this order at Saint Germains [continues M. de Sourches], when the King conducted the Queen to the apartment he had prepared for her, which was that of the late Queen, his wife, but much enlarged by some new buildings which he had added. After a few minutes' conversation the King told the Queen that he wished to go and see the Prince of Wales, and this Princess having offered to accompany him, he gave her his hand and conducted her to the apartments of the young Prince, where among other things she said to the King that while crossing the sea she had said to herself that her son was very happy to be too young to know of his misfortune, but that now she thought him very much to be pitied not to be able to realise all the goodness the King showed him. The King, having omitted none of the courtesies which he could show to the Queen of England, and not doubting that she required to rest after the fatigues of the journey, took leave of her and returned to Versailles, from whence he sent her a magnificent toilette set, together with six thousand louis d'or.

The latter, as Monsieur de Sourches truly remarks, was sorely needed by the poor Queen in her destitute condition. The next day King James arrived, and although we cannot but feel that Mary Beatrice would have preferred to receive him alone, the account of the manner in which Louis welcomed him testifies to his friendship, and foreshadows also his constant endeavour to show honour to his guests.

On the 7th (January) the King, knowing that the King of England[2] was to arrive at Saint Germains that day, . . started just after his dinner to go and wait for him at the Queen of England's; he found her in bed resting after the journey, and seated himself by her side in the only arm-chair which was there, Monseigneur and Monsieur, who accompanied him, remaining standing. . . . Presently Monsieur de Beauvilliers came to warn him that the King of England had entered the courtyard, at which he at once rose and, bowing to the Queen of England, he went to meet the King her husband as far as the door of the Hall of Guards, where he awaited him, surrounded by his whole Court. The King of England having ascended the stairs and perceived the King, they ran towards each other and embraced with great marks of tenderness. The King said to the King of England, 'Sir, my brother, what a joy it is to me to see you here! I cannot contain myself for joy at seeing you in safety.' The King of England replied in words full of emotion, after which the King said he wished to conduct him to the Queen his wife, and passing through each door before him, he brought him to the Queen, and insisted on his saluting her in his presence. The two kings remained standing for some time by her side, and then the King proposed that the Prince of Wales should be sent for, but, as he was some time in coming, he took the King of England by the hand and conducted him to the rooms of the Prince his son. . . .

After they had been some time with the Prince of Wales, the King took leave of the King of England, who wished to reconduct him, but he would not allow this, and left him, saying, 'To-day I am at home here; to-morrow you will be, and you will do as you wish.' Some hours later the King sent a toilette also to the King of England and ten thousand louis d'or for his necessities till

[2] It is amusing to note that M. de Sourches spells 'King' with a capital letter when speaking of Louis; but when King James and Queen Mary Beatrice or other foreign monarchs are in question he uses small letters.

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he should settle a regular income upon him, which it was said was to reach two million four hundred thousand livres yearly.[3]

Other writers give a few more details of this memorable occasion, and describe with less formality the touching meeting between James and his Queen. Louis is said to have presented James to his wife with these words, 'Madam, I bring you a gentleman of your acquaintance whom you will be very glad to see;' and we are told that Mary Beatrice wept for joy, and that James astounded the French courtiers as he 'closely embraced the Queen his wife before the whole world'—a 'world' very artificial, and but little accustomed to see any display of natural affection. No doubt, Louis's generous reception of the royal exiles was partly actuated by reasons of policy; but to his honour be it said that, although in years to come he found himself forced to cease from officially supporting the Stuart cause, he never relaxed his personal friendship, and we can endorse Home's verdict that 'in this instance, more than in all his victories, might he well claim the title of Louis le Grand.'

Happily, the baby prince did not suffer from the journey, and the change of climate was of benefit to him. Mary Beatrice writes in the following summer that she 'has the satisfaction of seeing her poor child grow visibly every day.' She dressed him in purple velvet and ermine, which, not being the usual mode in France, greatly astonished the French ladies, as Madame de Sévigné mentions in a letter of the 31st of January, 1689: 'Madame de Chaulnes has seen the Queen of England, with whom she is much pleased. The little Prince was dressed like a Merry-Andrew, but beautiful and joyous, leaping and dancing when they held him up.' Lord Melfort also describes him as the finest child he ever saw.

In 1690, when King James returned from his disastrous expedition to Ireland, he found his son a fine strong boy, able to run about and greet him by the name of father. His beauty and animation pleased the French, while he was the darling of the English Court. A curious contemporary picture of the Prince at this age still exists at Saint Germains. It represents him as a very beautiful child,

with large dark eyes, bright complexion, and a profusion of clustering curls. He is dressed in a green and red tartan frock with a long waist and point-lace stomacher, and wears a sort of fanciful helmet cap of dark blue velvet with a plume of black and blue feathers. This costume the Queen certainly intended for a Highland dress. He holds a robin redbreast on his finger, on which he bestows a smiling regard.[4]

In this picture the little Prince does not wear the ribbon of the Garter, which was, however, conferred upon him by his father at the early age of three, previous to the departure of the King for the ill-

[3] This sum was reduced at James's request, as he declared he wished to live as a private individual, and cost Louis as little expense as possible.

[4] *Life of Mary Beatrice* (Strickland).

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fated expedition terminating in the battle of La Hogue. Soon after that disaster the English Court was cheered by the birth of the Princess Louise, whose charming character during her short life was to be in keeping with the title of 'My Comforter' bestowed upon her by her father. For the next few years the royal children wonderfully brightened the exiled Court, and they were surrounded by other little people, the children of the faithful subjects who had followed James to France. Little Dillons, Burkes, Stricklands, etc., gathered round the royal children, and played games in the stately gardens at Saint Germains or made a mimic court or bodyguard for the Prince and his sister. As soon as these were old enough to understand the sufferings of their Jacobite followers they devoted all their pocket-money to their relief; and when that most pathetic scene took place, in which the unfortunate King, no longer able to support his Scottish officers, was forced to permit them to join the French army as volunteers, we may be sure that the brother and sister shared their father's anguish.

In his parting speech on this occasion James says, 'As to the Prince my son, he is of your own blood. He is already susceptible of every impression. Brought up among you, he can never forget your merit.' A few years later, four of these brave men, their health shattered by active service, returned to live at Saint Germains. One day while strolling near the Palace they saw their young Prince about to enter a carriage to join the French Court at Marly. He recognised them at once, and signed to them to approach; they advanced and, kneeling, kissed his hands, which they bathed with their tears. James raised them kindly and expressed his grateful appreciation of their loyalty, telling them that 'he had often heard of their valour, and that it made him proud, and that he had wept for their misfortunes as much as he had done for those of his parents; but he hoped a day would come that would convince them that they had not made such great sacrifices for ungrateful princes,' ending by presenting them with his little purse, and requesting them to drink the King's health.[5]

During the childhood of the Prince, M. de Sourches naturally gives us little information regarding him, although he gives very interesting descriptions of the visits of the King and Queen to Louis the Fourteenth; but we find some details in the letters of Mary Beatrice herself to her venerated friends, the Visitation Nuns at Chaillot, and in the documents regarding the Royal family preserved by them. On the 28th of July, 1696, the Queen announces that the education of her son—now eight years old—has been confided to Lord Perth.

[5] The sign of the old Jacobite inn, 'Le Prince de Galles,' at Saint Germains still exists. On one side James is represented as a boy of seven or eight, and on the other as a tall slender youth of about thirteen arrayed in a cuirass and point-lace cravat.

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The King has to-day nominated my Lord Perth as governor to my son, and we have just placed him in his hands. This is a great event for me, and I hope God will bless the choice we have made, after having prayed more than a year that He would inspire us to choose well. Tell this to my dear (Rev.) Mother, as I have not time to write to her. Her prayers and yours, with those of all the dear Sisters, have had a great part in this choice, which I believe to be agreeable to God, for he is a holy man and of distinguished merit as well as of noble family. I am glad to leave my son in his hands, knowing none better; but I placed him above all, and in the first place, in the hands of God, who in His mercy will take care of him, and will give us the grace to bring him up in His fear and love.

This letter is the keynote, as it were, to the spirit in which James's education was conducted from the first, and which, in spite of all the disappointments and, in the eyes of the world, the failure of his career, animated, we believe, his life to the end.

In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick brought an apparent gleam of hope to the prospects of the young Prince by the strange secret articles in which William the Third agreed to adopt him as his heir and successor to the British throne. When, however, the proposal was made to King James, the Queen, who was present, exclaimed, 'I would rather see my son, dear as he is to me, dead at my feet than allow him to become a party to his royal father's injuries'; and James himself declared that 'he could bear the usurpation of the Prince of Orange and the loss of his crown with Christian patience, but not that his son should be instrumental to his wrongs.' James has been blamed for this refusal, but, as he himself said, he had no security for the safety of his son, and had too many proofs of William's treacherous nature to trust him.

At Christmas 1699 James made his first Communion.

In very good dispositions, as it appeared to me (writes his mother), I could not restrain my tears; and it seems to me that I gave him to God with all my heart, imploring Him to let him live only to serve, honour, and love Him. The child seemed to me quite resolved to do this, and assured me he would rather die than offend God mortally. Let us say with all our hearts, my dear mother: 'Continua nobis, Deus, quod operatus es in eo.'

In the following year, 1700, two events—the greater influx of English royalists in France consequent on the peace, and the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, his innocent rival in the succession—brought changes in our young Prince's life, and he began to appear more in public.

In May Lord Manchester writes to Lord Jersey:

Last Thursday was a great day here. The Prince of Wales, as they call him, went in state to Notre Dame and was received by the Archbishop of Paris with the same honours as if the French King had been there himself. After Mass he was entertained by him; and your lordship may easily imagine that all the English that are here ran to see him.

Lord Manchester adds in another letter that there was to have been a great hunt on the plains of Saint Denis for the Prince, 'in order

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that the English here might have seen him'; but this was put off on account of the death of the Duke of Gloucester. Finally, the 27th of September witnessed the Prince's first state visit to Fontainebleau, whither he went with his parents. His beauty and graceful manner were much admired, and the visit was a great pleasure to the boy. The Queen writes thus to Chaillot:

My son is charmed with Fontainebleau; they would make us believe that they are delighted with him. It is true that, for the first time, he has done well enough. Your great King has surpassed himself in goodness and cordiality to us. Pray God to recompense him for it, even in this life.

Not many months later, in March 1701, King James was seized with apoplexy while attending service in the Chapel Royal at Saint Germains: the choir were singing the verses of the Lamentations, 'Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us: consider, and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to strangers: our houses to aliens' (Lam. v. 1–2).

These words, so applicable to his position, so powerfully affected James that he fainted, and was carried from the chapel. This was the commencement of the long illness which was to terminate fatally in the following autumn. On the 2nd of September the same mournful words sung by the choir brought the same sad result, and James was carried to his room, which he was not again to leave. Monsieur de Sourches refers several times to the King's illness, to the hurried visit of Louis's famous surgeon, Fagon, to the sick monarch, and to the visits of sympathy paid by Louis and the other royalties on the 11th of September.

The King went to Saint Germains to see the King of England, who was worse. He found him in a state of prostration, and remained an hour beside him. The Duchess of Burgundy went also, and remained only a quarter of an hour, but it is not thought that this poor Prince can survive the week.

On the 13th the two Kings met for the last time.

It was known that the King of England was very ill and could not pass the day; that he had declared publicly that he forgave the Prince of Orange, his daughters, and the Emperor . . . In the afternoon the King went to him and left him in extremity; but before leaving Saint Germains he sent for the Prince of Wales and declared to him, in presence of all the English, that after the death of the King, his father, he would recognise him as King of England; and as the Papal Nuncio—who had not left the King since he was taken ill—was present, the King begged him to remark in what manner he was treating the King of England, and asked him to tell this to the Pope.

This momentous decision had not been arrived at without grave debate in the French Cabinet, all but seven being against the prudence of such a step, and Louis himself, who had given good hope to Mary Beatrice, listened, it is said, in perturbed silence to the discussion. Fortunately his views found a supporter in the Dauphin, who, rising in some warmth, said, 'It would be unworthy of the

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Crown of France to abandon a Prince of their own blood, especially of one who was so near and dear to them as the son of King James; that he was for his part resolved to hazard not only his own life but all that was dear to him for his restoration.' Then said the King, 'I am of Monseigneur's opinion,' and so said all the Princes.

After Louis had made his solemn declaration in favour of the Prince, the boy threw himself at his feet and expressed his gratitude. Louis raised him, and, tenderly embracing him, promised to act as a parent to him.

James's farewell to his son is inexpressibly touching. The young Prince gave way to a passionate burst of grief, in which everyone joined save the dying King himself, who was quite calm. He embraced his son, and spoke to him as follows:

> I am now leaving this world, which has been to me a sea of storms and tempests, it being God Almighty's will to wean me from it by many great afflictions. Serve Him with all your power, and never put the Crown of England in competition with your eternal salvation. There is no slavery like sin, nor no liberty like His service. If His holy Providence shall think fit to seat you on the throne of your royal ancestors, govern your people with justice and clemency. Remember, kings are not made for themselves but for the good of the people. Set before your eyes, in your own actions, a pattern of all manner of virtues. Consider them as your children. You are the child of vows and prayers; behave yourself accordingly. Honour your mother, that your days may be long; and be always a kind brother to your dear sister, that you may reap the blessings of concord and unity.

The witnesses of this scene, fearing the effect on the King, suggested that the Prince should withdraw, at which he was troubled and said, 'Do not take my son away from me till I have given him my blessing at least.'

On the 27th of September King James died at three o'clock in the afternoon. 'The moment after he had breathed his last,' says the Duke of Berwick, ever the most loyal brother to our Prince, 'we all went to the Prince of Wales and saluted him as King. He was at the same hour proclaimed at the gates of the Château of Saint Germains by the title James the Third, King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France.' The Queen, in compliance with the ceremonial prescribed, also came to do homage to her boy, saying, 'Sir, I acknowledge you for my King, but I hope you will not forget that you are my son'—words quite unnecessary between them, for never, we suppose, were mother and son more united.

The reply of the English to this proclamation was to pass the Bill of Attainder against its rightful sovereign—including his royal mother—a measure which cast a still deeper gloom over James's prospects. As has been truly said, he was 'persecuted from his infancy, overwhelmed by satirical pamphlets and vulgar threats, . . . and now declared to be a rebel and a traitor because he claimed the throne which had been torn from his father.'

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Meanwhile, however, the exiled family was treated with every honour in France. On the 18th of November, Monsieur de Sourches chronicles the first formal visit paid by James to King Louis:

In the afternoon the King and the Queen of England came to return the visit the King had made them before leaving for Fontainebleau. The King, who arrived with his gentlemen, wore the great mantle; the Queen came in her mantle, with her ladies, and her officers were in long cloaks.

In the following spring occurs another entry:

May 23rd, 1702. In the evening the King and the Queen of England came to see the King at Marly, and the King showed the young King over his garden, paying him the same honours that he had rendered to the King his father.

On the 26th of April, 1703, James partook of his first state meal at the French Court, as Monsieur de Sourches is careful to note:

In the evening the King and Queen of England came to Marly and supped with the King. This was the first time the young King of England had eaten with his Majesty: he had an armchair on the right, the Queen of England an armchair in the middle, and the King an armchair on the left, as was done in the time of the late King James.

The intercourse between Saint Germains and the French Court was as constant as ever, and of the most friendly kind; and as James and his sister grew up they were invited with their mother—who forced herself to go for her children's sake—to every festivity. There are continual allusions to visits to Marly, games of *lansquenet*, dances, suppers, in which the English royalties took their share, and Queen Mary Beatrice was always treated by Louis with the same deference as if she had been the Queen of France. A few extracts from Monsieur de Sourches's Memoirs may serve as illustration:

August 22nd, 1706. In the evening the King and Queen and the Princess of England came to Marly about six o'clock. The King did the honours of his gardens, and especially of his new white marble cascade, which they found perfectly beautiful.[6]

On the 3rd of March, 1707, he notes:

The King went to the Plain of Houilles to review his two regiments of Guards. He found there the King, Queen, and Princess of England, who had arrived before him. He got on his horse and rode with the King of England, Monseigneur, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry. Their Majesties rode first to the head of the troops, when they were saluted, the men presenting arms, and they passed along the line a second time, the troops being then under arms.

On the 6th of March the English Royal Family arrived at Marly at six-thirty. The King went out to meet them as far as the entrance to the château. They found the saloon lighted up and all prepared for the ball, the

[6] 'We went to Marly-le-Roi, and there I found a more beautiful spot than any I had seen in my life. . . . Water fell in cascades from the top of a hill behind the castle, and formed a large channel on which a number of swans floated. . . . It was all grand, all regal; it all spoke of Louis the Fourteenth.'—*Memoirs of Mme. Vigée le Brun*, p. 17, trans. Lionel Strachey.

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orchestra playing a beautiful overture in the style of the celebrated Lully. . . . The ball was commenced by the King and the Princess of England.

Again we find them at an essentially French entertainment, the 'Feast of the Bean,' when James and Princess Louise sat at King Louis's table:

The King gave a great feast for the Eve of Epiphany in the antechamber of his small apartments: There were four tables, two of sixteen and two of seventeen places, magnificently served; and they cut a cake at each table to see to whom the royalty of the bean would fall.

Nor was there any lack of brightness and simple amusements in the daily life of Saint Germains, where the Queen, though herself weighed down by grief and anxiety, only desired to promote her children's happiness. In the winter she gave balls and receptions, and in the summer, among other pleasant doings, the young people would make little pilgrimages to shrines in the neighbourhood, and take their meals under the forest trees.

One special festivity is recorded on a Shrove Tuesday, when a masquerade took place, to which the whole town of Saint Germains was admitted. Etiquette forbade the young King and his sister to wear masks or assume any special character by their dress, but they danced merrily in the midst of the crowd—an accomplishment in which both excelled.

On the 10th of June, 1706, at the age of eighteen, James completed his majority. The regency of the Queen Mother was then supposed to cease, but she remained virtually the leading power at Saint Germains, although she and everyone there treated James as their King and master. There is a charming description of him and his sister given about this time in a letter from Count Hamilton to the Duke of Berwick:

The King, our young master, increases every day in wit, and the Princess, his sister, becomes more and more charming. Heaven preserve her from being stolen from us, for her lady governess seems to have no other fear than that. These two are always near their august mother, to whom they pay the most tender and dutiful attention.

James was evidently extremely good-looking at this age, and his manners were ever singularly gentle and courteous. It was said of him in after years that no one could hold a Court with a more noble grace, though by that time his early beauty must have faded, and he was probably more like the description given of him by Horace Walpole: 'tall, thin, with a melancholy countenance, he seems like the ghost of what imagination might evoke to represent to oneself Charles I. with his virtues, minus his faults. He has the marked features and the air of fatality of the Stuarts.' James's character and qualities were of a high order, and his education had been solid. He is said to have been very superior to his father in

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political tact and delicacy of judgment. An earnest and sincere Catholic, he would never hear of the slightest compromise with his conscience regarding his position to the succession. 'You will see me dead rather than out of the Church,' he wrote on one occasion to his mother.

Lord Stanhope thus sums up his conduct: 'To the great and eternal honour of the Pretender, he indignantly refused to sign compromises contrary to his conscience: rare and admirable example of religious sincerity in a Prince.'

James's health, like that of his mother and sister, was very delicate. He, like almost everyone in those days, had constant attacks of fever, and his chest was weak. In reading the memoirs of the time one is astonished at the innumerable illnesses and miseries recorded, and their strange remedies; and the English Royal Family had its full share. James's ill-health was indeed to impede his first active effort for his crown. In 1708, Louis XIV., without apparently informing either the King or his mother, determined to fit out an armament to land in Scotland, to be headed by James himself. When Louis sent for him to join the expedition, he at once took a hasty farewell of the Queen and his sister, and set out for Dunkirk; but he had hardly reached the coast when he was attacked by measles. He would have embarked at all hazards, but the cold weather and his known delicacy induced his attendants to refuse this; and although he insisted upon being carried on board one of the French ships before it was prudent for him to leave his room, the favourable wind had by that time changed, and the expedition commenced under these gloomy auspices ended, as we know, without doing anything to forward the Jacobite cause.

After this disastrous affair, in which James was too evidently a victim to an incomprehensible State policy, the young King determined to join the French army in the Low Countries as a volunteer. While Queen Anne in her address to Parliament called her brother for the first time by the title of 'The Pretender,' a sobriquet which perhaps did more to exclude him from the throne than even his religion, James himself chose the appropriate title of the Chevalier de St. Georges. He conducted himself during this campaign so as to win the affection and esteem of all, especially of his commander, the Duc de Vendôme. He was present at the battle of Oudenarde, but afterwards caught a malignant intermittent fever, and returned much weakened in health to Saint Germains, firm in his determination, however, of returning for another campaign. At this juncture the defeat at Oudenarde, the famine, and the state of the finances led France to desire peace, and in this case Louis was powerless to avert the consequences to the exiled Prince. James and his mother were conscious that no peace could be concluded unless Louis withdrew his protection from the young King. Anxious not to be dismissed from France, and

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eager to try his fortunes once more in Scotland, whence he had received fresh invitations and promises of support, James implored Louis to help him in such an expedition. He was unhesitatingly refused, and received a hint that if he was to embroil the King with Queen Anne, his mother would be deprived of her shelter in France, and of her pension, which formed the sole support of herself, her daughter, and their faithful followers.

After this second failure James, having recovered his health, returned to the army in Flanders. During this campaign the Memoirs of Monsieur de Sourches have several references to his gallantry. On the 11th of September, 1709, he notes the rumour that the 'King of England, who was ill at Cambrai, hearing that the hostile forces were about to meet, set off in haste to the army, although he still had fever.' Four days later, he gives the famous letter written by the Marquis de Boufflers to Louis after the defeat of the French arms at Malplaquet, in which he says, 'The King of England showed throughout all the vivacity and valour possible,' adding in a later despatch, 'I have already had the honour of acquainting your Majesty with the valour everywhere displayed by the King of England. I have heard since that several persons near him were wounded.' In fact James had made a brilliant *fait d'armes* on this occasion. After Marshal Villars was carried wounded from the field of battle, and when the allies' cavalry broke into the French lines, de Boufflers ordered the Chevalier de St. Georges to advance at the head of 1,200 of the Horse Guards, which he did so gallantly that in one charge the German horse were broken and repulsed, and nothing but the steady courage of the English troops, and the skill of the commanders, prevented a total rout.

The ensuing winter was spent by James at Saint Germains; but in the May of 1710 he once more rejoined the French army. On this occasion a curious incident is recorded. While the opposing armies were encamped on either side of the Scarpe, there was a good deal of 'political coquetry' going on between some of the officers of Marlborough's staff and the retinue of the young King, who at the request of the former showed himself on horseback on the opposite side of the stream to those who had expressed an ardent wish to see him. Medals bearing his bust were also eagerly accepted by some of the English party; some of these were sent to several general officers by persons on James's side, enclosed in papers bearing the following words in allusion to his known gallantry at Malplaquet: 'The medal is good, for it bore six hours' fire; you know it was hot, for yourselves blew the coals.' The postscript, still more significant, ran thus: 'You know it was well tried on the 11th of September, 1709.'

Another very interesting memory is connected with the time passed by James in Flanders. We have seen that he was at Cambrai

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before the battle of Malplaquet, but his chief intercourse with Fénelon would seem to have taken place in the following year. The Chevalier de Ramsay, in his *Life of Fénelon*, gives fragments of the talks between the great Archbishop and the royal youth who sought the advice which would be necessary to him when he should, as he still hoped, be restored to the throne of his fathers. Fénelon's genius is wonderfully displayed in his knowledge of what would be required of a constitutional monarch in a country so unlike France, and his advice as to the religious toleration to be shown by James to his subjects, 'Not in approving everything as if indifferent, but in suffering with patience all that God suffers to be, and trying to bring men back by gentle persuasion,' is very striking.

After spending these few days at Cambrai, James returned to Saint Germains, charmed with all he had seen and heard; and Fénelon, no less pleased with his guest, wrote the following letter regarding him to his beloved pupil, the Duke of Burgundy. The letter is the more pathetic in that one feels that James possessed certain qualities which Fénelon had longed to impart to the Duke, who, in spite of his real excellence and talent, had not taken the position in public life always desired for him by his devoted master and friend:

> I have seen the King of England several times in an informal manner, and I think, Monseigneur, I ought to tell you the good opinion I have of him. He seems to be sensible, gentle, and equable in all things. He seems to take well the truths told to him. One sees in him the love of virtue and the religious principles by which he wishes to rule his conduct. He is master of himself, and acts calmly like a man without temper, without fancies, or inequalities of humour or headstrong imaginations, as one who always consults reason and yields to it in all things. He devotes himself to others from duty, and is full of attention for each one. He does not show himself weary of being in company, nor in haste to escape and be alone, nor distracted and self-engrossed when in public; he gives his whole mind to what he is about. He is full of dignity without pride. He proportions his attentions and his conversation according to rank and merit. He shows the gentle and moderate gaiety of a mature age. . . . In a word, the King of England makes himself agreeable and accommodates himself to others; he possesses a practical virtue and reasonableness. His firmness, his evenness of character, his self-control and power of conciliating others, his gentle and pleasant gravity, his gaiety, which never degenerates into anything unbecoming, prejudice the public in his favour.

James returned to Saint Germains on the 17th of September, 1710, as M. de Sourches notes, and visited King Louis three days later.

The difficult political position made no apparent difference in the intercourse between the two Courts, and the memoirs continue to refer to visits from the English royal party; and a ball at Marly in February 1711 is specially described, on which occasion King Louis ordered that supper should be taken before the dance, 'for love of them,' as James and his mother were not able for the late hours—no doubt he had had one of his attacks of fever, and the

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Queen was often ill. In March of the same year M. de Sourches remarks that there is 'great noise of a journey to be made by the King of England; . . . it was murmured that he was going into Provence, and that he was to marry a Princess of Piedmont.' The journey, however, did not take place till June, when he made a tour round France, and visited the French army. James was an excellent correspondent, and wrote constantly to his mother and sister. In July he describes his visit to Lyons, where he inspected the silk factories, and on this and other occasions he noted with interest anything that had to do with the progress of the arts or domestic civilisation. One of his objects at Lyons was to secure a piece of silk for his sister, as he wrote to the Queen 'that he had been desirous of purchasing for the Princess his sister one of the most beautiful specimens of the silks made at Lyons for a petticoat, but they had not shown him any that he thought good enough for her use.' However, he summoned Madame l'Intendante to his assistance, and she discovered a suitable piece of brocade for his sister 'to wear in winter when she left off mourning.'

This piece of brocade has a pathetic interest for us, as Princess Louise did not live long enough to wear it, and it was afterwards used for the church at Chaillot.

The following spring brought utter desolation to France in the sudden and unlooked-for deaths of the Dauphin and his wife, and a month later James was taken ill. On the 30th of March he had visited the convent at Chaillot, where the Queen and Princess then were, and had, as the convent chronicle says, 'behaved with much courtesy to our Mother, thanking her for the prayers she had made for him at all times, and for the care she had taken of the Queen his mother, and the consolation she had been to her. He appeared a little indisposed that day, but returned to Saint Germains in the evening with the Queen and Princess.'

Two days later, James was attacked by the fatal illness of the day, smallpox; and a week later his sister took the complaint, and after a brief illness, borne with immense fortitude and cheerful resignation, she left this world on the 18th of April. James, after being dangerously ill, slowly recovered, but from henceforth all the brightness of the exiled home was gone. Versailles and Saint Germains were equally in mourning, and soon, by the inexorable law of politics, James was forced to leave France and his mother, to begin that series of wanderings belonging to his later life. M. de Sourches thus sadly chronicles the parting visit paid to the French Court by the young King, which took place on his birthday, the 10th of June, 1712:

In the afternoon about three o'clock the King and Queen of England came to Marly to visit the King, who, having received them with the usual ceremonies, and having conversed with them for a short time in the saloon, conducted them to the apartment of the Marquise de Maintenon, where he

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remained with them for about an hour. After that he left them, in order to shoot. The King of England remained some time longer with the Marquise de Maintenon, while the Queen went to visit Madame, where they both shed many tears. Finally the King went to see the Duc and Duchesse de Berri and to see Madame, and the Queen, on her side, having finished her visits, they set off to return to Saint Germains. No one could be sadder than they both appeared.

And here we must leave James, with the greater part of his long sad life still before him. Many hard things have been said of him and of his conduct in later days, but it is only fair that the attacks made upon him should be thoroughly investigated. Although no doubt mistaken on occasions, and surrounded by councillors not always trustworthy or prudent, his own character and actions will, we think, be proved to be not unworthy of the bright promise of his youth.

M. M. Maxwell Scott.

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VOLUNTEERS FOR THE FLEET

THE movement for attracting volunteers to the fleet reveals in a welcome light the attitude of the Admiralty towards those who are anxious to serve their country, an attitude of active encouragement and consideration; and it shows also the latent patriotism of a large number of men who love the life of the sea and welcome the opportunity of associating themselves with the Navy. Those who join the new force embrace the liability to hard living, arduous labour, and perils of war not insignificant; and yet in face of the heavy burden which service casts upon them recruits are coming forward in greater numbers than was anticipated. It is not everyone, especially among the professional classes, who is willing to wear the 'blue collar' and uniform of the ordinary naval seaman, devote many hours to drills, and incur a liability to personal service in war-time which can be shirked only at the risk of penal punishment. The Admiralty have wisely recognised that there is a minimum of efficiency on which they can and should insist, and they have been content to rely on the spirit of emulation which animates all Englishmen with their hearts in a task, to raise the force above the official standard. They have asked for comparatively little in the matter of drill, but no one who is acquainted with the type of recruits now coming forward doubts that the methods of the authorities will prove infinitely more successful than a more rigid régime would have done. Men who volunteer for national service may be led by official encouragement and competition in drills to a higher general level of efficiency than they will reach if it is attempted to drive them by hard-and-fast regulations. It is on these lines that the Admiralty have organised the new volunteer force rather than a cast-iron code, liable to chafe men and rob them of their enthusiasm for the cause, which must be the main motive, after all, of those who voluntarily render national service.

Already there is one company of London Naval Volunteers made up of stockbrokers and clerks in the 'House,' and another has been formed consisting of barristers, solicitors, and others connected with the law. Of course, hundreds have been entered as 'clerks,' and for the rest there are commercial travellers, salesmen, estate agents, bank

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cashiers, journalists, tradesmen, schoolmasters, compositors, junior officers of the mercantile marine, and a number of engineers and skilled mechanics, including electricians and engine-fitters. Many of the members have had sea experience as yachtsmen; others have served in past years as infantry or artillery volunteers, and the force already includes quite a large number of men with mechanical or electrical knowledge, whose services will be specially useful in a fleet whose fighting efficiency depends so largely upon the smooth working of electrical and hydraulic appliances and countless auxiliary engines of one kind or another. The mechanic who can repair some piece of machinery during an action, adjust a gun-mounting, or set a dynamo working which has broken down temporarily will prove a most valuable unit on board a man-of-war in action. From the first the Admiralty hoped that the force would attract men with special trade aptitudes, and determined that the best possible use should be made of all these abilities. The regulations state that 'the professional skill of every volunteer is to be recorded on enrolment, with a view to utilising it when called up in time of emergency.' From the shipbuilding and engineering works on the Thames, Mersey, and Clyde in particular, recruits have been secured who cannot fail to prove of the highest value on board a man-of-war in time of stress and strain. It is a curious fact that such men are of infinitely more service than the typical seamen, who, it may be, have been all round the world before the mast, or have spent their lives on board fishing smacks. The Navy to-day is a mechanical Navy, and there is little room for the mere sailorman, with all his antiquated lore, in a modern ship of war, in which steam, hydraulic, and electric power do most of the work which in the past was performed by the wind or the crew. Consequently it is impossible to praise too highly the wisdom of the Admiralty in stating from the first that they desire to obtain in the new volunteer force as many recruits with scientific or mechanical acquirements as possible.

The experience in London has been the experience in other parts of Great Britain: volunteers are coming forward in larger numbers than had been expected. London, with the Hon. Rupert Guinness, C.M.G., as divisional commander, has already enrolled nearly 1000; Glasgow, with the Marquess of Graham as commander, has made good progress, and has now upwards of 700; Liverpool, with the Earl of Lathom; Bristol, with Commander Thompson; Brighton and Hove, with Admiral the Hon. T. A. Brand as commander, and other seaport towns are already joining in the movement with enthusiasm.

The country has had Naval Volunteers before, but they were disbanded twelve years ago by Lord George Hamilton, when First Lord of the Admiralty, on the advice of a committee over which the late Admiral Sir George Tryon presided. There were faults on both sides, but the failure may, in large measure, be traced to the lack of

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official encouragement and to the initial error of limiting the area of employment. The Admiralty were bound by the Act of Parliament of 1873, which empowered them to raise what were styled 'Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers' for service on board ship, or partly on board ship and partly on land, for the defence of the coasts of the United Kingdom, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and for service in adjacent seas. The old theories as to coast defence by the Navy died, and the Admiralty had no idea then how to utilise the volunteers; and consequently Sir George Tryon's committee came to the conclusion that the force was not worth the money its maintenance involved.

On the present occasion the movement started from without the Admiralty. From the first the authorities stipulated the minimum conditions of practically world-wide service on which they would insist, and these were accepted. Before definite action was taken, Sir Edward Grey's Committee on Naval Reserves was asked to state how far in their opinion a Naval Volunteer movement could be utilised towards the manning requirements of the war fleet. The answer which was given served as the basis on which the force is now being organised, and the quotation of this section of their report will indicate Admiralty policy in the matter:

> The experience of the Army has shown that large numbers of civilians take a pride in acquiring military knowledge and discipline, and in training themselves for service in war. It seems to be both wasteful and unnatural that all the amateur talent in this country should, for want of opportunity, be obliged to turn to military to the exclusion of naval training, and in view of the expansion of the fleet that may be found necessary in a struggle for the supremacy of the British Empire at sea, the Committee cannot but think that a body of volunteers would be likely to prove a most valuable auxiliary branch to the *personnel* of the Navy in time of war.
>
> A body of volunteers full of zeal and enthusiasm, having only a slight acquaintance with sea work, but with a good knowledge of the use of naval arms in addition to their own professional acquirements, should, in the opinion of the Committee, be able to render useful service as occasion might arise; and it would be better that this body of men should at first be small in numbers and efficient, rather than a large, inefficient, and unreliable force which would be more costly and of less use to the Service.
>
> After having been established on this understanding their numbers could be increased as far as might be found possible without loss of efficiency.
>
> It is hoped that the patriotism of men joining will be rewarded by strong official encouragement, which the Committee consider essential to their success and efficiency.

In hearty agreement with the terms of Sir Edward Grey's committee, the naval authorities proceeded to arrange for the organisation of a volunteer force for the fleet. Precedent dictated the creation of a sub-department of the Admiralty, which would have organised and managed the new force. It was decided to abandon precedent, and a committee of civilians specially interested in the movement was appointed to carry out the scheme as outlined by Sir Edward Grey's committee. On this body the Admiralty is represented

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by a naval officer. It is empowered with the control of the new force, under the supreme authority, of course, of the Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves.

The Committee comprises the following members: Mr. C. E. H. Chadwyck-Healey, K.C. (Chairman), a devoted yachtsman, the Marquess of Ailsa, the Marquess of Graham, Mr. B. Fossett Lock, Major H. Langdon, Mr. Goodenough Taylor, Hon. T. A. Brassey, Sir James Bell, Bart., Rear-Admiral C. J. Norcock (representing the Admiralty), Colonel A. F. Gatliff, R.M.L.I., and Mr. Valentine Taubman Goldie (Secretary). The advantage of thus delegating the control of the force is obvious. The Admiralty laid down their requirements, viewed from the standpoint of the war needs of the fleet, and the committee were charged with the responsibility of meeting the official demands and making them dovetail into the civil occupations of the members of the force, so as to render drill as little inconvenient as possible. From the first the Admiralty recognised frankly that a volunteer has his civil occupation to follow, and the result is that he is able to drill (taking London as an example) practically at any time after four in the afternoon, so long as he does at least forty drills in the first year and twenty-four in subsequent years and has satisfied the officer instructor as to his efficiency. The regulations on this matter are of special importance:

To qualify for an 'efficient,' thereby earning the capitation grant of 35*s.* annually, every officer and man must attend at least forty drills during the first year, and be qualified to receive a certificate from the officer instructor that he has a competent knowledge of his drills, and is able to take any man's part at the guns at which he has been instructed except 'No. 1,' and that he has been present at the annual inspection. A drill is to consist of instruction for not less than one hour.

Efficients will be required to requalify annually, and must attend at least twenty-four drills during the year. If embarked (that is, in one of his Majesty's sea-going ships), one day's sea service will be considered equivalent to six ordinary drills.

These regulations do not constitute a severe tax upon the members of the force. Experience will certainly show—in fact, has already amply shown—that members desire to reach a higher standard of efficiency than this minimum represents, and such men will be encouraged. Every 'efficient' volunteer will earn a capitation grant of 35*s.* annually, and he may earn any two of the following additional grants besides the sum he may gain, if an officer, by obtaining the Board of Trade master's certificate, which most yachtsmen aspire to hold.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Gunnery (officers and petty officers only)	1	10	0
Torpedo (officers and petty officers only)	1	10	0
Engine-room work or electrician (all hands)	1	10	0
Signalling (all hands)	1	10	0
Signalling and telegraphy (all hands)	4	0	0
Board of Trade master's certificate (officers only)	1	10	0

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It will be noticed that reference is made to 'sea-training,' but this is regarded as a privilege. It is provided that 'sea-training in the case of *men classed as efficient only* will be given when possible in sea-going ships of his Majesty's Navy,' and it is also laid down that volunteers 'will accommodate themselves to the berthing and messing arrangements usual for the seamen of the Royal Navy.' Whether this sea-training will be regarded as a privilege by volunteers after one experience will depend on two conditions—whether they are prepared to rough it as naval seamen, and upon the character of the treatment accorded to them on board the ships to which they are appointed. Bluejackets are not pampered; their sleeping arrangements are not luxurious—they sling a hammock practically wherever there is space; their 'messes' represent an irreducible minimum of comfort—benches, with a hinged board for meals, which stand on iron 'pins,' and can be removed in an instant so as to have the deck free; their food is simple in the extreme: at sea, hard biscuits take the place of bread, and they have no butter unless they buy it, but have lately gained some few luxuries: jam in six varieties—a concession by the way, that many do not value—milk (condensed), and coffee; the hours of work are long, and of sleep broken; the labour is often hard, the discipline is necessarily strict, and they live under the eye of the ship's police, who see that the hammocks are properly lashed up in the morning—any time from 4.30 to 5.0 A.M., that clothing is properly stowed away in the canvas bag which each man possesses, &c. Much of the inconvenience attaching to a volunteer seaman's life on board ship may be minimised by tact, especially if the men are sent to sea in batches so as to have messes to themselves, and recognise fully that they must relinquish for the time many of the little luxuries to which they are accustomed ashore.

For the present, at least, Naval Volunteers will not go to sea with any of the squadrons. For some time their energies must be devoted to drill, either in sheds or batteries ashore or in stationary ships, so as to earn the capitation grant as 'efficients'; but next year it is hoped that more ambitious training will be undertaken. A year or two ago it would have been possible to take them on board one or other of the large ships acting as coastguard vessels. These men-of-war have, however, been withdrawn from coast service, and have joined the Home Fleet, which is now always at sea cruising. Simultaneously with this change the United Kingdom was divided into six coastguard districts, each under the command of a captain, who has at his disposal a cruiser. Six second-class cruisers have been set apart for service in the various districts, and they act as drillships for the Royal Naval Reserve, being good swift modern ships, admirably suited to the purpose. The *Andromache* has her headquarters at Harwich, the *Apollo* at Southampton Water, the *Spartan* at Holyhead, the

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Sappho at Queensferry, the *Æolus* at Queenstown, and the *Melampus* at Kingstown. It is intended that on board these ships the volunteers shall be given facilities for going to sea. They could be embarked for one of the usual holidays, Easter, Whitsun, or even in August, so as to interfere as little as possible with their occupations ashore. In the future it might even be possible to concentrate these ships, forming a good cruiser squadron, and to carry out a programme cruise round the coast—thus advertising the new force—and possibly do some evolutions. On board these ships the volunteers will have as shipmates, not young seamen, but a large number of seasoned men of the Naval Reserve; and the officers of the vessels, by the exercise of some amount of tact, might make the time spent afloat as pleasurable as it should be profitable. In future years, no doubt, some of the force might be taken to sea for the summer manœuvres of the fleet, but as a beginning the cruises in the *Andromache* and her sisters will supply just that taste of sea life that the men desire.

The land volunteer has to wear a uniform which is similar in character to that of practically all soldiers; fighting, the most ancient of all professions, has so long had its distinctive and, as a rule, attractive garb that familiarity has robbed it of its strangeness. In fact, the uniform of land soldiers has been the magnet which has lured thousands of men to bear arms. In the case of the men of the Navy the uniform has always been useful rather than ornamental—severely useful. It differs in all respects from that of the civil population, and it is this outfit which the Naval Volunteer is called upon to wear on duty. These citizen sailors of the fleet must put on, even for drills, the complete garb with slight variations of those who go down to the sea in the King's ships. They must wear the regulation 'bell' trousers, 'frocks,' with flannels cut low round the neck, and the typical naval cap, with 'R.N.V.' on the ribbon. The whole uniform of an ordinary naval seaman has to be adopted by these newest recruits, even down to the knife and lanyard. The regulations specify in detail the 'kit' with which the volunteer is provided by the Admiralty free of cost, the wearer being charged to keep it in good repair himself. It includes

1 pair blue cloth trousers.
1 blue serge frock.
1 white drill frock and 2 jean collars.
2 flannels.
1 cap and ribbon and 2 cap covers, white.
1 hat and ribbon.
1 knife and lanyard.
1 blue silk handkerchief (for the neck).
1 bag (waterproof) for kit.
Blue serge working dress.
1 pair of gaiters.
For chief petty officers 1 jacket instead of frock.
Additional kit when embarked: white working dress, and oilskins.

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The officers of the Naval Volunteers wear a uniform similar to that of a regular naval officer, but with a different type of gold braid.

The amount of seamanlike lore which a 'trained man' of the Naval Volunteers must acquire is not inconsiderable. Most men who are a credit to the force will certainly not be satisfied with the mere 'efficient' certificate, but will desire, in order to qualify for promotion to leading man and petty officer, to obtain the 'trained man's' certificate, which will recite that he 'possesses a thorough practical knowledge of heavy and quick-firing gun, rifle, pistol and cutlass drills, and that he can take the helm, heave the lead, and take charge of a service boat.' In brief, the man who gains this certificate must be a good all-round sailor.

Boats of service pattern, equipped for rowing and sailing exercise, with all masts, sails, and other necessary gear, are provided for each company, and every man is given a rifle. For drills, either the volunteers will have a special ship allotted to them, as is the case in London, or they will undergo drill at one of the Naval Reserve batteries, or on board one of the Naval Reserve drill-ships. The London division has been provided with the sloop *Buzzard*, of 1140 tons displacement, which has been equipped with quick-firing and machine guns, and taken up moorings near Blackfriars Bridge, in full view of passers-by on the Thames Embankment. In detailing this little vessel for use by the London volunteers, the Admiralty appear to have made a false move. She is small, too small for many men to be on board at the same time, and she is old. Gutted of her machinery, she is only a man-of-war in name, and cannot go to sea. At the same time she will entail considerable expense, while not relieving the division of the necessity of providing a drill-shed ashore. She really serves no useful purpose, and the money devoted to her refitting and maintenance could have been spent to better purpose in providing the most efficient volunteers with more or less frequent cruises in a sea-going cruiser, a privilege which would have been greatly valued. Now the vessel is at Blackfriars, she must stay there presumably, and she will act, it is true, as an advertisement, which the new force needs; but the money that she absorbs should not be quoted by the authorities as an excuse for cutting down the number of men sent to sea for cruises. On board the *Buzzard*, the London volunteers go for drill, each company having its own petty officer instructor, a man pensioned from the Navy; and these company instructors are under an officer of, or retired from, the Navy—at present, exclusively the latter, as there is none on the active list to spare—who acts as divisional instructor. In addition each division, which includes five companies of 100 men, has an armourer provided for the repair of the guns and gun-mountings, rifles, etc. The full strength of a company and a division is as follows:

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	Company	Division of five companies.
Lieutenant commanding	—	1
Lieutenant Instructor	—	1
Sub-Lieutenants	2	10
Staff Surgeon (Honorary)	—	1
Surgeons	1	5
Paymaster	—	1
Assistant Paymaster	—	1
Chaplain (Honorary)	—	1
Midshipmen	1	5
Total commissioned officers	4	26
Chief Petty Officers	1	5
Chief Petty Officer Instructors	1	5
Armourer	—	1
Bugle Major	—	1
1st Class Petty Officers	2	10
2nd Class Petty Officers	2	10
Leading Men and Men	92	460
Buglers	1	5
Total enrolled, including commissioned officers	103	528

The regulations also state:

In addition to the above establishment there may be added to each company unit such number of trained signalmen as the Admiralty may from time to time direct. Trained signalmen must be proficient telegraphists.

It should be noted that it is desired that among the leading men and men there should be as many as possible qualified by trade to act as telegraphists, electricians, armourers, or artisans.

Of the above table the following will form the permanent staff, and will be appointed by the Admiralty, viz.: lieutenant instructors, petty officer instructors, and armourers.

A few points in the regulations are worthy of note. While Naval Volunteers accept the liability to serve 'either ashore or afloat, as may be directed by the Admiralty, and anywhere the Admiralty may have need of their services, with the understanding that those services shall, as much as practicable, be confined to home waters and the Mediterranean,' they also have the assurance that they will receive similar treatment afloat as to pay, pensions, and widows' pensions as ordinary naval seamen, and if injured at drill the Admiralty accept the responsibility for medical attendance, and will pay pensions or compensations for injuries or hurts received whilst on service or drill. When in uniform, officers and men of the Naval Volunteers are to pay the customary marks of respect to such officers of the Navy, Army and Auxiliary Forces as are entitled to be saluted by officers and men of corresponding rank in their own services. *Ergo*, a Naval Volunteer, who may be a young barrister or stockbroker, going to sea for training, will be obliged to salute the youngest midshipman and warrant officers.

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How the scheme will work out in practice remains to be seen. It has not a few good points. Its administration will not be hindered by red tape or regulations irritating to the civilian strange to service customs, and yet due provision has been made for the maintenance of the necessary measure of discipline. The arrangements for drilling are so elastic that any officer or seaman can qualify as 'efficient' by devoting one hour or so a week during the first year, and one hour a fortnight each year afterwards, apart from the usual holidays at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and the summer.

The class of volunteer who is coming forward suggests that he will readily acquire a high standard of efficiency in the varied drill he will undergo. In time of war his lot may be rough and hard, and the conditions very different from those to which he is accustomed ashore, but at such a time of emergency as would lead the Admiralty to call upon the services of volunteers, men of this type would be the very last to raise complaints on matters of detail. When the auxiliary force is needed, the position not of this country but of the whole Empire will be such that men will envy the volunteers the measure of naval efficiency that will enable them to render skilled aid in the great task of driving off the foe, and all the little matters of inconvenience and rough living will sink into absolute insignificance in face of an imminent danger. In practice it may be possible to smooth away a number of the rules which suggest difficulties when seen on paper. One great safeguard for the efficiency of the corps is that each company has a naval petty officer as instructor, and that each division has a naval commissioned officer attached to it. By these means officers and men will be brought into close association with the fleet, its tradition, and customs from the very hour they join the force; and they will have every opportunity of becoming familiar with the needs of the most highly specialised and technical force in the world, a force which is always on active service, always ready for war.

The decision to raise volunteers for the fleet will suggest the doubt in many minds whether the civilian, however enthusiastic he may be, can be fashioned by occasional drills so as to reach a sufficiently high standard to be of real use on board ship. It must not be forgotten, however, that the volunteers, as a rule, will have better educational qualifications than the ordinary bluejacket, certainly much better than the youths of eighteen or so who enter the Navy after a short course in one of the supplementary sea-going training-ships. Volunteers, with this initial advantage, allied with the smartening influence on the mind of the office or workshop, should be able to become proficient in drill much quicker than the raw first-class boy and ordinary seaman. As a rule, they will not rival the best shots and really efficient men of the regular force, and

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to find useful work for them in a war fleet it will not be necessary that they should. It is held by naval officers who have given the subject the closest attention that not more than about 40 per cent. of the crew of a battleship or cruiser must reach the highest level of fighting efficiency. The remainder, 'the hewers of wood and drawers of water' as they have been called, will have duties which do not necessarily require the possession of expert knowledge or expert skill—attending to the hoses for keeping the decks free from fire, handing along ammunition, and performing a dozen other tasks, necessary, but not highly technical in character. The specially noted individual qualifications of men in the Volunteer force—ability as electricians, telegraphists, and signallers, workers with tools of various kinds—will render these men most useful to the commander of a commissioned ship when making out his 'quarter bill.'

It is less easy to understand how the services of the officers of the Volunteer force can be usefully employed afloat. While naval officers are arranged in classes according to their success in examination, all have a degree of knowledge of seamanship, gunnery, or torpedoes to which the Volunteer officer cannot aspire. Among naval officers there are no 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' It is almost impossible that Volunteer officers should retain the command of their companies in time of war; this is generally admitted by the officers themselves. The men will be drafted to sea in batches, and will pass under the command of the regular officers of the ship. Experience may suggest to the Admiralty some means of utilising these Volunteer officers, but at present it is not possible to imagine a sphere for those of average merit. Knowledge of the duties of a watch-keeping officer can be acquired only by a fairly long period of service in one of the sea-going ships of his Majesty's fleet; captains as a rule do not even trust Naval Reserve officers as watch-keepers. Whatever employment may or may not be found for the officers in time of emergency, they will do most admirable service in peace in promoting the success of the Volunteer corps; and as the movement spreads and develops under Admiralty encouragement, some way out of the difficulty of using them to advantage in war time may be evolved.

The Naval Volunteer movement has begun auspiciously with the full sympathy of the Navy. The Admiralty have shown a wise spirit of consideration in the framing of the regulations; and the controlling committee have revealed their fitness to act as the link between the naval authorities and the Volunteers. On the part of officers and men of the force keen enthusiasm has bridged over all initial difficulties, and drills have begun in the most satisfactory manner.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

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THE BLUEJACKET AND THE TAILORS

If it is true that the modern bluejacket carries a pen instead of a knife at the end of his lanyard, it is because experience has taught him that, properly used, the pen is a very useful weapon. And in this latter day development there is much to be thankful for, as it is certainly more in consonance with modern ideas that the pen should act as a lower-deck safety-valve rather than that we should see a repetition of the awful excesses of Portsmouth and the Nore.

But so far the lower-deck pen lies semi-dormant; the average newspaper editor still prefers to accept naval articles from landsmen; and these, though invariably well and cleverly written, are too often inaccurate in detail to form other than humorous reading for those on whose behalf they are penned.

But the lower-deck pen is ever ready: the bluejacket is longing to voice his own claims in his own way, and to tell the British public in his own language the why and wherefore of his grumblings. Six years ago I left the Navy and started a paper for the lower deck. I immediately became the receptacle into which the men poured their complaints, their hopes, their requirements. Since then I have acted as the friend, confidant, and adviser of thousands of British bluejackets in all parts of the world. With such an experience, backed up by twenty years' life on the lower deck, one learns much of the Navy and its ways, and one learns the true inwardness of Jack's grumblings, which to the lay mind must often appear to be the result of sheer cussedness.

Perhaps there is nothing in which the men have been so misunderstood as in their struggles against the peculiarities of the present clothing regulations. The object of this article is to show that if Jack persistently deviates from written rules, he has practical utility as a spur. The struggle is between the practical bluejacket on the one hand and the idiosyncrasies of the official tailor and posture-master on the other.

The picturesque rig of the bluejacket is known and beloved of every Englishman. Who is not familiar with the full-throated, broad-chested tar, with his flowing collar ornamented with three rows of tape, his jumper cut well down in front, exposing an expanse of spot-

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less flannel, the loose folds of his trousers falling in graceful curves with every step? This is Jack as he loves to be, and as he dresses himself when not under the official eye. But in so doing he violates the letter of the law and exposes himself to punishment, for the official Naval uniform is a thing of inches rather than of beauty.

It is impossible to gaze on a bluejacket without noticing the peculiarities of his rig; but how many pause to consider that these peculiarities are the outcome of experience and development rather than any leaning towards the picturesque? Men who were in hourly risk of being precipitated overboard from deck, mast, or yard, soon found that safety lay in wearing an upper garment that could be easily slipped when in the water; hence the loose jumper cut low down in front. Just so with the nether garment. The loose baggy cut of these left the legs of the wearer entirely free—beyond which the conditions of life on board, where the men are continually dabbling in water, necessitated a nether garment which could be easily rolled up to, or above, the knee, still leaving the leg free; and thus we have the baggy trousers of the sailor.

When the British Navy developed into a properly uniformed service, this was the groundwork chosen. Certain embellishments were added in the shape of the blue jean collar with its three rows of tape, the black silk neckerchief, etc. But the loose jumper and flowing trousers were the foundation, while considerable latitude was allowed the men for the gratification of individual tastes.

But the permanent peace which followed the glorious Nelsonian period had its inevitable result. The essentials of war gradually gave place to the non-essentials; scenic effect was sought after rather than war efficiency; the daily cleaning of the guns to keep them in proper order became, now there was no enemy against whom to use them, a matter of prime importance, and they were kept *only to clean*; target practice—the only means of retaining shooting efficiency during times of peace—being shirked rather than tarnish their beautiful polish. The posture-master and tailor were exaggerated out of all proportion to their true value; the importance of the uniform, which in the first place was intended as a distinguishing mark for those in the King's Naval service, grew with that of the tailor, and the correct dressing of the men, even to the fractional part of an inch, became *the* first essential of the British Navy; and this curious inversion of means and ends culminated in the clothing regulations promulgated February 1897 and revised November 1901.

But in their preparation one fatal mistake was made—the men were not consulted. Hard and fast lines were set, modifications were made in the popular rig to suit tailoring ideals, every article was drawn to a rigid scale—and this by men who had no idea why Jack preferred his trousers cut big, his jumper well open in front, or a pocket here instead of there; and affixed was an official note to the

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effect that 'the patterns of uniform as shown in these regulations are to be strictly adhered to, and no deviations whatever allowed.'

And the result? They have turned the Navy into a huge tailor's shop; they have created a new set of Naval crimes; and last, but not least, are demoralising the men by the system of bribery and blackmail to which they have given birth.

First let us deal with the reason why the men object to, and will not, except under direct compulsion, abide by the strict letter of this uniform code. Your true sailor is a man who delights in a smart personal appearance—I never knew a slovenly sailor worth his salt—the correct official uniform gives him a dowdy rather than a smart appearance. This would be enough to condemn its rigidity did no other objections exist: sentiment is a large factor even in the mental make-up of the practical bluejacket. But the objections are practical rather than sentimental, to prove which the following examples may suffice.

The regulations state that the pocket on jumpers must be six inches deep and three inches wide, the pocket to be sewn on the left breast of the jumper, the top of pocket to be on a line with the point of the shoulder. This pocket is for the purpose of carrying the uniform clasp knife, and is just large enough to allow it to rest in the pocket in a perpendicular position. Jack finds that, being so high up, it is turned upside down when he stoops, and out drop the contents on the deck, or, if in a boat, overboard. If the pocket is lowered a few inches this does not happen. The natural result is that he places the pocket where it will be of practical use to him, and in so doing commits a punishable offence.

I have already explained the reasons for the wide-legged trousers. The existing regulations aim at the abolition of these, as is shown by the following extract:

> The size across the leg at the knee is to be nine to ten inches, and at the foot ten to eleven inches, but the measurement across at the knee is to be always one inch less than at the foot.

But the conditions of his life are practically the same as they ever were. He still dabbles about on wet decks, etc., and, being his own tailor, cuts his trousers to fit the conditions of his life, and again commits a punishable offence.

His objection to the official scale for collars and cut of frocks and jumpers may be of a somewhat sentimental nature. Collars are sixteen inches wide by eight and a half inches deep, while

> all frocks and jumpers are to be cut down ten inches from the collar, the strings being nine inches below it; and on no account is any deviation from this to be permitted.

To obtain that smart dressy appearance so beloved by Jack it is necessary for the collar to lie flat on the shoulders, and this depends

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largely on the depth the jumper is cut down in front. A small, narrow-chested man finds nine inches ample; the broad-chested man finds it insufficient, and his collar, instead of lying flat, is all crumpled up, giving him the appearance of being hump-backed. As the majority of bluejackets are broad-chested, this grievance is general. To enable the civilian reader to form some idea of Jack's feelings in this matter, let him imagine some large firm issuing an order to all its employees that they must wear a certain pattern collar, sixteen inches long by two and a half inches deep. The expressions of a short-necked man in a collar of this description would be lurid if not polite.

The inelasticity of the regulations makes them impossible.

The British bluejacket is his own tailor. His knowledge of tailoring is at the best elementary; he cuts his garments by rule of thumb, not by scale, and this elaborate system of inches and eighths of inches seems to be devised more to confuse than to help him. But, being his own tailor, it is necessary for him to have materials for that purpose, therefore a 'housewife' forms part of his kit. Here, again, the minute perfection aimed at renders the regulations impracticable.

The following are the contents of a 'housewife':

Beeswax	1 oz.
Buttons, metal, large	16 No.
„ „ small	6 „
„ stained bone	16 „
Cotton, white, No. 24	2 skeins
Needles, short	12 No.
„ darning	12 „
Pins	½ oz.
Tape, white, ½ in. (in pieces of 18 yards each)	1 piece
„ „ 1 in. (in pieces of 9 yards each)	1 „
„ Dutch, $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (in pieces of 8½ yards each)	2 pieces
Thimble, tailor's	1 No.
Thread, whited brown	25 skeins
„ black	25 „
Worsted, blue	2 ozs.

The bluejacket may at any moment be called upon to muster his kit, and, as no deviations whatever are allowed, the contents of his 'housewife' must always be according to scale. It therefore lies useless in his kit-bag, and he provides himself with what he calls a 'jewing bag' for use.

And now I approach the unsavoury subject of bribery and blackmail. I shall make no sweeping charges against the ship's police, many of whom are my personal friends; but—and I write with a full sense of responsibility—I have no hesitation in declaring that at the home depots bribery and blackmail are rife. During the past few years I have received hundreds of letters on this subject from Naval men of all ratings. I have personally interviewed a number of others, and the remarkable unanimity of the views expressed, backed up by

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my own extensive experience when afloat, leaves no doubt whatever on this subject.

In many ships in commission, the officers, recognising the reasons why Jack deviates from the letter of the law, wink at small modifications in the cut of trousers, position of pockets, etc. Not so in the home depots. Here a literal interpretation is placed on the regulations, and their administration is rigid. At these places a certain number of the ship's police are detailed off, whose sole duty is the inspection of kits. Every man, immediately on joining, or before leaving, is passed into the 'muster kit party,' and every article is subjected to a rigid examination and measurement. Should any deviate, even by the eighth part of an inch, from the official scale, they must be altered or replaced by new.

A man joins a depot from foreign service, and his first duty is to muster his kit. Several articles are found to be out of uniform, and he is 'put down' for new, which in the aggregate may cost three or four pounds. Knowing that this means no weekly money for some time, and probably being a married man, he, on the quiet, approaches the corporal who mustered his kit to see if some modification cannot be made in the amount. A bribe passes, and the amount is reduced. An unscrupulous corporal sees here a chance of sweating money out of those who come after, and condemns articles of clothing simply with a view of running up a big bill. Afterwards the victim pays over a sum which is based on the amount of the reduction. Thus does bribery develop into blackmail. In such an insidious way is this carried out that it would be almost impossible to detect it, and certainly both parties to such a transaction would make a strenuous denial.

But all this can be easily removed. Uniformity is necessary; to enforce a rigid scale without endless friction is impossible. The generous example of the present Board of Admiralty in consulting the wishes of the men on the subject of their rations might well be followed here. It cannot be to the interest of the nation that friction on such a subject should be allowed to continue. At present the friction is acute. Five hundred men desert annually from Chatham barracks alone, the majority of whom are driven from the service by the harassing to which they are subjected over trivial matters connected with their uniform, and the summary punishments from the same cause throughout the Navy are innumerable. We have swept away a great deal of the spit and polish of the Navy, but it still remains in the grasp of the posture-master and the tailor.

LIONEL YEXLEY.

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LAST MONTH

I

THE general political situation has undergone little change during the past month. At the end of April the Ministerialists were exultant over the success with which the Government had surmounted the difficulties incident to the Budget and the introduction of the Licensing Bill. A week or two earlier it had been generally believed that Ministers must come to grief on one or other of these questions, and the chief topic of discussion was the composition of the Cabinet which was to succeed Mr. Balfour's. But a sudden change had taken place, all thought of an immediate dissolution or defeat of the Government had been laid aside, and the Ministerialists were once more indulging in the belief that the present Parliament had still twelve months or more of life before it. This was the prevailing opinion when May began. Threatened men live long, and threatened Ministries seem to enjoy the same fate, though it is difficult to understand what substantial foundation there was for the sudden revulsion of feeling among Mr. Balfour's followers which seemed in a moment to have lifted them from the depths of depression to an unchecked confidence in their destinies. After all, the political situation remained just what it had been, in spite of the fact that the Government had successfully surmounted two of the fences by which they were confronted. The Unionist party remained hopelessly divided on the question of fiscal reform, and an exhausted House of Commons showed no signs of renewed life or reviving energy. But those who have to live from day to day are thankful for small mercies, and the fact that there had been no collapse on the Budget or the introduction of the Licensing Bill seemed to the Parliamentary majority to justify the confident belief that the Government, after its trying voyage through stormy seas before Easter, had entered upon smooth waters. It would perhaps be too much to say that subsequent experiences have justified this optimistic estimate of the situation. The Ministry still lives, and quite possibly may continue to live for the term predicted by Mr. Balfour; but it dwells in the midst of alarms, and its hairbreadth escapes are hardly less numerous or exciting than those of Robinson Crusoe himself. That which strikes the more or less dispassionate observer

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is the constant changeableness of its fortunes. One day it has a majority of eighty or more on some question of importance, and the *Times* pompously announces that this is, or ought to be, sufficient, ignoring the fact that if parties still stood where they did the Ministerial majority should be at least 50 per cent. greater. A day or two earlier or later the Government has the narrowest escape from defeat, being saved in one instance at least by the votes of certain stalwart Radicals, who were pedantic enough to prefer their principles to their party. And all the time, as we witness the dexterous balancing and counter-balancing of the Prime Minister, we seem to be watching a political Blondin manœuvring on a tight-rope. Let me pay a well-earned tribute to Mr. Balfour. He has made a new reputation for himself since the present Session began, one which excites the Tadpoles and Tapers of his party to enthusiasm. We thought we knew before both his qualities and his defects, but nobody credited him with the extraordinary dexterity which he has displayed of late in meeting critical emergencies, and in devising formulas which, if they satisfy nobody, at least enable him to get out of the most awkward dilemmas unhurt. This, I need not say, is not the highest form of statesmanship, but it proves, at any rate, that Mr. Balfour's Parliamentary apprenticeship has not been wasted, and that he is now a past master in those arts of the political tactician, the chief object of which is to keep an Administration in office even after public opinion has sentenced it to death.

The tariff question is still the great stumbling-block in the way of the Government, and it is in dealing with this question that the Prime Minister has been most adroit. Mr. Chamberlain's return from his long holiday was not followed, as many persons expected that it would be, by any immediate renewal of the raging and tearing agitation of last autumn. The tariff reformers continued to lie low, and only through their inspired organs in the Press gave any indication of the fact that they still existed as a living body. There were no bye-elections to furnish any repetition of the popular verdict upon the movement, and we have had to be content with vague announcements that Mr. Chamberlain's 'Commission' was still at work gathering the information which is to prove at some future day that his revolutionary policy is a wise one. But Mr. Chamberlain himself has made another Birmingham speech which is admirably instructive and, to his opponents, eminently encouraging. Nobody who knew Mr. Chamberlain could have expected that there would be any abatement of the pretension on which he founded his historic utterance twelve months ago at Birmingham. Whatever else he may be, he is at least thorough in his advocacy of any cause that he espouses, and in May 1904 he seemed to be just as firmly convinced of the wisdom of his new policy as he was when he first expounded it in May 1903. But in one respect at least his speech was novel

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and unexpected. Whilst he still adhered to the old fallacies, and made light of the arguments by which his opponents have confuted them, he practically acknowledged that, so far, his campaign had been a failure. He did, indeed, claim that he had succeeded in winning over the Unionist party to his side—a claim which sounds curiously when we remember what the Unionist party has had to lose from the mere suspicion that it sympathised with him. But the country, he admitted, was still unconverted; and the next General Election, he declared in language that was scarcely ambiguous, would furnish a verdict adverse to his policy. His opponents might very well rest content with this admission, even if it stood alone, and had not been followed by occurrences of which I shall speak presently. Free Traders have every reason to be grateful to Mr. Chamberlain for the frankness with which he shadowed forth his conception of the course of future events. The next election, he thinks, will be followed by a Liberal and Free Trade triumph, which will naturally result in the return of the Opposition to power. But, if he is right, it is to be power in name rather than in reality. A weak Government is to be installed in office, and is to be permitted to enjoy for a brief space the doubtful pleasures that mere office without power can provide. Then the great rally of the Protectionists and food-taxers is to take place, and all their forces, under the astute and brilliant leadership of the member for West Birmingham, are to be turned against an Administration which stands for Free Trade, and it is to be ignominiously hurled from power. Short views of life were said by Sydney Smith to be the best antidote to bad spirits. Free Traders are by no means in bad spirits at present; but if they were, they would probably remember Sydney Smith's saying, and would not allow themselves to be discomposed by predictions of evil which depend for their fulfilment upon events that lie beyond two General Elections. Still, Mr. Chamberlain's warning is not one that they ought to forget. They know now that the agitator who is seeking to reverse the whole fiscal policy of the country is building his hopes, not upon any sudden conversion of the masses to his own views, but upon the possible errors of his opponents. They are to be allowed to take office for the sufficient reason that their arch-enemy is unable to prevent it; but they are then to commit those gratuitous acts of folly and indiscretion which will alienate the country from them, and enable Mr. Chamberlain and the food-taxers to advance to their assured victory. His frankness ought not to be lost upon those in whose hands the direction of the Liberal party and its fortunes now lies. They may depend upon it that their great protagonist has shown his usual acuteness in pointing to possible errors on their part as the means by which he may yet retrieve a situation which in itself seems almost hopeless.

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But in the meantime it is the Unionist party which presents to the public a spectacle of complete disunion. The Liberal Unionist Council has been 'reconstituted' on lines suggested by Mr. Chamberlain himself. Virtually the new rules make the member for West Birmingham the master of the Council, and practically the Council itself is identified with the policy of tariff reform. It is a distinct personal triumph for Mr. Chamberlain; but it is one that has been purchased at a heavy cost. The Duke of Devonshire ceases to be president of the Council, and he has made it clear that he cannot retain his membership of the body under the new rules. That he will not retire from it alone is certain. The old Liberal Unionist party and organisation are therefore broken up—or, rather, what remains of both are merged in that Protectionist party of which Mr. Chamberlain has made himself the chief. But, though it would be idle to question the importance of the victory which has thus been gained by the opponents of Free Trade, it does not follow that Mr. Chamberlain has secured the acquiescence of the Ministerialists as a whole in his new policy. On the contrary, the proceedings in connection with what is known as 'the Black resolution' point to a directly opposite conclusion. Mr. Black, a Scotch Liberal member, having been fortunate enough to secure one of the Wednesday after-dinner sittings, gave notice of his intention to move a resolution declaring that the House, 'believing that the Protective taxation of food would be burdensome to the people and injurious to the Empire, welcomed the declarations of Ministers that the Government is opposed to such taxation.' It was an ingenious device for obtaining a vote from the 'free fooders' in the House affirming their fidelity to their principles without compelling them to give a vote of want of confidence in the Administration. It was intended to have the further effect of compelling the Prime Minister to climb down either on one side of the fence or the other. Ministers, as everybody knows, have spoken with two voices on the subject of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals; though, if we may judge by the debates on the Address and some subsequent utterances, the weight of opinion in the Cabinet has been adverse to the proposal to tax food. It would have been a great triumph for Mr. Black if he had been able to extract from Mr. Balfour—who, it will be remembered, was not able to be present during the debates on the Address—a distinct declaration of his policy with regard to tariff reform; whilst a direct vote of the House of Commons on the subject would undoubtedly have cleared the air and set many doubtful points at rest. But Mr. Black, and the Opposition generally, reckoned without Mr. Balfour and the tactical skill which he has shown so conspicuously in his recent Parliamentary experiences. To begin with, indeed, it looked as though 'the Black resolution' were not unlikely to effect its object. Mr. Chamberlain took up a position

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of extreme hostility to it, and gave notice of an amendment which, if it was not absolutely in favour of his fiscal policy, at all events would have been regarded as pledging the Ministerialists to do nothing to hinder it. This amendment remained on the paper until the day before the debate on Mr. Black's resolution was to take place, and it was assumed that it was regarded with approval by Mr. Balfour and his colleagues. But on the eve of the debate an unexpected change took place. The Government learned, through the agency of their Whips, that if Mr. Chamberlain's amendment were proposed it was hardly likely that it would be carried. The Free Traders in their party made no secret of their determination to vote against it. Then it was that, for the second time during the present Session, the Prime Minister came forward with a dexterous proposal, the purpose of which was to save the Ministerialists from the painful necessity of defining clearly their attitude towards Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy. On the former occasion a motion which the Protectionists resented, and against which they declared their intention to vote, was hurriedly withdrawn in favour of a colourless declaration drawn up by the Prime Minister, and a crisis was consequently averted. The same tactics were adopted with regard to 'the Black resolution.' Mr. Chamberlain's amendment disappeared, and in place of it the Government invited their supporters to vote for an amendment declaring that the House considered it unnecessary to discuss the question of fiscal reform, as Ministers had announced that no proposals on the subject would be laid before the present Parliament. It was as near an approach to what the French Chambers know as 'the previous question' as is possible under the rules of the House of Commons. It permitted both those who have not made up their minds, and those who, having made them up, do not wish the world to know what they think, to evade the issue raised by the terms of Mr. Black's resolution. In its way it was a triumph of that particular kind of Parliamentary *finesse* in which the Prime Minister has proved himself to be an expert, and it succeeded in its purpose. But Mr. Balfour was not content with this adroit method of shelving an awkward question. He intimated to his followers that Mr. Black's resolution had raised a question of confidence—a resolution which expressly 'welcomed the declarations of Ministers'!—and that its adoption would wreck the Government. His skilful tactics and his passionate appeal to the loyalty of his followers had their effect, and by a majority of fifty-five Ministers were saved from defeat and their followers from the necessity of giving a straight vote on the tariff question.

It is impossible, I repeat, not to admire the adroitness with which Mr. Balfour holds his own amid the confused and dangerous cross-currents which now afflict the political sea. A less skilful leader would almost certainly have failed in the attempt to extricate himself

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from the critical dilemma in which Ministers were placed by Mr. Black's resolution. That the mode of escape actually adopted cannot have been altogether satisfactory to Mr. Chamberlain and his friends one may reasonably believe; but at least there *was* an escape, and once more the Government found itself in comparatively smooth water. Yet no man who thinks of something more than the struggles of contending factions can pretend to regard this episode in the history of the month with satisfaction. It is almost, if not absolutely, without precedent that at a time when a most serious political controversy has been raised, and when it has gone so far as to break up one of the great parties in the State, the country should be kept in ignorance of the opinions both of the Government and the House of Commons with regard to it. It is impossible to imagine the great statesmen of the past adopting the course which has been followed with so much skill and success by Mr. Balfour; nor is it possible to imagine any House of Commons before the present one that would have tamely acquiesced in manœuvres which, though they may keep a Ministry in office for a few months longer, seem to most of us to be carried out at the expense of the dignity and independence of Parliament. One thing at least is established beyond doubt by the Balfour tactics. That is, that the Prime Minister himself is well aware that whenever the great question is brought to an issue, and the Ministerial party called upon to give a direct vote on the Free Trade question, the decision, whatever it may be, must put an end to the existence of the present Government. For the present we have a Ministry in office supported by a majority seriously divided upon the burning question of the hour, and the main purpose of the Prime Minister seems to be to avert anything like a test-vote being taken to show to which side in the controversy his followers are chiefly inclined. His tactics may be successful for twelve months to come, and the dreaded catastrophe may be averted for that length of time; but a Ministry in such straits cannot be regarded as wielding power as well as holding office. The most brilliant strategy does not enable it to disguise the fact that it lives on sufferance, and has to depend upon the uncertain mercies of Mr. Chamberlain on the one side and Sir Michael Hicks Beach on the other for its continued existence.

If anybody wished to emphasise this truth he would only need to study the Parliamentary debates of last month and the political utterances out of doors. I have good friends in the Ministerial camp who are still content to believe that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, who pour contempt upon the exultant predictions of the Opposition Press, and point in triumph to the fact that Mr. Balfour seems always able to 'dish' his adversaries at the moment when they appear to have cornered him. These are the people who still cling to the belief that no alternative

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Government is possible, and who recall the dismal memories of the Boer War to fortify their conviction that the country will never desert the men who were responsible for the diplomacy which preceded and the military strategy which attended that great struggle. They seem to forget that time passes, and that 1900 now lies far behind us. But even these sanguine persons can hardly ignore the extraordinary change which has taken place in the mutual relations of sections and individuals in the Ministerial party during the last twelve months. I need not go further than last month, however, in order to illustrate that change. When a Cecil, unquestionably the most brilliant member of the present generation of that family, is found not only voting against the Government on a question which has been made one of confidence, but delivering the most powerful and impassioned attack made upon Mr. Chamberlain in the debate on the 'Black' resolution; when a Churchill stands side by side with Mr. Morley on the platform of the National Liberal Federation, and openly proclaims himself a member of the Liberal party; and when the Duke of Devonshire is seen shaking the dust of the citadel of Liberal Unionism off his feet, it is impossible to deny that the times are out of joint so far as the old Ministerial combination, so long supreme in British politics, is concerned, and that we are entering with dramatic celerity into a new era. The friends of the Ministry will do well to realise this fact, so clearly apparent to all detached observers of the situation, and no longer accept as conclusive the evanescent triumphs of the Prime Minister in the domain of Parliamentary strategy.

The Licensing Bill, though it cannot be said to have weakened the position of the Government in the House of Commons, has hardly strengthened it in the country. Like the Education Act, it has aroused a bitter feeling of resentment among a large section of the community. Even the Bishops seem to look at it askance, whilst the teetotalers and the advocates of a real reform in the liquor traffic are filled with indignation against a measure which, they maintain, bestows upon the holders of licenses rights which have never before been accorded to them, and which must seriously interfere with the power of the Legislature in any future attempt it may make to deal with the evils of the liquor traffic. Even in the House of Commons the proposal to confer upon license-holders a virtual freehold in their licenses has encountered so much opposition that Ministers have been compelled to temporise; and it is quite possible that before the Bill has passed through Committee they will have to recognise the necessity of placing a time-limit upon a measure which, as it stands, gives the seller of intoxicating drinks even more than he had ever ventured to ask for. The vote of 'the trade' is unquestionably a matter of great importance to the Ministerial party, but it is one for which too high a price can easily be paid; and if the agitation

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against the Bill which is now being carried on in the country is maintained, it is by no means impossible that Ministers will make the discovery that this is what they have done.

Of the other political questions that have been raised in Parliament during the month little need be said. The question of public economy is admitted by everybody to be one of national importance; but, judging by the recent debate on the subject, it is not yet one in which the nation at large takes any real interest. In the abstract everybody is in favour of a reduction of expenditure; but when practical proposals are made for effecting such a reduction popular enthusiasm evaporates, and nothing is done. For the present it is clear that our 'weary Titan' must continue to stagger on under a load which, though it approaches, has not yet reached the limits of endurance. How strong is the passive resistance to any practical attempt to cut down the expenditure of the country has been shown by the discussions both in Parliament and out of doors on questions connected with the Army and Navy. The mere rumour of intended reductions in our Volunteer forces has sufficed to evoke a storm of protests. People have not even waited to learn the nature of the rumoured changes before making haste to register their protests against them. The notion that any sacrilegious hand should be laid upon the Yeomanry or the Volunteers seems incredible to the average man in the street; and even those who are not afraid to propose changes which, in their opinion, make for efficiency are eager to protest that no sordid desire for economy has influenced them. The part of the economist is evidently as unpopular as ever, and that department of fiscal reform which aims at the reduction of expenditure, and consequently of the national taxes, appears to command no friends. We are still left in the dark as to the extent to which the proposals of Lord Esher's Committee on War Office administration are being carried into effect; but it is satisfactory to note one incident of the month, the appointment of Sir George Clarke as secretary to the Defence Committee. No better person for such a post could have been found. The only objection that could arise to the appointment would lie in the possibility that Sir George's brilliant abilities and profound knowledge were henceforth to be confined to a single office, however important that office might be. He has certainly not yet exhausted his power of usefulness to the Empire as a whole.

The mention of the Defence Committee recalls the fact that at least one meeting of that body has been held during the month, and that, according to the general belief, it was devoted to the consideration of the state of things in Thibet, where the Younghusband mission has practically found itself besieged in a hostile country. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, has arrived in England on leave of absence, and it is stated that the Defence Committee has taken

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advantage of his presence here in order to consider the question of our policy, both military and political, in that dreary and almost unknown land which has Lhasa for its capital. It must be confessed that the Thibet mission, for which it is well understood that Lord Curzon is in the main responsible, is not an attractive subject to any party or person in this country. Even the elaborate explanations which have been given of its origin and object have failed to carry conviction to the public mind, and, rightly or wrongly, the prevailing sentiment with regard to it has seemed to resolve itself into the question, 'Why could you not let it alone?' Why, after all our years of patient endurance of the snubbings we have received from the Lamas, we should at last have ventured upon this expedition to the roof of the world, for the purpose of coming to an explanation with the authorities at Lhasa, it is not easy to understand. Clearly, in the first instance, neither the Indian nor the Home Government contemplated the kind of expedition which we are now compelled to undertake. Ministers at home, indeed, disclaimed in the most emphatic language any intention of proceeding to negotiate with the Lamas by force of arms, or of entering the sacred capital of their country in defiance of their wishes. That we had received much provocation was not to be denied; but at the outset none of our officials, either here or in India, maintained that this provocation was of such a nature as to justify our making war upon the Thibetans. Yet it is to this step that we have now been driven. It is true that the Thibetans themselves have forced it upon us. They have attacked our mission, and attacked it in a very treacherous way. They have compelled it almost from the first to proceed as though in an openly hostile country, and now we find ourselves obliged to undertake a military expedition into Thibet—first, to succour our mission, which is practically besieged; and, secondly, to impose by force a treaty which it is clear that the Lamas would not accept of their own free will. It is the old, old story, illustrating afresh the way in which a great Empire constantly finds itself involved in 'little wars' that drain its exchequer and embarrass it in many different ways. That we must succour Colonel Younghusband and his party at all costs is evident, and that we ought to come to a clear understanding with the authorities at Lhasa is hardly less clear. But the average man has yet to be convinced that it would not have been better to leave Thibet untouched, and to put up with the old state of things, unsatisfactory though it might be, than to plunge into this adventure in the unknown. Russian intrigues are, of course, pleaded as the reason for departing from our old policy of forbearance towards a Power which is in itself contemptible. The same plea has been urged before on many different occasions for acts of policy from which in the end we have gained little benefit.

But it looks as though for some time to come the great semi-

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Asiatic Power will cease to be the bugbear that has so long been our nightmare in India and the Far East. The course of the Russo-Japanese war during the past month has been very remarkable. It is no more possible now than it was last February to predict its issue; but so far as it has gone it has at least demonstrated the fact that the military might of the Russian Empire is not what it has long been supposed to be. It is far too soon to accept the victory of Japan as the probable end of the war. Indeed, at the moment at which I write Japan is suffering from some of those blows of hard fortune which fell so quickly upon Russia in the early stages of the conflict. The loss of a battle-ship and a cruiser on the same day was a calamity for Japan of no common severity, and even on land the victorious career of her armies seemed towards the close of the month to have been temporarily checked. But if her misfortunes by sea and land had been a hundredfold greater than they are—if, indeed, the tide of victory had turned definitely against her, and Russia were henceforth to pursue her course in triumph to the end—Japan would still have the satisfaction of having shown Europe the clay feet on which the power of the dreaded Colossus of the North rests. I am far from suggesting that Japan has reached the limit of her aggressive resources. On the contrary, it is probable that for a long time to come the victory in the great struggle will incline to her side. But whether this be so or not, nothing can now alter the fact that the Russian army has once more been found to be a body of admirably brave men paralysed by the defects of a military system which suffers to-day from the same defects as those which sapped its strength in 1855 and 1877. The hurried retreat of General Kuropatkin's forces from the very points which Russia had declared her determination to keep, if necessary in defiance of all Europe, and the grave strategical blunders which gave to Japan the all-important victories at the beginning of the campaign, are facts which cannot be ignored either by soldiers or politicians; and for many a year to come the game of bluff which St. Petersburg has hitherto played so successfully in the Far East will be too dangerous to be resumed. This is the chief moral of the Russo-Japanese war, so far as it has yet gone, for the Powers of Europe. It is one the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Russian diplomacy, if the Government of the Czar is to avoid in the future even greater perils than those by which it is now confronted, must necessarily be conducted on more equitable lines and in a more modest spirit than that which has characterised it in the past. There is no desire to humiliate a great Power upon which the burden of empire weighs almost as heavily as it does upon ourselves; but henceforth Russia, like other great States, will find that 'Live and let live' must be the motto of her statesmen.

WEMYSS REID.

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LAST MONTH

II

To comment on the vicissitudes of the war in the Far East seems to me foreign to the scope of these articles. There are two objections to any departure from this rule. The first is that, owing to the exigencies of publication, any forecast of the campaign is liable to be falsified by the course of events during the period, which must of necessity intervene between the formation of the forecast and its appearance in print; the second and more important objection is that I have no pretension to any special knowledge of the relative resources of the two belligerents such as would justify me in expressing an opinion as to the outcome of the war in which fortune so far has favoured Japan. It is obvious, however, that indirectly the issues being now fought out between Russia and Japan are likely to have an important influence on our home politics, and this consideration may justify me in abandoning for once my usual practice of leaving the discussion of the war to writers in the press.

Even if Russia should ultimately prove victorious, her prestige has already sustained a blow from which it will take long to recover. So far the small island kingdom has not only held her own against the vast Empire of the North, but has defeated her enemy both by sea and by land. This result has completely upset all calculations made before the outbreak of the war. The vast majority of our public instructors were confident that Japan would never really venture to measure her puny strength against the might of Russia, and that if she did dare to do so she would meet with rapid and signal discomfiture. We are now for the most part forced to the conclusion that there is 'something rotten in the state' of Russia. It may be that her internal organisation is paralysed by corruption and incompetence; that beyond the sheer force of numbers she is not possessed of the qualities which command success in the battlefield; that her gigantic aggrandisement has been due to a mistaken belief in her manifest destiny, to her skill in intrigue, and to her vainglorious assertion of her own omnipotence. But whatever is the explanation of Russia's collapse, the fact remains that she has so far been worsted in a contest with an inferior Power whom, up to the other

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day, she regarded with arrogant contempt. There is doubtless a good deal of exaggeration in the prevailing estimate of the day. But yet there is strong *prima facie* ground for the belief that Russia's strength for aggressive purposes is by no means so formidable as we had been led to imagine. This belief must inevitably react upon British party warfare. Already the chief Liberal statesmen and the leading Liberal newspapers are calling upon our Government to use their influence to bring the war to a close, or, if this is impossible, to secure some such terms of peace as may enable Russia to accept a compromise which would leave her the paramount Power in the Far East. Amongst the Liberal party there is an obvious tendency to minimise the success achieved by Japan, and to deprecate the struggle for ascendency between the East and West being fought out to the bitter end. On the other hand, the sympathies of the Conservative party are decidedly, though perhaps not enthusiastically, in favour of Japan. Hitherto there has been no distinct line of cleavage between Unionists and Liberals on the subject of the war. There may be members of the Opposition who remain faithful to the traditions of the Palmerstonian era, and whose sympathies are with any nation, no matter what its creed or race, which is fighting for the cause of civilisation and freedom. There are also Russophils in the Ministerial ranks, who deem it the duty and interest of England to side with Russia in her conflict with Japan. But we can safely foretell that, if ever the time comes when the country can interfere with advantage in the war, the Conservatives will, as a party, be favourable to the cause of Japan; while the Liberals, as a party, will be favourable to the cause of Russia. Already there are indications that the Liberals and the Unionist Free Traders are disposed to raise the cry of the Yellow Peril, as being a reason why England should not desire the success of Japan to be carried to an extent which might seriously cripple the supremacy of Russia on the shores of the Pacific.

The cry of the Yellow Peril was first raised by the German Emperor, whose State policy is seemingly based on the necessity, whether real or imaginary, of favouring the extension of Russian supremacy in the East. This fact alone must lead Englishmen to doubt whether the cry is one which can commend itself to their approval. I fully admit that the potential defeat of a European Power by an Oriental Power is a contingency which upsets all our previous experience, and which may in the long run lead to grave and unforeseen consequences. But this peril is, to say the least, problematical. At the time of the crushing defeat of the Italian army in Abyssinia it was predicted that the victory of a black semi-barbarous force over a powerful well-armed European army would overthrow throughout the Dark Continent the current belief that European troops are invincible when pitted against native arms.

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Many years, however, have come and gone since the battle of Adowa, and yet the supremacy of the white race has remained unassailed from Cairo to the Cape. Moreover, the Yellow Peril can never become formidable until Japan has succeeded either in conquering China or in establishing a Protectorate over the Celestial Empire. No end of water, to use a French phrase, must pass under the bridges before either of these hypothetical contingencies can become an accomplished fact; and in statecraft, above all other things, one has got to provide against immediate and certain dangers, not against dangers that lie only, if at all, in the uncertain and remote future. No profound study, on the other hand, is required to prove the existence of the Slav Peril. The gradual advance of the Russians under an autocratic ruler, supported by the blind force of a vast homogeneous ignorant and superstitious nationality, and hostile to the ideas of Western civilisation, constitutes the real danger which hangs over Europe in general, and especially over the British Empire. There is no good in shutting one's eyes to plain facts. Old Japan, whatever may be her motives, is for the time being fighting the battle of England in opposing the pretensions of Russia to make herself the dominant Power in the Far East. It is therefore ludicrous to urge that England should conceal her sympathy with Japan, or should even endeavour to arrest the progress of the war now raging along the shores of the Pacific Ocean on the ground that if Russia were to sustain a signal defeat in the present campaign her antagonist might, at some future and unknown date, become too powerful to suit British interests. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof, and the evil of to-day is the gradual automatic aggrandisement of a world-wide Slav Empire.

It is not my wish to impute any lack of patriotism to our politicians and publicists, who have of late been urging upon their fellow-countrymen the advisability of saying nothing which could possibly offend Muscovite susceptibilities or strengthen the confidence of Japan in British good faith. What I contend is, that though they may be actuated by worthy motives, they are none the less advocating a line of policy inconsistent with the interests both of Great Britain and of Greater Britain. For many years past I have come to the conclusion that, from the day when the Liberal party passed from the guidance of Palmerston to that of Gladstone, the Conservatives were far better fitted than their opponents to direct the foreign policy of England. For many reasons the Liberal party in its present stage of political development is inclined to side with Russia rather than with Japan. The causes of this tendency, so inconsistent with the principles professed by the Liberals of a bygone generation, form too wide a subject to be discussed at present. It is enough for my purpose to say that the Liberals of to-day are, if not openly partisans of Russia, disposed to make excuses for her, and to dwell unduly upon

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the disadvantages which may possibly accrue from her defeat. It is fatuous to put forward counsels of moderation unless these counsels are addressed to both belligerents alike. I look in vain for any outspoken acknowledgment, on the part of any conspicuous Liberal, that Russia is, and has been throughout, the aggressor in the war: that Japan is fighting for national existence, and that if peace is to be made before the conflict is terminated by the utter prostration of one of the belligerents, it can only be by Russia making concessions, which might indeed impair her prestige, but which would still leave her one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of Continental Powers. This being so, I fail to see why we should be advised to refrain from speaking out our minds and saying that we are not to be frightened by the nightmare of a Yellow Peril from declaring that we wish well to our ally, and shall absolutely decline to be parties to any arrangement which in the possible, though I fear hardly the probable, event of her ultimate victory might deprive her of the just reward of her gallant struggle. So much for the policy which interest as well as duty commands England to pursue, supposing Japan should succeed in expelling Russia from Manchuria. What England's policy should be in, I fear, the more probable event of Japan's resources proving unequal to the prosecution of the war until a complete success has been obtained is a question which neither I nor anyone can decide till the conditions and prospects of the conflict between Russia and Japan are better understood than they are now. It is well, however, to bear in mind that in the war which the Island Kingdom has prosecuted so far with success, the fortunes of the British Empire are almost as deeply concerned as those of our ally. It is not the far-away imaginary Yellow Peril England has to fear. It is the present and real Slav Peril which she has cause to dread.

On the strength of this conviction, I regard with uneasiness the manifest tendency of our latter-day Liberals to espouse the side of Russia as against Japan, or, perhaps more correctly speaking, to deprecate such a continuance of Russian defeats as would inflict any permanent injury on the Slav Empire. I am well aware that no small number of the Liberals are biassed in favour of Russia, by considerations which are largely independent of party politics. The peace-at-any-price section, the successors of the Quakers who despatched a deputation to St. Petersburg on the eve of the Crimean War, to appeal to the supposed pacific instincts of the Czar Nicholas, are firmly convinced that his great-grandson Nicholas the Second, the founder of the Hague Court of International Arbitration, is the friend of peace and good will throughout the world. The Dissenters who formed the backbone of the Midlothian campaign, who under Gladstone's leadership joined the rabid outcry against the 'unspeakable Turk,' and have never lost their blind belief in Russia as being the champion of the Christian races in the Near East, fail to recognise

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any difference between the followers of Islam and the followers of Buddha. The High Church Liberals still cherish the delusion that there exists a sort of spiritual kinship between the Anglican communion and the Orthodox Greek rite. The Little-Englanders regard the growth of the Muscovite Empire with satisfaction on the ground that it is calculated to free England from the incubus of the British Empire. The Liberal Free Traders are prepared to sacrifice every other consideration to the rigid maintenance of unrestricted competition. The rank and file of the Liberal party, though they may be indifferent to such 'fads' as those to which I have called attention, entertain a not unfounded conviction that continuance of a Unionist Government in office is fatal to their public and personal interests, and are therefore anxious to get the direction of England's foreign policy intrusted to the hands of a Liberal Administration, Such an anxiety is not unreasonable from a party point of view, and I cannot blame party politicians for seeking party advantages. All I wish to point out is that the bias of the Liberal party in favour of Russia renders their possible accession to power during the Russo-Japanese war a danger to be deprecated by all Englishmen who have at heart the welfare of the British Empire. Of this truth the campaign in Tibet affords a striking lesson.

In common with nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of my fellow-countrymen, I am not sufficiently conversant with Tibet and its relations with India to express any opinion as to whether the despatch of a diplomatic mission to Tibet might not have been postponed without injury to Imperial interests. But upon this point I, as a man of common sense, am bound to be guided by the opinion of our Anglo-Indian officials, who are intimately acquainted with native affairs, and who, with rare and not conspicuous exceptions, were unanimous in declaring that our relations with Tibet had become so strained that their solution could not be put off any longer without grave injury to England's position as the mistress of India. Given this admission, it is obvious that the Viceroy was justified in having his diplomatic mission to Tibet accompanied by a military escort; and it is probable, though, to my mind, not quite equally obvious, that he was wise in not undertaking an armed mission to Tibet till he had exhausted every possible chance of settling our difficulties with the Government of Lhasa without resort to actual warfare.

Even the most superficial knowledge of India ought to show any man of ordinary intelligence that the extension of Russia to the Pacific coast could not but affect the relations of the Government of Calcutta with the native States lying between the southern frontiers of Russia and the northern provinces of British India. It was a matter of notoriety that there had been an interchange of presents and missions between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Lhasa; and

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it was manifest that such an interchange of civilities could have no other object than that of creating an impression that Tibet might look to Russia for aid and assistance in the event of any intervention in Tibetian affairs on the part of England. Under these circumstances, common sense dictated to all British politicians the expediency of not expressing any hostility to the Tibetian policy of the Viceroy and his Council, who, possessing a full and intimate knowledge of the facts of the case, had come to the conclusion that intervention in Tibet had become the duty of the Imperial Power which rules over India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Silence was imperative; and yet the determination arrived at by our Indian authorities, to insist upon Tibet fulfilling the obligations, to which she had solemnly bound herself by treaty, was forthwith denounced by the Liberal party, both in and out of Parliament, as an unwarrantable interference with the independence of a neighbouring State. No consideration for the protection of British interests, no scruple against embarrassing the course of the negotiations by which a resort to arms might possibly be avoided, no fear that ill-informed and indiscreet criticisms as to the conduct of the campaign might encourage the stubborn obstinacy with which Tibet had rejected our overtures, weighed with the Opposition in comparison with the belief that an attack on Lord Curzon's policy in respect of Tibet might damage the position of the Unionist Ministry. What has happened on a small scale is wellnigh certain to be repeated on a large scale whenever an opportunity occurs. No man versed in politics, however optimist his views, or however averse he may be to any so-called 'spirited policy,' can fail to realise the plain fact that, so long as the Russo-Japanese war continues, England is liable to be called upon at any time to confront a crisis which might conceivably involve a resort to naval or military action. Yet, to judge of the future from the past, it is absolutely certain that if ever such a crisis should arise the Liberals, as a party, will not trouble themselves to weigh the advantages or disadvantages of the foreign policy recommended by the Government, but will attack it, irrespective of its merits, on the ground that by so doing they may upset the Ministry. Fortunately the common sort of tactics defeats itself. The British public, when not led astray by sentiment, is mainly influenced by hard common sense. If, as there now seems every reason to hope, sense, under our present conditions, outweighs popular sentiment, there should be no doubt in the public mind as to the impolicy of entrusting the conduct of foreign affairs to the hands of a Liberal Administration. A suspicion that somehow they have started on a wrong tack seems within the last two or three weeks to have dawned upon the minds of the Liberal leaders. They have put water into their wine. Prophecies of an early dissolution of Parliament are no longer current. The forecasts of the incoming Liberal Ministry

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which were so plentiful little more than a month ago have been consigned to the waste-paper basket. The Unionist Free Traders have resumed their normal attitude of sitting on the fence, and the prospect of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman being rewarded by a peerage in return for his long and meritorious services to an ungrateful party seems more remote and shadowy than ever.

No small share in the reaction which has manifested itself of late in favour of the Unionist Ministry is due to the reappearance of Mr. Chamberlain on a public platform. It is the custom across the Channel, on occasions when an important speech is delivered in the Chamber of Deputies or in the Senate, for the House to pass a vote ordaining that copies of the speech should be posted up at the *Mairie* in every commune of France. I need hardly say that for a speech to obtain such a tribute of respect it must be one delivered in favour of the party in power. If Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech had been delivered in France by a French statesman addressing a French assembly, it would have been circulated by order of the Government throughout the length and breadth of the country. Personally I doubt greatly whether anybody in our country ever reads posters or peruses leaflets. With us the reading of newspapers is so universal amidst all sorts and conditions of men that there is no necessity for a practice similar to that adopted in France. It is a fact worth noting that in all papers enjoying a very wide circulation the space allotted to parliamentary reports has long been growing smaller and smaller. There are, however, still a very few public men whose speeches are reported as fully as possible, and of this favoured group Mr. Chamberlain is the most prominent. It is no disparagement to his remarkable oratorical ability to say that, while Mr. Gladstone's speeches were more effective when spoken than when perused, the contrary is the case with the great Birmingham orator. To me the perusal of such a speech as that delivered last month by the sometime Minister for the Colonies on his return from Egypt, apart from my agreement or disagreement with the views propounded therein, is an absolute literary enjoyment. I am old-fashioned enough to hold that there is no form of construction so suited to the lucid clearness of our mother tongue as when the nominative precedes the verb which is followed by the accusative. All variations upon this sound rule, such as were introduced by Carlyle and developed by George Meredith, are to me odious. The highest praise I can accord to either writer or speaker is that he is 'understanded of the people.' Now, whatever else you may object to in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, you can never say he does not make his meaning obvious, or that he does not express it in clear nervous English. My own taste for understanding what is said to me without any need for studying involved sentences, or for puzzling my brain to extract the kernel of meaning imbedded in a mass of verbiage, is, I am convinced, shared

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by the great mass of my fellow-countrymen. Let me quote one brief passage in the speech to which I refer which seems to me to compress the charges against Cobden and his school in the shortest number of words possible, while necessitating the least wear and tear of brain power on the part of the reader:

> There may be some, there are some, who still share opinions of an older generation, who think that the United Kingdom can best stand alone, that the Colonies are mere encumbrances to be got rid of as soon as possible. Remember, and in this connection it is important to remember, that Mr. Cobden all throughout his career connected himself with this separatist doctrine, that he looked forward with hope to the separation of Canada, that he desired the loss of India, that he expected the independence of Australia. He had a cosmopolitan philanthropy, admirable in its way; but it has no place in my philosophy. I wish no ill to foreign nations, but I wish good to my own.

To employ a vulgar but expressive phrase, 'Them's my sentiments' is the comment which an overwhelming majority of Englishmen born and bred would make on reading these words, and the one English statesman who can clothe such simple ideas in such plain language is, and must be as long as his powers last, a dominant factor in English politics.

There is, I have every reason to believe, a small but not uninfluential coterie in this British land of ours which honestly regards as the greatest event, not only of the past month, but of the last twelve months, or even of His Majesty's reign, the fact that the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the great house of Cavendish, has finally severed his connection with the Liberal Unionist Association. I may possibly underrate the importance of this grave occurrence, but even if his Grace should be accompanied in his retirement by Lord James of Hereford, Mr. Arthur Elliot, the brothers Seely, and a few trusty retainers, I fancy the country will sustain the loss with unconcern. In saying this, I should be sorry to seem to dispute the fact that the late President of the Liberal Unionist Association has not only a real claim to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, but must continue so long as he lives to possess a name which will carry weight with the British public. His high rank, his great fortune, his position as the greatest probably of British landowners, his striking independence of character, his utter indifference to office, his love of sport, his plain good sense, and I may say his lack of imagination, his slowness of thought, his dulness of utterance, all appeal somehow to instincts of Englishmen, no matter to what party they may belong.

If at the crisis of England's fate he had hesitated in severing his connection with Mr. Gladstone, the greater number of the Liberal members who disapproved of Home Rule would probably have followed his example. Of this, the one great achievement of his life, he and his friends may be justly proud, but if one had to

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take a less favourable estimate it would not be unfair to suggest a doubt whether his Grace ever realised that his secession from the Liberals was permanent or only temporary. Throughout the whole of the prolix speech with which he explained his reasons for quitting the Liberal Unionist Association, I could find no indication of any discovery on his part that it was not the Liberal Party who had left him, but he who had left the Liberal Party. He and his followers were still, in his opinion, all true Liberals, the only rightful representatives of sound Liberalism. The facts that they had voted for years with Conservatives, that they had in most instances been returned by Conservative votes, and that they had held office in a Conservative Ministry, were, as far as I could gather, obliterated in his mind by the reflection that he had never called himself a Conservative, but had stuck with stolid tenacity to the appellation of Liberal Unionist. The anomalous character of his position as a professed Liberal, when sitting in a Conservative Ministry and defending Conservative measures, never appears to have been realised by his Grace till Mr. Chamberlain raised the fiscal controversy. As it is, the Liberal Unionist Association and the Liberal Unionist League would appear, in as far as they had any living organisation at all, to have been directed, instructed, and financed by the President and his personal followings, and now that their President has left them I am somewhat at a loss to understand what is to be their reason of being. It is satisfactory to be assured that, if ever Home Rule should be brought forward again as a serious question, the Duke's services will be at the disposal of the Unionists. It is, however, less satisfactory to learn that his Grace regards the maintenance of free trade as a matter of equal importance with the maintenance of the Union. How he is going to decide between the merits of the two causes, to which he thus stands pledged, is a matter upon which his Grace has vouchsafed no information, probably because he has not yet been able to make up his own mind.

The last of the many attempts to defeat the Government by raising side issues on which it was hoped a sufficient number of malcontent Unionists might be detached from their party to place the Ministry in a minority has ended in a *fiasco*. Owing to the advance of the session and to the rules that regulate Parliamentary procedure, the Opposition will have little or no further opportunities of arranging sham fights which end in smoke. Mr. Black's resolution has been defeated by a majority of fifty-five, though thirty-nine Liberal Unionists stopped away unpaired and twenty-two had the courage to vote with the Liberals. Somehow it is difficult to treat this sort of debating-society politics seriously. Mr. Balfour succeeded easily in demonstrating the futility of the contention that he or his colleagues were bound to pledge themselves beforehand as to the views they may or may not hold on the subject of protection or free trade, at an un-

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known period, under conditions which as yet are incapable of being ascertained. From the date of his speech at Sheffield, the Prime Minister has never left any doubt in the minds of reasonable men as to the policy he intends to pursue. He has pledged himself to make no alteration in our fiscal system during the lifetime of the present Parliament. When the next general election takes place he proposes to go to the country with a proposal to authorise the imposition of retaliatory duties. Beyond this he is not prepared to go, and, what is more important, he does not believe the British public are prepared to go for the present. If the result of the approaching general election should show that the country is not indisposed to follow Mr. Chamberlain's advice, and consolidate the Empire by a preferential tariff involving the imposition of duties on corn imported from foreign markets, he might, as he makes no secret of acknowledging, support Mr. Chamberlain's idea. But he declares that under no circumstances will he go beyond the possible employment of retaliatory duties during the next Parliament. The constituencies, he pledges his word, shall be again consulted before any further advance of any kind may be made in the path of protection. This is the plain truth, and it did not require a lengthy and dreary Parliamentary debate to make evident the good faith of the Ministerial policy. The attempt to create a schism between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain has only resulted in exposing the want of logic and lack of fair play in the ranks of the Opposition.

EDWARD DICEY.

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